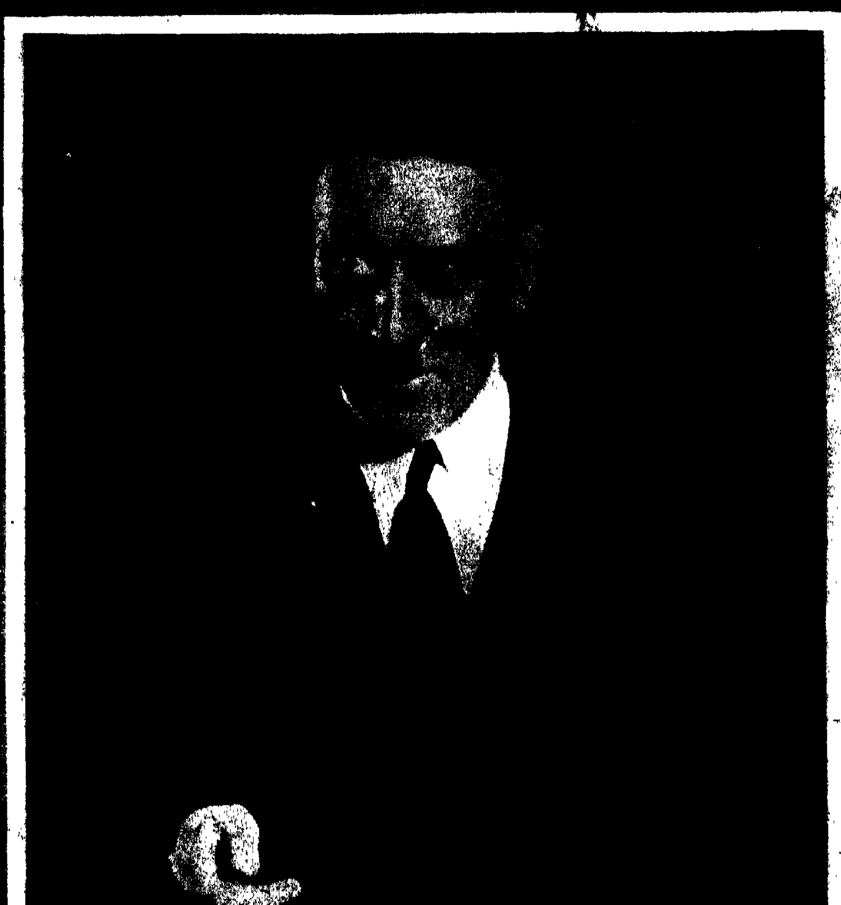
CURRENT HISTORY



★This issue is the first in which *Current History* appears in a new home The magazine is much larger than ever before in its quarter-century history. When the magazine was first issued during the war, it seemed then to be the perfect size. It was compact and easily handled. But now styles in magazines are changing *Current History* has chosen to go the way of the full size because it offers a better opportunity for a more effective presentation, making use of maps, charts, graphs and other illustrative material

★The cover shows Mr. Hitler in his best bargaining mood The editors were going over a wide variety of pictures of Der Fuehrer for the photographic section (page 73) when the report came that England and France were ready to give in and let Hitler have some of the colonies taken away from him under the Versailles Treaty. Hence the photo, in which Mr Hitler seems to say, "It's good you didn't decide to call me on that hand. You see, gentlemen, I had four aces and a deuce." (International Photo)

★One of the new features of the magazine is *Letters-to-the-President*. Yes, the letters have actually been sent to the White House And many people will be surprised to learn that if the President sees them at all, he will see them for the first time in *Current History* For Mr Roosevelt's mail is the largest in Washington's history, and it takes a large staff of people just to open the letters, let alone read them (Page 18.)

★Another new regular feature is *Latin-American Notes* notes on events in Central and South America. The editors feel that this feature will fill a long-felt need by presenting a comprehensive and continuous picture of nations whose importance to the United States is not measured by the present news coverage

★Just what the present war means to Japan and her chances of complete victory are lucidly explained by **William Henry Chamberlin** in *Japan's Stake in Empire*, Mr Chamberlin is the Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Tokyo, and Little, Brown have just published his latest book, *Japan Over Asia*

★**Captain Andrew Tolstoy** (*Post-Mortem on an "Incident"*), a graduate of a famous Russian military school and a relation of the great Russian novelist, contributes a piece of work worthy of any Sherlock Holmes in investigating the responsibility for the "incident" that started the Shanghai conflagration

★Switching to an entirely different field, we come to **Joseph Jastrow's** penetrating and original analysis of the burden imposed upon the community by those who cannot carry their weight in society and what can or should be done for them (*The Wise Man's Burden*) Dr Jastrow, whose conclusions will start some weighty pondering, is a prominent psychologist, author, and lecturer A former president of the American Psychological Association, he has recently been lecturing at the New School for Social Research

★In the current craze for dictatorships, little attention has been paid to a flourishing one in our own backyard—that of General Trujillo in Dominica. Perhaps that is because so little information can be obtained about it However, **Carleton Beals,** whose latest book, *America South* (Lippincott), has cemented his reputation as a leading authority on Central and South American affairs, draws aside the veil of silence and reveals a riotous scene and a leading figure in whom Dr Jastrow might well be interested (*Caesar of the Caribbean*).

★Amidst all the cries about "boondoggling," "government extravagance," and so forth, it is refreshing to get a straight, cool, statement of just what the W P A is and what it has done No one could speak with more authority on this subject than **Corrington Gill** (*W.P.A.*), the Assistant Administrator of this enormous project

★There has been almost as much emotional controversy concerning Palestine **H. G. Wells,** who needs absolutely no introduction, and whose range of knowledge is peerless, has set himself to put *Palestine in Proportion* in a brilliant and provocative essay

★On their return home, the ladies of the "Flying Caravan," who have sought to bring peace to this continent, will find **Genaro Arbaiza's** open letter (*Arming the Good Neighbors*) waiting for them Mr Arbaiza has been a frequent contributor to *Current History* and other periodicals, and the ladies in question will find his advice discouraging, but weighted with authority and, what is more, vitally interesting

★"*America's Best Union,*" the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which just surprised the nation with its *amazingly substantial balance sheet*, is the subject of the fifth of **Herbert Harris'** series on Labor in America

CURRENT HISTORY

JANUARY 1938

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ARTICLES

FEATURES

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N. B. COUSINS

TEN OUTSTANDING BOOKS OF NON-FICTION IN 1937

THE annual selection by Current History's Literary Advisory Board of the ten outstanding non-fiction works of the year finds these books on the 1937 list:

Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President, by Marquis James;

Bulwark of the Republic, by Burton J. Hendrick;

If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George F. Eliot,

Life and Death of a Spanish Town, by Eliot Paul;

Middletown in Transition, by Helen Merrell Lynd and Robert S. Lynd,

The Arts, by Hendrik Willem van Loon,

The Growth of the American Republic, by S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager;

The Miracle of England, by Andre Maurois,

The Nile, by Emil Ludwig,

The Ultimate Power, by Morris L. Ernst

It seems fair to say that the books on this list would enable an historian, with little else in the way of reference material, to write a colorful and comprehensive narrative of the year. For they reflect contemporary thought and contemporary events to a very large degree Politically, 1937 in domestic affairs may be known as the year of the unsuccessful attempt by the President to enlarge the Supreme Court. In world affairs, the year has seen the Coronation of an English King, the continuation of the Spanish civil war, and the outbreak of war in the Far East And culturally, there were many manifestations of a new and growing consciousness of the world of the arts by those who form the broadest base of the social structure All these events and trends are minor or major themes of many of the books on the list, which as a whole, qualifies as "highly worthwhile," according to the definition of H. A. Taine, eighteenth century French philosopher, who said that a worthwhile book mirrors the way in which man thought, felt and therefore did during a particular period.

Six books on the "outstanding" list are particularly rich for the material they offer the reader seeking an understanding of current happenings. *The Ultimate Power* and *Bulwark of the Republic*, for example, provide the background and perspective necessary to any consideration of the Supreme Court issue Mr. Ernst investigates the role of the judiciary all the way back through history to the Founding Fathers, and Mr. Hendrick writes the story of the Constitution and the men who made it and interpreted it, in the form of a "biography" of the document. Then, too, there is Andre Maurois' *Miracle of England*, which was published in a year when England was in a brighter limelight than any time since the beginning of the World War The abdication, the Coronation, the key part played by Britain in European diplomacy all these served to focus attention and interest upon the Empire, and M. Maurois' book covered many phases, political and psychological, of England's history. On the topic of the Spanish war, we have Eliot Paul's *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, a book whose greatest effectiveness was in its nonmilitary approach. And for those who are concerned over the recurrent war scares, *If War Comes* is profitable reac ing. And finally, *Middletown in Tran sition*, by the Lynds, provides Americ with a mirror which reflects its devel opment in culture and out.

The remaining four books are in th categories of biography and history although two of them do not strictl come within these classifications. *Th Nile* is in reality the biography of river, and *The Arts* is a history, al though its greatest value lies in it interpretive qualities. *Andrew Jack son: Portrait of a President*, complete the life of Jackson, the first volume o which earned a Pulitzer Prize for Mr James. *The Growth of the America Republic*, which is published in tw volumes, qualifies as a new work al though the framework is the same a that constructed by Mr. Morison an Mr. Commager in an earlier study un der the same title.

In announcing the list selected b the Literary Advisory Board, the mem bers of whom are listed in a box a the beginning of this section, the edi tors realize that of the many thousand of non-fiction works published durin the year, the selection of ten as "best" is virtually impossible. Three-quarter of the year's non-fiction never grew out of a first edition. And of those which enjoyed additional printings, a comparatively few were introduced to the reading public through the usua review and announcement channels.

What the Board has done, then, wa to limit eligibility to non-technica works and to give consideration only to those books which filled satisfactorily several conditions: a candidate for the list should make some distinctive contribution to the field embraced by its topic, it need not be scholarly, but it should bear the marks of good scholarship; it should serve some function, it should be well-written; and finally, it should have some promise of permanence.

Whether any or all of the books finally selected will fulfill the promise of permanence is a question which only the years can answer. Last year's list has held up remarkably well. *The*

THE selection of the ten outstanding non-fiction books of 1937 was made by *Current History's* Literary Advisory Board, the members of which are:

VAN WYCK BROOKS, literary critic and author of *The Flowering of New England*, Pulitzer Prize Winner in History

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, former editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*

JOHN DEWEY, educator and philosopher.

AMY LOVEMAN, associate editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*

DOROTHY THOMPSON, political commentator, writer lecturer

JOHN W. WITHERS, Dean of the School of Education, New York University

M. E. TRACY, editor and publisher.

Two Years of Selections by the Literary Advisory Board

1937

Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President, by Marquis James (Bobbs Merrill)

Bulwark of the Republic, by Burton J. Hendrick (Little Brown)

If War Comes, by R. Ernest Dupuy and George F. Eliot (Macmillan)

Life and Death of a Spanish Town, by Elliot Paul (Random House)

Middletown in Transition, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd (Harcourt Brace)

The Arts, by Hendrik Willem van Loon (Simon and Schuster)

The Growth of the American Republic, by S. E. Morison and H. S. Commager (Oxford)

The Nile, by Emil Ludwig (Viking)

The Miracle of England, by Andre Maurois (Harpers)

The Ultimate Power, by Morris L. Ernst (Doubleday)

1936

A Diplomatic History of the United States, by Samuel Flagg Bemis (Holt)

A Program for Modern America, by Harry W. Laidler (Crowell)

An American Doctor's Odyssey, by Dr. Victor G. Heiser (Norton)

Hamilton Fish, by Allan Nevins (Dodd Mead)

Inside Europe, by John Gunther (Harpers)

John Reed, by Granville Hicks (Macmillan)

Sweden The Middle Way, by Marquis W. Childs (Yale Univ. Press)

The Downfall of the Gold Standard, by Gustav Cassel (Oxford)

The Flowering of New England, by Van Wyck Brooks (Dutton)

The Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock (edited by Allan Nevins) (Appleton, Century)

Flowering of New England, by Van Wyck Brooks, one of the judges serving on the present Literary Advisory Board, won the year's Pulitzer Prize for history and has already become a landmark in American literature. *Inside Europe*, by John Gunther, has become a fixture, it is revised and brought up to date every few months. *An American Doctor's Odyssey* is still high on the list of non-fiction best-sellers and has created a great popularity for its author, Dr. Victor Heiser. *Sweden The Middle Way*, by Marquis W. Childs, is said to be largely responsible for the creation of a special committee by President Roosevelt to study cooperatives and has become a standard reference work on that subject. Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis' *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, though not a popular best-seller, has enjoyed an unusually wide circulation in libraries and universities and has been adopted for use by many of the latter institutions.

It will be interesting to observe whether the 1937 list may make as good, or even better record. A number of the books are already well on the way. *The Arts*, about which Mr. Brooks has said that "it really makes one believe that art is something to be enjoyed," has sold more books in the few months since its publication than the usual non-fiction best-seller would sell in an entire year. The sales on Mr Van Loon's book have totaled almost 200,000—an impressive figure when it is realized that the average sale of a non-fiction book is in the vicinity of 1,000 copies. *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town*, *Andrew Jackson*, *The Nile*, *The Ultimate Power*, *The Bulwark of the Republic*, *Middletown in Transition*, and *The Miracle of England*, according to their past sales, at least, show promise of long endurance. What recognition other than through sales these and the other books on the list may earn offers another interesting thought for the future.

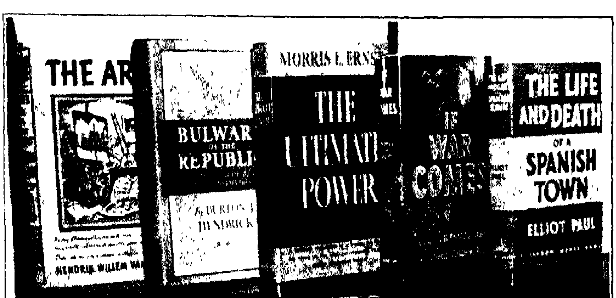
Middletown in Transition has established Muncie, Indiana, as America's great test-tube community and it would not be surprising to find the country looking to that town every few years for a reflection of its development and its trends. And both *Bulwark of the Republic* and *The Growth of the American Republic* have been mentioned prominently as the outstanding histories of the year. Mr Paul's *Life and Death of a Spanish Town* has been hailed by many critics as the literary non-fiction event of 1937. And *Andrew Jackson, Portrait of a President* lives up to the high tradition set for it by Mr. James' earlier Pulitzer Prize biography.

Although members of the Board submitted their nominations separately, the compilation showed that there was an extremely high degree of agreement on most of the books. A five-way tie for the last four places on the list threatened for a time to make the selection become the "eleven outstanding non-fiction works of 1937" instead of ten. It was decided, however, to keep the list to ten books and a place of honor instead of an eleventh place was established. A re-vote gave this "place of honor" to *Goliath: The March of Fascism*, by G. A. Borgese.

Other books which figured prominently in the nominations were *A World History of Art*, by Sheldon Cheney; *The Importance of Living*, by Lin Yutang; *From These Roots*, by Mary M. Colum; *Beloved Friend*, by Catherine D. Bower; *The Journal of Eugene Delacroix*, translated by Walter Pach; and *Invertebrate Spain*, by Ortega Y Gasset.

Current History's purpose in sponsoring these annual selections is to give greater emphasis to non-fiction literature of definite merit. While it is not the intention of the editors to minimize in any way the importance of fiction, it is their belief that serious books should be accorded a greater attention and a wider audience than they now receive.

The World Today in Books, literary review section of *Current History*, reviewed eight of the ten books selected by the Board during the course of the year. These reviews follow in brief. Though they have been shortened, there has been no editorial revision seeking to take out whatever "thorns" or criticisms may have appeared for the purpose of falling in line with the selections by the Board. No such editing was necessary. It is a source of pride to the editors to observe that all the eight books were favorably reviewed:



Bulwark of the Republic

Mr. Hendrick, a biographer of distinction, has sought to view the Constitution and the Supreme Court through the personalities contributing to its history, as well as through the biography of the document itself.

Flowing again through his pages is the entire stream of Constitutional personalities—Washington, Madison, and Marshall to Taney, Lincoln, Holmes and the rest. The Chief Justices Marshall and Holmes, each of whose tenure was a century apart, embody the spirit and achievements of the Constitution in their day, says the author.

Mr. Hendrick's work takes the reader only up to the earlier part of the twentieth century. In a detailed introduction, however, he indicates that the dispute over the President's Supreme Court proposal will not serve to diminish the prestige of the Court. Despite the struggle today between the Executive and the Judiciary, he says, both Nation and Court will emerge without any loss to the people in popular liberties. The Supreme Court has been the subject of attack before and may see its "wings clipped again." But the flexibility of the Court and its ability to regain its high estate in the opinions of the people will enable it to survive the "present onslaught."

The author believes that the Supreme Court has seen a new light. It has "taken a stand in harmony with the best purposes in the modern world." Minimum wages for women, probably also for men,—maximum hours of labor, will find no threat before the Court.

Andrew Jackson

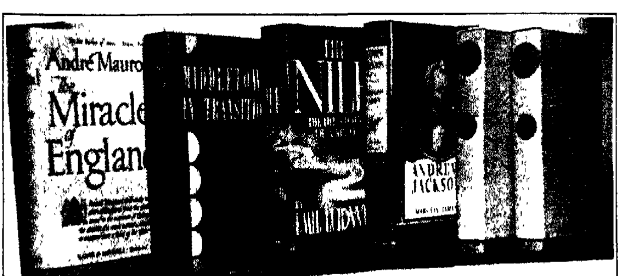
It is with Andrew Jackson's presidential years and his period of retirement that Marquis James is primarily concerned. In a previous volume, *Andrew Jackson. The Border Captain,* Mr. James portrayed Old Hickory as a personality and a soldier. Now we see how those same qualities which carried Jackson to the top as a soldier were to establish him as one of the greatest popular presidents in the history of the nation. To Jackson has gone the honor of having more towns, cities, and counties named after him in the United States than after any other president—or anyone else, for that matter. So deeply, in fact, has his impress been upon American history that we have come to refer to his period in office as the Jacksonian Epoch.

A Pulitzer Prize winner in history, Mr. James again demonstrates that he is one of America's greatest biographers. His new work is a distinctive contribution to historical literature.

If War Comes

If war comes—and the authors will not hazard a guess as to the date nor the exact lineup of nations—it will be fought along lines similar to those of the World War. The development of new weapons and a new military technique is slow and evolutionary, they point out, and it is generally true that new wars begin where the last ones left off. They recall, too, that Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice once wrote with perfect truth that "no weapon, from David's sling to mother tank, has yet revolutionized war, though the claim has been made for scores of inventions during my life." During the next war, there will be no radical changes. Planes will figure more prominently in the plans of the armies, land forces will be divided into smaller, more mobile units, and will have better protection and a greater degree of mechanization, and greater emphasis will be put upon anti-aircraft operations. But as for death rays and similar "horror" inventions, the authors declare such devices exist solely in the minds of third-rate fiction writers who, "like Pickwick's Fat Boy, 'like to make yer flesh creep.'"

If War Comes is profitable reading. It is filled with all sorts of valuable information about arms and armies,



war and war strategy, and probable lines of attack. It takes its place alongside Captain Liddel Hart's *Europe in Arms* as the most authoritative and comprehensive recent treatments of the subject.

Life and Death of a Spanish Town

Elliot Paul will tell you about war horrors that fell out of nowhere upon a peaceful town and a peaceful people. It was in the remoteness of Santa Eulalia on the island of Iviza in the Balearics that Mr. Paul, who lived in the town, and his Spanish neighbors found a certain security and an even stronger community of interests among themselves than might ordinarily prevail in a small town of that size. And even when General Francesco Franco gave the order that was destined to injure, if not utterly destroy, one of the world's oldest cultures, the people of Santa Eulalia were apprehensive but not worried or seriously disturbed. They thought that the uprising would be a one-month affair, at most, regardless of which side would be the victor. But the little town *was* sucked into war—no mere temporary uprising but a war of ghastly proportions.

Invasion, not by one force, but by fascists, loyalists, and anarchists, swept across the face of the island. The towns became death-traps, the only avenue of escape was by sea, but where could one get a boat and if one could would the boat get through?

Elliot Paul and a small group of friends, as an American party, were able to capitalize upon the international prestige of the Stars and Stripes and were taken off the island by a German destroyer. But that was after fascist planes on September 13 had bombed nearby Iiza, killing 55 Iicencos, almost all of whom were women or children.

Elliot Paul can write. For sheer literary flavor, *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* has been approached by few non-fiction works this year. And for the importance of the story alone, the book warrants the highest of ratings. The combination should establish *The Life and Death of a Spanish Town* among the literary events of 1937.



From *Andrew Jackson*, by Marquis James

A bust of General Jackson, sculptor unknown, on exhibition at the Louisiana State Museum.

Middletown in Transition

The work by Dr. and Mrs. Lynd is their second sociological study of Muncie. The first, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* was published eight years ago and is believed to be the most important document on an American community of the pre-depression period. It is more than a decade since the first study was begun and Dr. Lynd has visited Middletown again in response to a curiosity among sociologists as to what changes, if any, took place during the years when the bottom fell out of the nation's economic flooring and breadlines were linked across the continent. But the authors have not restricted themselves to the lean years alone; their chronicle carries through to the Presidential election of last year and to the Middletown of today.

Middletown as a whole, the Lynds report, is in a state of transition. There is no question concerning the process of change, but its direction is not clearly charted nor is its outlook decisive. The Lynds conclude that it is a course of "reluctant adaptation," recalling Tawney's characterization of Europe's ruling class which after the French Revolution "walked reluctantly backwards into the future, lest a worse thing should befall them."

Middletown in Transition is a penetrating inquiry into an American mode of life.

The Arts

Here is not merely a compendium of facts on the history of the world's great painters, musicians, composers, architects, sculptors, but a live, moving translation of the life story of the arts with one of the day's outstanding minds as your guide. There is no such thing as a dead and buried past with Van Loon. "The Taj Mahal," he says, "is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings ever devised by the genius of man, but when you approach Brooklyn Bridge without any prejudice it is quite as beautiful and even more imposing."

The Arts is not to be judged on the basis of its reference value, for it was not the author's intention to write a reference work. Like a painting, its value lies in its interpretative qualities. He views the history of the arts as he would a beautiful panorama he might paint, seeing things that to others might remain obscure; passing over detail that to others might seem important; using blues and yellows where others might use pinks and greens. When you read *The Arts*, read it not for a list of names of history's great artists, nor for a list of their accomplishments, but for the depth and rich-ness of Van Loon's [illegible]

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 79

1. What is a "wildcat strike"?
2. To what position was Nathan Strauss recently appointed?
3. What is the largest country in South America?
4. What is the second largest country in South America?
5. Which of these countries has recently become a corporate state with a dictator at the helm?
6. Who is Governor of the Virgin Isles?
7. What is the chief export commodity of the United States?
8. Who was president of the Senate in 1933?
9. Who is King of Italy and approximately how long has he ruled?
10. What were three countries formed in Europe as a result of the World War?
11. What department of the U. S. Government was in charge of Prohibition?
12. What two Presidents of the United States were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize?
13. What is the Dole System?
14. Leopold is King of what country?
15. Has the munitions embargo against Italy been lifted by President Roosevelt?
16. Did the C. I. O. recently hold a meeting that authorized the expulsion of the A. F. of L.?
17. Does China still have an Ambassador in the U. S.?
18. Who is known as the Liberator of South America?
19. Who was the first President to visit Europe and what were the circumstances of his visit?
20. What position did the late Samuel Gompers hold?
21. What names do the middle initials of the following well known men represent: Herbert C. Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, George H. Ruth, Charles A. Lindbergh, Thomas A. Edison.
22. To what position was John L. Lewis elected in 1920?
23. Did President Roosevelt estimate the Deficit to be in the millions or the billions?

the power of his perception that enables you to capture the dimensions—artistic, emotional, spiritual—of the people who stroll through his book. *The Arts* will vie with Van Loon's *Rembrandt van Rijn* as his greatest work.

The Miracle of England

M. Maurois thinks it a miracle that from a few barbaric tribes on an island could come the "masters of one-third of this planet." The author uses "miracle" in the sense of an incredible, surpassing wonder and he has sought to break down English history into its component parts and discover the genesis of empire; in a phrase; "to probe the secret of a destiny as fortunate and impressive as that of ancient Rome."

England's evolution has been slow and persistent. Its graph shows variations, to be sure, but there has been no sharp rise or decline. Conservatism has charted England's course, and M. Maurois points out that Balfour once remarked that it was better to continue something absurd than to be guilty of an innovation, even though wise.

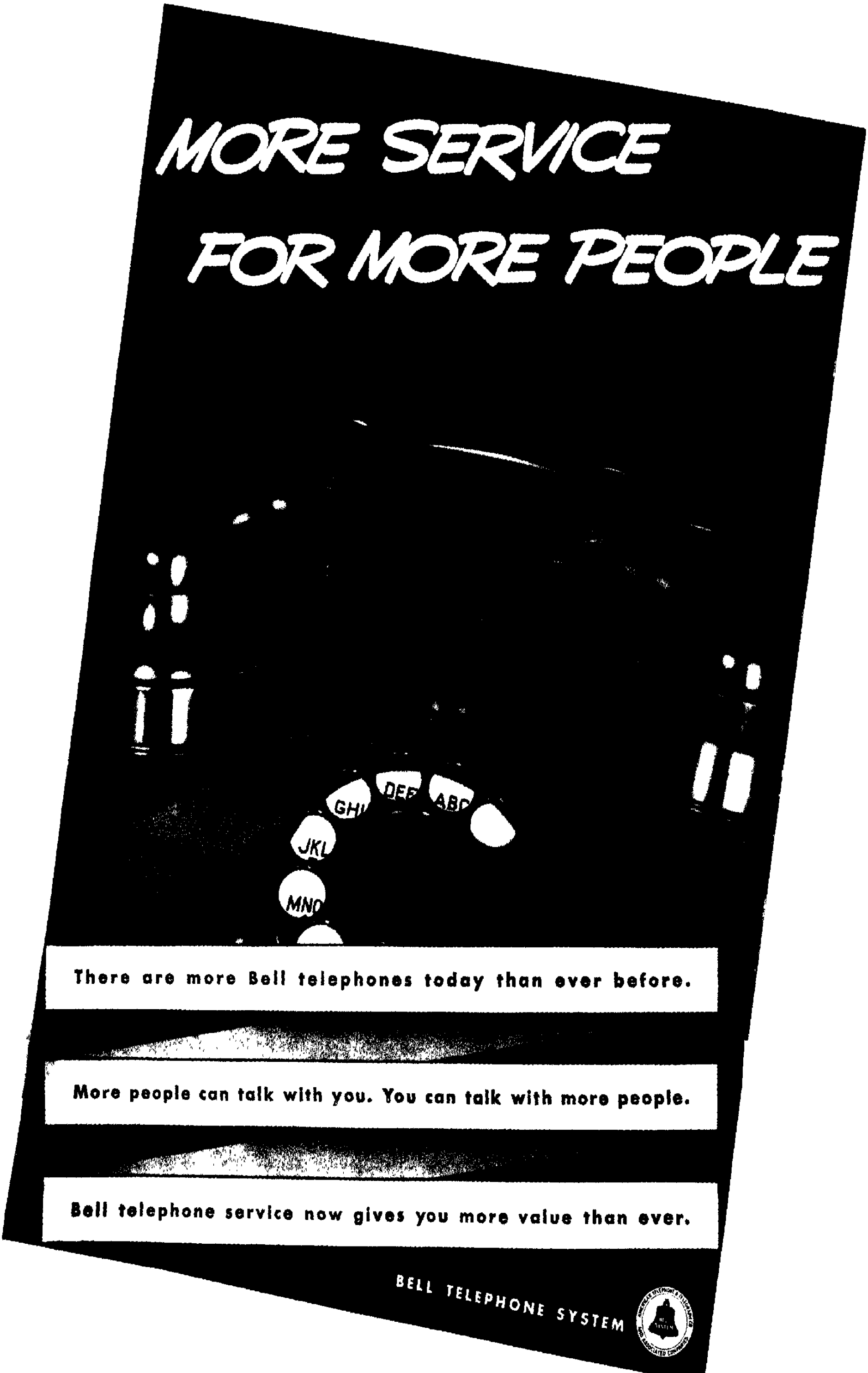
Will the Empire, or even England itself, endure? M. Maurois will make no prediction save that as seems apparent after an analysis of her history: "On sea and land and in the air, England has great armaments; but the strength of her people springs equally from the kindly, disciplined, trusting, and tenacious character molded by a thousand years of happy fortune."

As a fount of information, M. Maurois' history of England adds little that has not already been capably supplied by John Richard Green, Pollard, and Trevelyan—native Englishmen—but his own interpretations and clear, lucid presentation are ample justification for another work on a subject that few historians have been able to resist.

The Ultimate Power

Exposing both Court and Constitution to the full glare of his relentless logic, made even more penetrating by his long experience as a lawyer, the hard-hitting Mr. Ernst believes that American democracy is being frustrated by excesses of jûdicial power. After examining the Constitution and studying the philosophy, purposes, and motives of both the men who made it and those who later interpreted it, he can see no justification for the statement that the Constitution does not provide for social change. It is the interpretation given the document by the

(*Continued on Page 80*)


MORE SERVICE
FOR MORE PEOPLE
There are more Bell telephones today than ever before.
More people can talk with you. You can talk with more people.
Bell telephone service now gives you more value than ever.
BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

And the Result?

EXIT 1937, with little applause and no curtain-calls in prospect. Like most of its predecessors, it satisfied only those who believe in shadow-boxing and mauve-tinted dreams. There were peace conferences a-plenty, but no war was stopped. There was much sympathetic talk about distress, unemployment, and poor business, but very little of constructive value was accomplished.

Not only 1937, but the last twenty years appear destined to go down in history as the great quack era of modern times. While laughing at simple souls for buying patent cough-medicine or complexion preservers, great governments do not hesitate to buy or manufacture unproved remedies for world-wide aches and pains. Our own neutrality splurge provides a vivid illustration of this. So does the non-intervention farce with respect to Spain.

Last winter, President Roosevelt told us that a third of the nation was living below par and that something ought to be done about it. Presto! A Court Revision Plan, sprung from the notion that the submerged third could not be effectively helped without first hobbling our highest tribunal of justice.

Some people found it so hard to see the connection that a six-months' wrangle ensued, with Federal programming stalemated and with the elevation of Mr. Justice Black to the Supreme Bench as the outstanding result.

Meanwhile, the submerged third was left to worry along as best it could. An eleventh-hour or eleventh-month impulse to attempt a belated rescue led to the special session of Congress now in progress, but again the approach seems indirect. The submerged third will be uplifted by farm bills, wage hour-bills, and government reorganization bills, with tax relief for business thrown in for good measure.

Business, you understand, needs to get back some of that "parity" which was taken away from it at the outset to help farmers, laborers, and consumers. The job was apparently overdone, and now it becomes necessary to refill the pocket that was first emptied.

The idea of balancing things by special favors, first to one group and then another, lends drama to our efforts, if nothing else.

Meanwhile, the Federal Treasury continues in the red, with no considerable easing of its load or increase of its revenue in sight. If business is relieved of taxes, the loss must be made up by digging into some other pocket, but *whose* pocket?

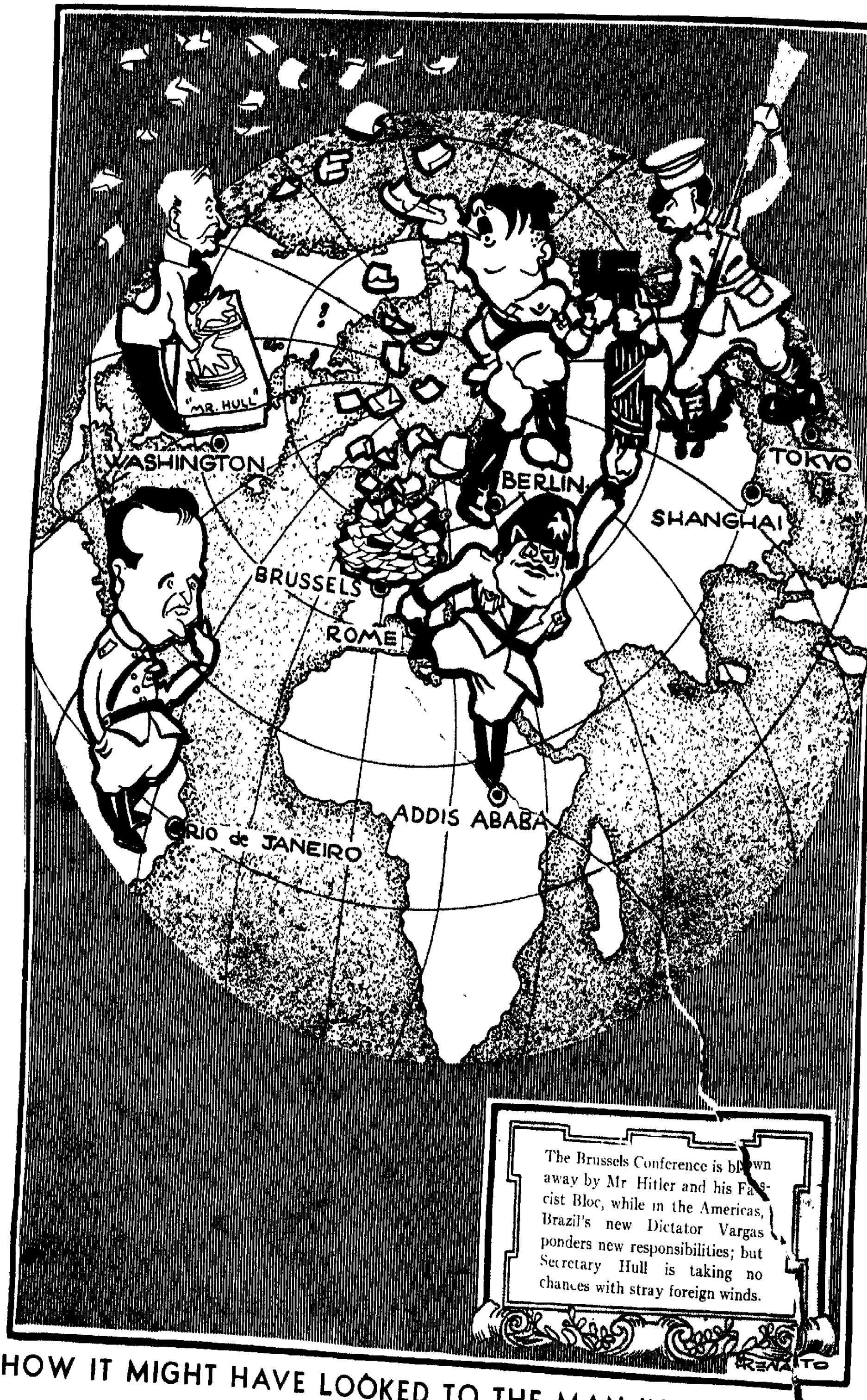
It has been suggested that Federal road aid might be reduced or withdrawn, but how would that help the submerged third? Also, it has been suggested that relief appropriations might be cut, but again how would that help the submerged third?

Passing up the problem of how to balance the budget and dish out favors at the same time, let us consider neutrality, that great safety-first device, by which the United States would stand forth as a shining example of isolation and impartiality. The only way we have been able to deal with the Sino-Japanese situation and keep a straight face is by forgetting to admit that a war exists. Of course, a war *does* exist, but as long as we ignore the fact officially, we do not have to enforce neutrality. Our real attitude is expressed more genuinely by ships bearing freight than by any measure that has been adopted. The measure is there, however, and we can always point to the Italian boycott or the Lytton Report on Manchuria.

Officially, the conquest of Ethiopia was not a war. Neither was the invasion of Manchuria. Officially, the present unpleasantness in China is not war but just an excursion of brotherly love and friendship. Officially, the Nine Power Pact remains in force, though some people are stubborn enough to believe that it has been openly and successfully violated.

Faith in words as superior to action and in romancing as superior to realities has led humanity so far away from fundamental principles that it is no longer considered unusual, much less reprehensible, for a government to repudiate its debts, devalue its money, break its word, or lie about war. It is sufficient if the claim of intent and objective sounds right, but in the face of such a situation, how are we going to make our children believe that virtues like honesty, candor, and conscience mean very much?

M E Tracy



The Brussels Conference is blown away by Mr Hitler and his Fascist Bloc, while in the Americas, Brazil's new Dictator Vargas ponders new responsibilities; but Secretary Hull is taking no chances with stray foreign winds.

HOW IT MIGHT HAVE LOOKED TO THE MAN IN THE MOON

CURRENT HISTORY
JANUARY, 1938

·ISTORY IN THE MAKING

3Y PRODIGAL expenditure from the Federal Treasury on relief and construction work, currency ·preciation, cheap money, and AAA habilitation of farm incomes, the New eal was for a time successful in stimuting a fictitious recovery. In fact, ·nsumer demands were so far exinded in the fall of 1936 that even oosevelt's enemies feared that he had ade good. Not, of course, that those ›stile business men were unappreciae of recovery. In the same way a dry onge soaks up water, business avidly aked up the hundreds of millions of ›llars poured into the stimulation of nsumer demands by the Federal Govnment. However, what maddened isiness was the reform program ented concurrently with the release of ch New Deal billion dollar pumpimer. It was reform that frightened em and was responsible for the rectance they displayed in joining with oosevelt in the sprint back to prosrity.

So it was with perverse rejoicing they ›ted, in the early days of 1937, that e President and his economic adsers were becoming alarmed at the ›ssibilities of a boom in consumer ods and a serious price-inflation. And isiness gladly welcomed the official nouncement of policy shifts to meet imminent economic crisis with cries : "Back to normalcy! Away with ackpot schemes! Let business take ·er!"

With unbecoming alacrity the Adinistration heeded such exhortations id began immediately to abate the ocess of pump-priming; although it is said at the time that Roosevelt mained unshaken in his belief that iatever had been done for recovery id been done with Federal moneys. evertheless in addition to cutting re·f, gelding the PWA and the WPA, e Administration promised a more thodox treatment of budgetary probms, and inaugurated a program to ieck further expansion of bank credit.

Having begun to entrench the New Deal waited expectantly for business to perform the miracle of continuing recovery without Government interference. This miracle business had promised, and it was this miracle that business had no intention of performing not, at least, so long as the Federal Gov-



New York *World-Telegram*

THE EMERGENCY CASE

ernment insisted that business men consider seriously the mild reforms already imposed upon them.

The inevitable happened. If Roosevelt was fooled it was not for long. A business recession following close on the heels of curtailed Federal expenditures in mid-summer demonstrated that his worst fears were true. The President had never discounted the hostility of business to his program of reform, and he had always suspected that certain factions were actively sabotaging recovery. But what he disliked believing was that business had been, and still was engaged, in a prolonged sit-down strike; that business had not only sucked up the moneys poured out of the Federal Treasury, but had ungratefully refused to collaborate in a recovery program that so prominently emphasized a sweeping reformation hostile to their best interests. In effect, the community of business looked upon the undistributed profits tax as a measure of punishment meted out to them by a gang of liberal socialists, and they saw the Securities and Exchange Commission as a deliberate attempt to throttle the free exchange of securities, and they viewed the TVA as a harbinger of socialized utilities. For these reasons and for many others business struck.

With Congress convened in special session, Roosevelt reluctantly took cognizance of this fact. Strategy indicated that he should take the initiative to woo and win the cooperation of those nervous business organizations blocking recovery. To put it more realistically, strategy indicated that the New Deal should retreat en masse. Roosevelt also realized that tactical problems involved only the form and direction of r e t r e a t, while his own immediate concern was to maintain personal prestige and prevent the New Deal retreat from being turned into a rout—for this job the President is peculiarly well adapted. He will not die for an unpopular cause, and he is most happy when leading a multitude, if only to the rear.

Many political observers of differing persuasions have recently attempted to diagram the President's immediate line of retreat. A consensus of these opinions indicate clearly that the New Deal will retreat while fighting innumerable rear guard actions en route. It is agreed by shrewd observers that the underlying reasons for this strategy are something like the following.

President Roosevelt is supposed to believe that the immediate business recession will grow worse before it gets better. Despite his desire to untangle the budget snarl he attributes the disastrous business recession to the cessation of Government spending. Further, he is absolutely convinced that



United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
GETTING IT READY

pump-priming is necessary to stop the downward spiral, although he is determined to force Congress, and those business elements who clamored the loudest for a balanced budget, to take the initiative in asking for money. Such money as will be spent in the future, the President favors shunting into armaments, new railway equipment and building construction.

Most attractive, however, of all moves to stimulate business is the privately financed housing boom that the President has already endorsed. He sees the housing problem as the key solution of many allied industries. Utility magnates have, with the materialization of the housing plan, unofficially pledged their organizations to programs of expansion and modernization that have been long delayed.

To further encourage them the President has made clear his willingness to concede much in their favor on capital gains and undistributed profits tax.

WHILE the Roosevelt retreat moves along the entire front it is a fact that sections of the New Deal forces were able to retire to previously prepared positions. Most outstanding of these is the position assumed in relation to utilities. In this field, at least, an effective truce has been arranged between the forces of government and of business.

Leading negotiator in this truce was Floyd L. Carlisle, head of the Consolidated Edison System and the Niagara-Hudson System that together monopolize the power service of New York State. Following a conference with the President, Mr. Carlisle admitted that in the interests of recovery his companies were prepared to spend $100,-000,000 in a program of expansion. Behind this change of heart was the understanding that such a program would be predicated upon the assumption that the President's housing boom would increase the demand for power service.

As for the TVA bogey man, utility magnates from the South and West have been assured that the Federal Government contemplates no further expansion nor does it contemplate active competition with privately owned companies. The power projects already in operation can serve little more than 10% of the nation's needs and will be considered in the future as yardsticks to insure reasonable rates for the public and establish a fair return on a prudent investment. The rest of the nation, the President is supposed to have assured the utility magnates, could be considered by them as the property of private business.



NEA
YOU'RE INVITED TO COOPERATE, TOO

OSTENSIBLY, the special session of Congress was called to expedite the passage of a farm bill and of a wages and hours bill. Neither has progressed rapidly toward enactment. The farm legislation bogged down on the question of compulsory participation, while the wages and hours bill experienced its greatest difficulty in weathering the assaults of sectional interests again coming into their own on the floors of Congress.

Legislation of wages and hours is predicated on the idea that a minimum wage provision will increase the national purchasing power by raising the wages of the lowest paid groups, and that a maximum hour provision will divide jobs and create work. Industrial surveys indicate that in mining, manufacture and construction some 3,000,-000 workers will be directly affected by such wage and hour provisions. Available data place the greatest number of below-40-cents workers outside of large cities in the Southern States. In comparing the position of common labor in the North with that of the South surveys show that 31.1% of the Northern workers receive less than 40 cents, while the figure is 98.1% in the South.

However, long before the first data were offered in testimony the Southern legislators had characterized the wages and hours bill as a Yankee stratagem calculated to ravage the incipient growth of the long-heralded Southern industry. With sectional clannishness they are hurling every known political sabot into the legislative machinery in an attempt to wreck the bill. And in turn they are stirring up other sectional groups which have been in hibernation since 1933.

It was Mrs. Mary T. Norton of the House Labor Committee who unwittingly exposed the mental condition, not only of herself but of her colleagues when she warned agrarian Congressmen that the proposed farm bill was due for trouble unless they got behind the wages and hours bill. And her apology for making such a threat was candid and revelatory. "Personally," she apologized, "I do not believe in voting in blocs, according to sections, but I am sorry to say that I am in the minority on this point."

And if this is a straw in the wind, all prophesy concerning the future of the present Congress is worthless. For political sectionalism creates, through the medium of barter and sabotage, a future both unpredictable and meaningless.



United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
SEE, HE CAN WALK BY HIMSELF!

WHO KILLED THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE?

THE Brussels Nine-Power Conference, billed before the world as the first fruits of a new era Anglo-American cooperation, proved wo things: China will have to fight er own battle; and, for the time being any rate, Anglo-American cooperaon is a pipe dream. Neither of these cts was unexpected, but the con-



New York Post

THE DOVE OF PEACE

rence served to put the record raight.

On November 12, Japan had blankly fused to cooperate, and Germany as the only willing mediator on the orizon. So the conference drafted a ild resolution, pointing out that the nferees would have to consider what eir common attitude would be and ggesting that Japan was out of step ith the rest of the world. Three days ter the resolution was endorsed by powers; Italy opposed it, and three andinavian nations, fed up with the hole affair, abstained from voting. was only a matter of days before the nference finally dissolved.

On November 13, France hastened e great retreat. It was announced at all movements of arms or amunition or men from French Indohina to bolster the crumbling Chinese efenses were prohibited. There were multaneous and indignant denials at Tokyo had had anything to do ith this step. Imagine the French nbarrassment, then, when Senator enri Bérenger, the chairman of the rench Senate Foreign Affairs Comittee, guilelessly—or perhaps not so uilelessly—announced that the Japnese had threatened to occupy Hainan land and possibly some Indo-Chinese orts should the French fail to impose ich an embargo; he was, he thought, giving away no diplomatic secrets in stating this! The main consolation for the Chinese was that it is a difficult job to transport men or munitions from the French Indo-Chinese railway terminus to the Asiatic battlefront. Nevertheless, Paris' move served to hasten the stampede at Brussels.

Any coroner investigating the causes of the death of the Brussels Conference would examine first the condition of Anglo-American cooperation. It was clear that the English would take no action if the Americans did not. And it was equally clear that the Americans would do nothing if they were not supported by the British.

What the Americans were actually prepared to do will probably be left for Mr. Davis' autobiography. But there are grounds for believing that the Administration sent its delegation over to England ready to go the limit, short of military action. For Japan is on the American doorstep; it is known that Mr. Hull would like to see a stronger front presented to the dictators, and anti-Japanese sentiment in this country is running high.

Be this as it may, it is apparent that Great Britain was not willing to take action against Japan. In short, Mr. Chamberlain's talk about "hands across the sea" and Mr. Eden's expressed willingness to go to the ends of the earth to seek American cooperation were just so much eye-wash. For England has her hands tied in Europe; what is more, she is following a policy of trying to buy off the "have-not" dictators with concessions—and implied promises of loans. And a tip-off comes in a *New York Times* report of December 4, that Great Britain is seeking to appease Japan in order to preserve her commercial interests.

The Brussels Conference saw, in fact, a repetition of the futile attempt at Anglo-American cooperation during the Manchurian episode, which former Secretary of State Stimson has described in his autobiography. That, too, was followed by a visit of a Federation of British Industries delegation to Manchukuo—a visit that was, incidentally, a dismal failure.

Anglo-American cooperation in trade, as exemplified by the virtually concluded commercial agreement, cannot offset the failure in the diplomatic sphere. The one gain is that the condition of any further and effective cooperation is now clear: both nations must agree upon the policy which they are to follow with respect to the world's aggressors. For just at present, the British Government would rather cooperate with Japan than with the United States.



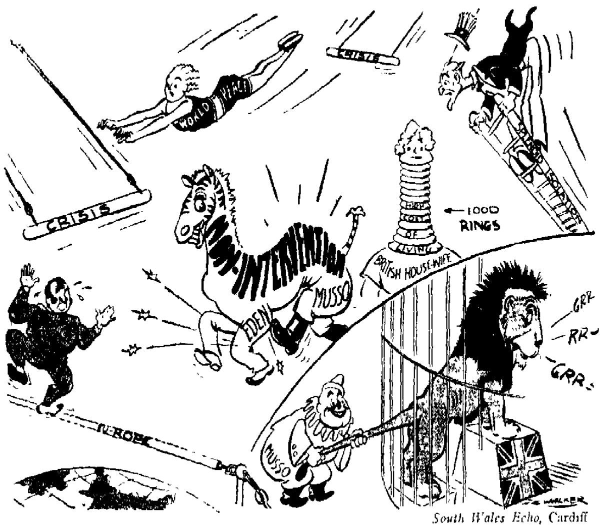
Glasgow Record

THE CHICAGO TOUCH IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

EUROPEAN HORSE-TRADING

NOVEMBER and December have seen an inordinate amount of horse-trading in Europe. Initiating these diplomatic dealings was the November 17 visit of Lord Halifax to Germany, to interview Herr Hitler in his mountain retreat. Following the series of diplomatic rebuffs Germany has administered to Great Britain, this seemed a daring move. But as the British Cabinet must have argued, Lord Halifax, as Viceroy of India, had been able to handle Gandhi, so perhaps he could manage der Fuehrer too.

All official reports of the meeting were naturally shrouded in vagueness. Certain facts, however, are clear. The British Government is anxious to make an agreement with Germany as a prelude to a long-sought "general settlement" which would envisage the Reich returning to some form of political cooperation with other nations, presumably through a mild, if not meaningless, League of Nations, and perhaps to a greater degree of economic cooperation as well. In return for this boon, concessions should be made to Germany's thwarted ambitions.



South Wales Echo, Cardiff
THREE-RING CIRCUS

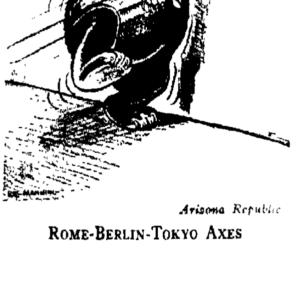
At this point, interpretations of the Halifax visit diverge. The first view is that these concessions will take the form of grants of colonies. The second view is that the British Government would divert the colonial demand by giving Germany a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe.

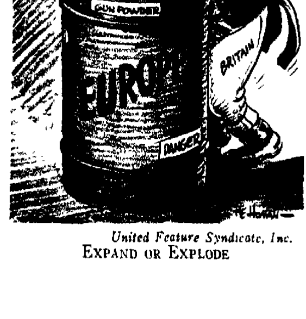
Supporting the first interpretation has been the general discussion of the colonial question in diplomatic statements and in the press, combined with the fact that Messrs. Chautemps and Delbos were apparently not downcast after their visit to London, the latter immediately embarking upon a tour of Poland and the Little Entente.

But the weight of evidence favors the second view. But the chief argument in favor of it is the group who were responsible for Lord Halifax' trip. The project was planned at Clivesden, the country estate of Viscount Astor, the publisher of the London *Times*, which has been noted for its pro-German views. Helping to hatch the plan were the Marquis of Lothian, the English Nicholas Murray Butler, whose professed Liberal views persuade him to make concessions to the "have-not" Germany, and, in the Cabinet, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon, and Viscount Hailsham; these latter are the Hoovers and the Hamilton Fish's of present-day England. The composition of this group suggests that the free hand for Hitler in Eastern Europe was the bargain most likely to be made.

Supporting this thesis were the threatened resignation of Anthony Eden, who has always stood out against this policy, and the reported disaffection of Sir Robert Vansittart, the key man of the British diplomatic service; the strong editorial warning in Eden's organ, the *Yorkshire Post*, presumably lent weight to a view to which he could not persuade the cabinet. Again, immediately after the Halifax visit, Hitler, in his Augsburg address, stated that Germany would not raise the colonial issue for another five or six years. Why this change of front that would so please the English imperial Tories? Was it in return for that free hand, offered in the euphemistic guise of greater democratic rights for the German minority in Czechoslovakia (as suggested to the Czechs by M. Delbos after his London visit) and for the Nazi minority in Austria? The available evidence points to an affirmative answer.

In the meantime, shuffles seem imminent in the British Cabinet. Mr. Eden has been reduced to an impotent minority of one—the most tragic figure in the diplomatic world; his position is scarcely tenable for much longer. Neville Chamberlain is old and is feeling his gout; Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir John Inskip are pressing him for the leadership. The National Government is not so firmly set as its tremendous House majority would suggest.


Arizona Republic
ROME-BERLIN-TOKYO AXES



United Feature Syndicate, Inc.
EXPAND OR EXPLODE



Arizona Republic

Double Features

FRANCE'S KU KLUX KLAN

A GROUP of old ladies, lodgers in a respectable boarding-house in the residential section of the Paris suburb, Auteuil, got the shock of their lives when police informed them that they had been living their humdrum lives on top of what was a lot worse than a volcano. Beneath their home was an underground fortress, complete with concrete walls, secret doors, machine guns, ammunition and explosives, including 15 pounds of cheddite—enough to blow up a whole part of the town, according to the director of the municipal laboratory.

Other police investigations of 450 homes and shops throughout the country brought to light 120,000 rifle and pistol cartridges, 500 machine guns, 65 sub-machine guns, tank and anti-aircraft guns, 17 sawed-off shotguns and 134 rifles, plus explosives. Most of these were of German, Italian, and British manufacture. Most of them were found in caches constructed like pillbox forts.

By November 23 Minister of the Interior Marx Dormoy was able to expose the whole works. He revealed the existence of a complete paramilitary organization, prepared to replace the republic with a monarchistic, dictatorial regime, and planning to march on the Chamber of Deputies via the Paris sewers. The conspiracy was attributed to the "Cagoulards"—the French equivalent of the Ku Klux Klan—and Eugene Deloncle, a banker and naval engineer was arrested as the French "Kleagle." General Edouard-Arthur Duseigneur, a former official of the Air Ministry and head of the "Committee for Defense Against Communism," and Duke Joseph Pozzo di Borgo were also arrested; the latter, once an ally of Colonel de la Rocque, indignantly accused his old Fascist leader of having double-crossed him by disclosing the plot to the police.

None of the candidates for the monarchy, however, wanted anything of the Royalist plot. The finger of suspicion had been pointed at the Duke of Paris; the Swiss Government had seen fit to throw him out of that country, and the first clues of the plot had been picked up by French police on shipments from across the Swiss border. The Duke of Guise, too, had stated two weeks earlier that he would "reconquer" his throne. But both pretenders strongly repudiated the "Cagoulard" outfit.

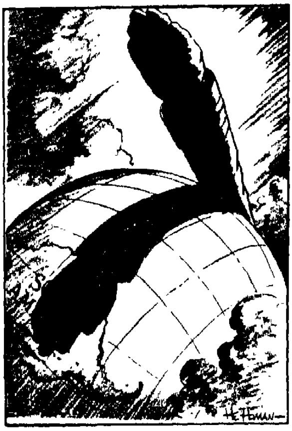
There is no doubt that Germany, if not Italy too, had a hand in the plot. German and Italian arms were involved; they could scarcely have been exported without the knowledge of the authorities in those countries. And M. de Kerillis, the noted journalist, who is far from being an anti-fascist, declared that there was no doubt of the "German hand" in the conspiracy. (See also *They Say*.) The plan of the dictators ostensively was to paralyze France or stir the French left to vigorous measures, arouse the British conservatives with a "red France" scare, and weaken the Anglo-French Entente.

Who are the French members of the "Cagoulards"? On the one hand, apparently the extreme rightist hooligan elements which had been driven underground by the suppression of the armed political organizations. On the other hand, a M. de la Mense, a large textile manufacturer who is close to a set of reactionary capitalists, has been arrested. These affiliations, combined with the police search of many chateaux, point to a Big-Business-"Cagoulard" tie-up.

In the meantime, the "Cagoulards" have served to reknit the wavering ranks of the Popular Front. Radical-Socialists are still sore over the failure of Socialists to withdraw some of their candidates on the second ballot during the October election. And the Socialists, advocating a policy of action, are tired of Premier Chautemps' and Finance Minister Bonnet's prolonged "breathing spell" for business. But the "Cagoulard" scare, of which the Government has undoubtedly been aware for some time, was an opportune method of bringing the dissentients back on the bandwagon—even if most Frenchmen did not take too seriously the prospect of a set of hooded hooligans rising out of manholes to upset the republic.

Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES



United Feature Syndicate, Inc

Hands across the sea—the new shadow over the Americas



Selecta, Havana

A Cuban artist thinks that Roosevelt can spike fascism.

NEW YEAR'S PROSPECTS: The new year opens in Latin America with two large question marks in the international, political and economic situation. One is: Will the Latin American governments that have fallen for the fascist fad tie up with the German-Italo-Japanese partnership? And the second: Will the drive Germany, Italy, and Japan are now making for the Latin-American market succeed in gaining further ground at the rate it has during the past year, and in displacing American and British trade and investments from their strong position in the field?

These two questions are only two sides of one issue—competition for the vast market. For, after all, what the fascist powers want in Latin America is not so much to introduce their political "ideology," as to get a larger, perhaps the largest, share of the Latin-American exportable wealth.

They are spending a great deal of money in converting to fascism newspaper editors and public officials, as well as a great deal of diplomatic effort in political intrigue. In some cases they have attained remarkable results, as the setting up of the Caproni factory for war planes in Peru. They have also made substantial gains in trade in some countries.

But measuring the length of their advance during the past year, they still have a long way to go in order to be able to upset the present status quo in Latin-American economic relations with the rest of the world. The basic machinery by which these relations are carried on remains in American and British hands. And only by waging a successful war can any combination of powers wrest it from them.

No one knows this better than Varges, who has hastened to deny that his November coup was fascist. And Saavedra Lamas of Argentina, who declared the other day that any protection the Latin-American states might need against outside aggression "always would be based on the United States and Great Britain, and Latin America itself." As long as the great "democratic" powers hold control of the monetary resources of the world, Latin-American rulers will swear they are "democratic."

But they will not neglect any opportunity for advantage from the desperate efforts of Germany, Italy, and Japan to find new markets, and they will continue to play up one set of competitors against the other. It is surprising how much a shrewd dictator can do with the fascist bargaining card in his dealings with a "democratic" power. In one case, the foreign minister of a South-American republic secured generous trade and financial concessions from Britain in exchange for the promise to restrict Japanese textile imports to a minimum quota.

SILK-RIBBON PACTS: Of course, the gains made by Germany, Italy and Japan in South America have come as a surprise to many people in the United States who, taking too literally the magnifying editorial comments on the results of the Buenos Aires Conference, thought that the southern continent had been safely tied up to the United States with the silk ribbons of a few treaties.

The only thing the South-American conferees gave the United States on that occasion was a promise to consult with a northern neighbor "in the event of international war outside America." And although there have been two wars and many outbreaks of international anarchy threatening the peace of the world since President Roosevelt paid his memorable call at Buenos Aires about a year ago, no one in this hemisphere has shown any recollection of the given promise.

Even the good neighbors themselves seem to have forgotten the mutual peace professions they made at a conference. The Chaco peace remains an unfinished affair, and Paraguay is still bleeding as a result of a war. Peru and Ecuador do not appear very willing to patch up differences in their boundary dispute. Dominican troops have been killing Haitian good neighbors. Nicaragua and Honduras are said to have concentrated troops along their common frontier following their "postage

stamp" war. And new South-American rivalries are being cooked up by the armament traders who are boosting the bombing planes business throughout the continent.

GERMANY SPURS WASHINGTON: Germany's trade gains in Brazil, where she had outstripped American and British exports, brought about a most significant change in the United States' commercial policy in South America during the past year. Opposing a gold strategy to Germany's barter strategy, the United States granted $60,000,000 gold credit to Brazil to help the Amazonian republic reorganize her banking and monetary structure, and Brazil, in return, undertook measures intended to stop the expansion of German trade.

This means direct action instead of the reciprocity-treaty policy that so far has not given any appreciable results, with the exception of the agreement signed with Cuba.

Possibly we will see more of this aggressive policy in the course of the present year, for the United States was never in greater need of expanding her Latin-American trade than at the present time, when economic nationalism has closed so many markets to American goods in Europe, and Japan is trying to absorb completely Far Eastern trade.

FOREIGNERS, BEWARE: While the great powers compete for ascendancy in the immense Latin-American field, several southern republics, not very sure that to play ball with foreign capital is their best interest, are working in the opposite direction. During the year that has just expired, the policy of nationalization of resources and basic industries, and encouragement of local manufacturing has taken vigorous strides in some sections. This is the most important development in Latin-American economy since the crash, and the policy, if pressed, may furnish quite a few surprises to the foreign interests established there.

Argentina and Mexico lead the movement. Following the nationalization of her oil resources and the establishment of the Yacimientos Petroleros Fiscales, a government-controlled petroleum corporation, Argentina has been restricting more and more the activities of the foreign oil companies still operating there, including the Standard Oil. She has also opened negotiations for nationalizing a meat packing concern, and has taken over a British-owned railway pending its purchase.

In Mexico, the Cárdenas government seeks control over the entire national economy, and government ownership and operation of primary industries. It has already begun the nationalization of the railroad system, it is carrying out a nation-wide land-division program, with elimination of foreign holdings, and it has established a national petroleum administration to compete with private companies.

Chile is planning to organize a government controlled copper industry. A few months ago Bolivia cancelled the Standard Oil's concessions, and confiscated its vast holdings. Colombia has completed plans for the nationalization of its banana industry.

INFANT INDUSTRIES GROW UP: The last few years, since the crash, and particularly 1936 and 1937, have seen in Latin America the most remarkable growth of local manufacturing. Lack of adequate foreign exchange and the deflation of Latin American products abroad stimulated the purchase of foreign machinery during depression years in order to supply the local markets with manufactured goods that could not be imported.

Textile goods, household furnishings, glassware, building materials, even steel goods are being supplied by a thriving industry. Most of the countries in South America grow cotton, and all of them have cotton mills. The most remarkable example in this respect is Brazil. With a population of 47,000,000, it was, up to a few years ago, a great market for the mills of Manchester and Saxony. Today she has a large cotton goods industry with 2,532,342 spindles and 81,158 looms, employing 130,000 workers. Brazil is not only self-supporting as to cotton clothes, but she is exporting textiles to other South American countries and Cuba.

A great variety of home-manufactured steel products, supplied by machine shops and small steel plants in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico, is sold in those markets. Some months ago the Corral smelters near Valdivia turned out, for the first time after years of experimentation, commercial steel produced from Chilean iron materials. Brazil wants to establish a heavy industry.

All this points to a period of less and less Latin-American dependence on the manufacturing industries of the great powers which are fighting for an increased share of that market.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

An American view of Brazil.



El Machete, Mexico, D. F.

A Mexican view of the Vargas dictatorship.



Todo, Mexico, D. F.

A Mexican cartoonist's impression of President Cardenas, who is getting tough with foreign interests

Letters to

SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BY BEN WHITEHURST

The voice of the people is distinctly heard in their messages to Washington, often addressed to the President—messages which disclose all that the people have inside them, their hopes and fears and memories of courage—and their gratitude too. The letters, which pour in every day, reveal how the socially and economically submerged, and others, react to present conditions and especially to the activities of the various agencies of their Government.

CURRENT HISTORY takes pleasure in introducing a new department, which will give its readers a representative collection of letters actually sent to the President each month. These will be selected so as to furnish a fairly accurate composite picture. The letters are unedited; misspellings and mistakes in grammar and punctuation appear as they do in the originals.

Our first letter is from a field investigator for Relief, who goes over the heads of everybody else and reports—interestingly—to no less than the President himself:

Dear Mr President:

I have been earning a living for myself and family working as a field investigator. Yesterday I visited a large Negro co-operative unit, which was started with the assistance of the Federal government. Now, I want to take you on that visit with me.

As we enter, we notice that the place is scrupulously clean. From somewhere comes the odor of freshly baked gingerbread, boiling beans and roasting ham hocks. Somebody mentions sweet potato pie, and there is a shout of approval. In a big sewing room a half-hundred Negro mammies sway and chant spirituals, while some stop sewing long enough to clap their hands in unison with the chant. They are poor; they are badly clothed; many appear in none too good health. But they are all happy; they are unafraid; their morale is untouched.

Presently, a little, bent-with-age man, dressed very much like a vaudeville character of a 'cullud deacon,' mounts a small platform and, in a tone much too large and strong for his frail body, begins to preach. Quickly you suppress your desire to smile at his comic appearance. The Word of God falls from his lips with an earnestness and fervor that bespeaks strong conviction. In my own individual shorthand, I am able to get most of it. Enchanted, I write, as he says:

'This know, also' says Paul, 'that in the last days perilous times shall come, for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, fierce despisers of them that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; from such turn away. In the last days there shall be wars and rumors of war; floods, drought, and famine. These are the words of the Good Book. Are we not justified in asking ourselves, Are these the times of which these words are spoken?'

Plain gospel words, delivered with sincerity and spiritual feeling. There is a lot more of it, just as good.

Suddenly, there is the sound of an old-fashioned dinner bell. There is a stir of uneasiness in the congregation, and briefly the preacher says, 'Let us pray.' The prayer is somewhat shorter than the sermon portended. But then, the kitchen odors are growing stronger and stronger. Men in hard derbies, purple suspenders and red sleeve garters file into the dining hall, along with the women and children—all singing and laughing. It was just another picnic for them.

The Negro groups will bear up—mostly on account of their natural religious tendencies, their strong spiritual background and their recourse to music.

Respectfully submitted,

———.

Next, we have the letter of a young woman—now a housewife, formerly a school teacher—who eloquently voices her resentment against a feature of the relief program, in these words:

Dear President Roosevelt:

Not only my family but most all poor people are being subjected to a series of examinations, at the whim of an unseen bureaucracy. We, the guinea pigs, constituting the lower strata and middle classes of Americans, are being forced to bare our very souls. Almost daily our homes are invaded by strangers equipped with shiny brief bags, stuffed with official blanks, cards of identity, and badges of authority. Once inside the door, and the household properly cowed, official documents are spread out, and father, mother, sons and daughters are subjected to a series of direct personal questions and a vigorous third-degree cross-examination. Mothers and wives are asked to give intimate details of physical ailments hitherto disclosed only in strict confidence to our family physician. If we resist or endeavor to evade, we are subjected to a strong dose of high-pressure salesmanship.

The inquisitorial visits are made during the day; hence it is we mothers and housewives who bear the burden of the attack. With the man of the house out looking for work, the women and children at home are being subjected to a list of questions, shot at us with machine-gun rapidity:

'What is your full name? Where were you born? Age? Your sex? Are you married? Without benefit of clergy? Separated? Divorced? What is your color? Race? Native or foreign born? How many years in school? Are you working? If not, why? If working, how much do you get? What is the total family income? What was your average earnings in 1929?—And in every year since then? Have you used up any savings? Have you borrowed any money? From whom? Received any gifts? Do you owe any money? To whom? What is your physical condition? State in detail the exact nature of your illness. Have you any mental disability?'—and so forth and so on.

Men, broke in fortune and spirit by the rigors of the terrible economic storm, are forced further into the depths of despondency by having their sorry plight thus made a matter of official record.

Only the homes of us, the poor people, are treated to these attacks. Yes, we are made to talk. That is why I, personally, do not condone this whole wretched business. Our poverty is hard enough, but this eternal inquisition is unbearable.

Sincerely yours,

———.

the President

The next is from a fellow-citizen who ate a cat:

Dear Friend:

I was told to write you about my case and you would do something. I went to your work-relief here for some work or food. They turned me down, said I had been out of the state too long, when all the time I was working in the lower part of the state on the roads. When that work was finished I returned here and was unable to find work. So I applied for relief. They told me they would have to check on me. After four days without food, I went to the relief commission, and still got no action. Then I went home and told my wife what we were up against. My wife went around begging and got some food, but I let her have what she got that way. I got so hungry I was forced to do something. So I got my landlord's cat and chopped off its head. I buried the head and then skinned and boiled the cat and ate it. It tasted alright. Next day I got sick, not so much from the cat, I believe, as from thinking about how far I had been driven by hunger.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals called on me. That seemed kind of funny to me.

Please do something.

Yours truly,

———.

But all of the letters are not critical. Please observe:

Dear President Roosevelt:

Please excuse sorry writing as I am poor man and have been sick for 5 years with Rheumatism but able to drag around. I just wanted to thank you for helping me and my family of three little children. Have been blessed by you and the good Lord. I just want to thank you for your help. Thank you and God bless you and family.

Very truly yours,

———.

President F. D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.
Dear sir:

Today my family was fortunate in receiving some of the pork given by the government, and realize that it was through your efforts that this gift was made possible. As we appreciate this gift so much, I would like to personally thank you for same.

I am

Yours respectfully,

———.

The new kind of poor is revealed in this significant paragraph in a letter from Iowa:

I held one position for twenty-one years, in charge of the accounting department of an insurance brokerage office. Due to the firm liquidating, I lost the position. I wandered hither and thither, seeking work, to no avail, my age going against me. We then moved to this small Iowa town, and for two years managed to live on what was left from the past. Then the real fight began. The youngsters were not decently fed and clothed. We were forced to 'go on relief' or see the children starve. That was a black day, a day that was like death in the family. However, other people have had to do it, and we lived through it.

Quaint expressions are used by many letter writers to describe pitiful conditions. Note these brief excerpts from two recent letters:

We have no shoes we soon will be out of close so I will close.

He is uncomfortable all the time, and the only time he has peace is when he is full of dope, and that is all of the time.

The President is called upon for almost all kinds of aid and service. Here are two letters from the White House mail bag:

Our President,
Franklin Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:

I'm sorry that circumstances are in such a state that I've had to ask you for aid.

My husband is working on a project and has been for some weeks. What I want to know is what has he done with his money, for his family certainly doesn't get the good from it. I'd like to know what he has done with every penny of it.

I'm praying to God that this will be answered for me, through you. This morning I asked my husband to get up and build a fire as usual, and his temper got the best of him and he just turned over and hit me. Isn't there something that can be done? I'm patiently waiting that justice will be done.

I am

———.

Penciled in bold, childish letters across the top of the following message, were these words: "FOR THE PRESIDENT AND NOT HIS SECRETARY OR ANY ONE ELSE:"

Dear Mr. President:

My name is ——— and I just wanted to know if there was any way what I could get home. I live at ——— Street, ———, Washington. I am only 15 years old but I look about 17. I am at ———, Kansas now. I wish you would hurry the anser cause my capitale is only 37 cents. I'm one of those boys that thinkes he knows it all and found out different.

Don't ask my mother to send me the Money cause she hasn't got it.

Yours truly,

———.

And now comes the question—Who is responsible for the love life of a sow?—

Dear Pres. Roosevelt:

I am still being pestered about that last check I received from the U. S. Treasury for not raising pigs. Some of my neighbors say I am not honest not to pay the government back. Wife says if I explain to you, you will see my side. I signed up to have no litter of pigs and I done my part. Down on the edge of our hollow here I built a strong pen for the sow to keep her by her self so she would not have pigs. But in spite of all I done she rooted out and I did not know where she went to. She did not come to the house. After I received my check she come up bringing a litter with her. She had got out and gone about her own business unbeknown to me.

Now I do not intend to deceive Uncle Sam as you can see. Wont you please, sir, send me a paper showing I am in the clear so I can show it to everybody and stop all this whispering. As wife says can I be blamed for the secret love life of my sow?

Yours sincerely,

———.

JAPAN'S STAKE IN EMPIRE

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

ONE of the features of Japan's wartime mentality that seems a trifle naive to the foreign observer is the frequent expression of anxious concern as to whether Japan's "real intentions" are properly understood abroad. One foreign visitor, when plied persistently with this familiar question, replied tersely: "I'm afraid they are." Another, more diplomatic and conscious of the almost complete lack of any sense of irony in the Japanese psychology, sent his interlocutor away beaming and satisfied with the following double-edged comment: "I don't think there's the slightest chance of Japan's real intentions being misunderstood now. I'm sure they are understood perfectly everywhere."

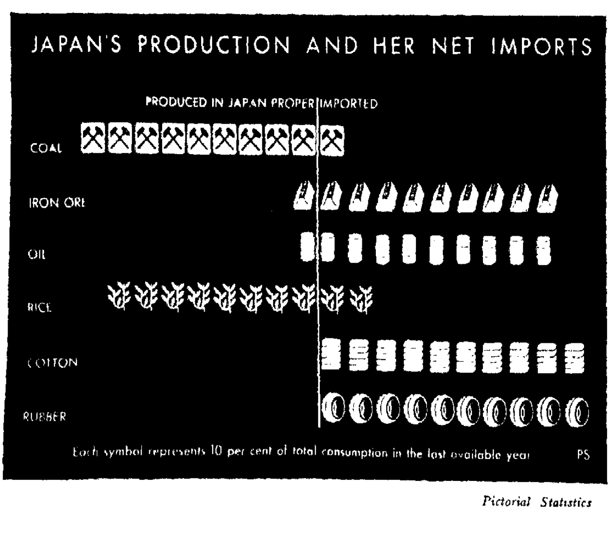
Whatever historians may finally decide about the precise allocation of responsibility for the initial clashes in North China and at Shanghai (the general impression now among neutral observers is that Japan forced the pace in North China, while the Chinese precipitated the fighting on the terrain at Shanghai, so much more favorable to them) there can be no reasonable doubt that Japan proposes to use the present conflict as a means to establish once for all its mastery of East Asia. The most realistic statement of Japan's war aims has been Premier Prince Konoye's declaration that China must be "beaten to its knees."

Japanese repudiations of any desire for territorial acquisitions may be technically accurate, but are essentially meaningless in the face of the object lesson afforded by Manchukuo. Not a foot of Manchuria has been formally annexed to Japan; but the will of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army (the Japanese force in occupation of Manchukuo) is supreme, and every political, economic and diplomatic step taken by Manchukuo is carefully guided by Tokyo.

It is generally assumed here in Japan that, as a result of the present military operations, a large area of North China, the southern boundary of which may be the Yellow River, or the Yangtze, or some line between these two large water arteries, will come under Japanese political tutelage. "Peace maintenance committees," on the approved Manchurian model, have already come into existence, with the blessing of the Japanese military authorities, in Peiping, Tientsin, and other occupied towns. Anti-Japanese newspapers have been suppressed and anti-Japanese books burned.

It is also believed that the military and economic devastation wrought by the Japanese army will completely paralyze any will to resist Japan in that part of China which will not come into direct dependence on Tokyo. The frequently reiterated Japanese demand that the Nanking Government should "drastically change its anti-Japanese attitude" may be construed to mean that the present regime should be replaced by one which is thoroughly subservient to Japan.

Finally, Japan looks forward to a substantial alteration in the status of Shanghai. Before the outbreak of hostilities the Japanese residents, the largest single foreign group in the International Settlement, had been pressing unsuccessfully for a change in the present balance of power in the Shanghai Municipal Council, which consists of five British, two American, five Chinese, and two Japanese members. After the war, in the event of the complete victory which is anticipated here, it is probable that Japan will endeavor to obtain a modification of the status of Shanghai, perhaps along the lines of amalgamating the present foreign and Chinese sections of the city into a free city, in the administration of which Japan will have a considerable voice.



Pictorial Statistics

Japan's Stakes

These are large ambitions; their realization will mean a far-reaching change in the Far Eastern balance of power. But Japan must win substantial prizes in order to justify the large stake which she has already laid on her game of empire. As main items in this stake one may list:

(1) War appropriations which have exceeded the figure of 2,500,000,000 yen (over $700,000,000 at current rates of exchange). This is more than the 200,000,000 yen which was expended on the Sino-Japanese War of

1894–95, and more than the cost of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, which was approximately 1,700,000,000 yen. Such appropriations, coming as a sequel to six unbalanced annual budgets, strengthen the inflationary trend in Japanese finance and foreshadow a lowered standard of living, as a result of diverting such a large part of the national spending into unproductive military channels.

(2) War exigencies have seriously crippled, for the time being at least, the expanding international trade on which Japan relied to cope with her growing population. The Chinese market, of course, is gone for the duration of hostilities. The ubiquitous Chinese traders and middlemen in the Philippines, Dutch East Indies, Siam, Straits Settlements, and other countries of southeastern Asia are striking peaceful blows for their country by boycotting Japanese goods. Moreover, many of the ships and factories which normally earn foreign exchange to help balance Japan's international payments are now carrying troops and supplies or turning out war products. And a considerable amount of trading good-will in many parts of the world will be lost by the stringent curtailment of imports which has just gone into effect with a view to conserving Japan's reserves of gold and foreign exchange. Commercial reprisals may be foreseen in some cases.

(3) Besides concrete economic sacrifices the war has imposed on Japan more indefinable political risks. Relations with Great Britain, the power with the largest economic interest in China, have inevitably become more strained and were further aggravated by the accidental wounding of the British Ambassador in China, Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen, by a machine-gun bullet fired from a Japanese airplane. The chances of an ultimate clash with the Soviet Union have increased.

There are several reasons why these losses and risks have been discounted and taken. First of all, Japan's policy of continental expansion, which set in with the seizure of Manchuria, had to advance or to retreat.* Stabilization was impossible. China was unwilling to recognize the existence of Manchukuo, much less to concede the Japanese claim for a special and preferential status for Japanese interests in North China. There had been a marked growth of national unity in China during the last years and an equally unmistakable growth of anti-Japanese



Japan and her spheres of influence are shown in solid color. Areas which have felt the military might of Nippon are indicated in shaded color.

feeling. One of the latest manifestations of these two developments was the cessation of the civil war between the Nanking Government and the Communists early in 1937, on the basis of a renunciation by the Communists of an extremist revolutionary programme, aiming at the overthrow of the Nanking Government, on the understanding that the latter would take a strong stand against Japanese encroachment. Efforts to obtain Japan's economic objectives peacefully during the tenure of office of a comparatively conciliatory Foreign Minister, Mr. Naotake Sato, during the spring of 1937 had ended in a fiasco.

In view of these circumstances, the clash at Lukowkiao seemed to the Japanese military leaders as good an occasion as any to force on China a complete capitulation in the North or, failing this, to deliver a smashing blow to China's military and economic power.

Inside Japan

Recent internal conditions in Japan may have also influenced the attitude of the Japanese military leaders. The Army during the last year had been losing popularity as a result of the growing burdens which were connected with its long-term plans of armament expansion. Higher prices and higher taxes had led to a marked increase in the number of strikes and to a good deal of grumbling, some of which found expression at the sessions of the Diet early in the year. The veteran deputy Yukio Ozaki, one of Japan's few consistent liberals and anti-militarists, delivered more than one strongly worded criticism of the Army's interference with foreign and internal politics before the Diet. The moderate socialist Social Mass Party had doubled its representation at the last Diet election in April, 1937.

Now in Japan, even more than in most countries, the transformation from peace to actual, if undeclared, war can be counted on to effect a magical change in popular psychology. Public criticism of the Army vanished overnight. War credits were voted unanimously by the Diet. The Social Mass Party unreservedly endorsed the Government's policy in China. The armed forces became the first object of popular admiration. While there is no basis for suggesting that the war was provoked for the purpose of diverting attention from internal discontent, it has unmistakably up to the present time had that effect. Given a reason-

ably quick and not too dearly bought victory, the Army leaders may well hope that the glamour of triumph on the battlefield will reconcile the masses to additional burdens and that the very necessities of the war will pave the way for the permanent introduction of the system of military state socialism in which young Army radicals see the solution for Japan's economic difficulties. The requirements of war-time economy have already led to the adoption of two measures which greatly extend the sphere of state control over trade and industry. The Government has assumed dictatorial powers over foreign trade, completely forbidding some imports, limiting others, and also closely regulating exports. Another law makes it necessary for any new company with a capitalization of more than 100,000 yen to obtain an official permit before it can begin operations. Existing companies must obtain similar permits for any enlargement of capitalization. The purpose of this legislation is to direct all investment into channels conducive to the prosecution of the war.

Prospects for Success

What are the prospects that Japan's imperialistic venture will succeed? Three months of actual fighting have discredited extravagant expectations on both sides of the front.

In appraising the course of the war one must appraise not only the results of the first campaigns, but the reserve forces at the disposal of the two countries. So far as Japan is concerned there would seem to be nothing that would obstruct the steady flow of troops and supplies into China. There is absolutely no articulate opposition to the war. In munitions, although not in raw materials, Japan is self-sufficient; and this is also essentially true as regards food. Japan's domestic production of foodstuffs is valued at over two and a half billion yen annually. Imported foodstuffs in 1936 amounted to 180,000,000 yen, while food exports were estimated at 80,500,000 yen. If one considers that the food imports consisted largely of luxuries, or at least comforts, mainly consumed by foreigners or well-to-do Japanese, it would seem that the Japanese masses provided that a reasonably equitable distribution of purchasing power is maintained, can be fed at their accustomed standard of living without any drain on the country's stock of gold.

Financially, to be sure, Japan is poorly provided for a long war. The country's gold reserve, never large, has been substantially depleted by large shipments of the yellow metal abroad during the first half of the year. These were made with a view to counteracting the effect of an unusually heavy unfavorable balance of trade and maintaining the yen at the value which it has retained for several years of one shilling twopence.

Japan now has approximately 400,000,000 dollars in gold. The greater part of this sum is earmarked as a reserve for note issue; and Japan's leaders would not wish to see the stock of gold on hand fall much below the 400,000,000 dollar figure because of the necessity for being prepared for some possible more serious conflict than the war with China. However, it is doubtful whether Japan will feel a serious financial pinch for several months, because the seasonal trend of international trade begins to be favorable to Japan in the autumn and optimists here hope that 200,000,000 yen will be saved as a result of ruthless curtailment of "unnecessary" imports, from moving-picture films to razor blades and from American toothpaste and cosmetics to foreign artists.



Glasgow Record

THE MIKADO

My object all sublime
Has changed in course of time;
The punishment now precedes the crime;
It now precedes the crime!—Revised version.

While a gradual sinking of living standards, especially for the more well-to-do classes, is in prospect, there is no present indication of any such sharp deprivations as would cause widespread popular discontent with the war. The fanatical nationalism which assumes many features of religion in Japan and is closely bound up with the cult of Emperor-worship offers another assurance that war morale will not break down, except under the impact of some stunning catastrophe, which could not be concealed or glossed over. As yet there has been no indication that the war with the technically inferior Chinese troops will lead to any such catastrophe.

China's Critical Position

China, because of its military inferiority, is in some respects in a more critical position than Japan. The financial outlook is precarious, with most of the customs revenue, the largest and most reliable source of state income, cut off, as a result of military operations which have reduced China's foreign trade to a fraction of its former value.

Still more serious is the outlook as regards replacements of munitions, oil and other military supplies. Some supplies are apparently still reaching China through Hong Kong. But fierce Japanese bombing attacks on the Canton-Hankow Railway, the only means of conveying supplies to the fronts in North and Central China seem to make any regular organization of supplies impossible.

How much help China is receiving or will receive from the Soviet Union is a matter of pure speculation. The Soviet Union is one of the most secretive of countries both in foreign and in internal policy. Any supplies it might send to China would be over remote desert caravan routes without foreign witnesses. The swift Japanese thrust along the Peiping-Suiyuan Railway, which carried the Japanese troops into the mountain passes of Northern Shansi, was partly designed to cut off the Soviet Union from China. The most direct route from Ulan Bator, capital of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia, to China, through Kalgan, is already cut off. Any shipments from Russia would therefore have to proceed by roundabout desert routes, exposed to the danger of Japanese air bombing.

So far Chinese national unity has stood up well under the test of war. There have been no open cases of disaffection on the part of provincial warlords, although the Japanese have been maneuvering for the neutrality of the governor of Shantung, Han Fu-chu, whose province lies directly athwart the Japanese line of advance to the south. In contrast to other Chinese ports, Tsingtao, the main outlet of Shantung Province, has been neither blockaded nor bombed. Apparently the Japanese up to the present time have hoped to avoid serious fighting in Shantung, with probable incidental destruction of much of the large Japanese property interests there and to persuade Han Fu-chu to accept the new Japanese order in North China. Whether these hopes

were fulfilled will no doubt be known when this article is published.

Weighing dispassionately the relative military, naval, and economic strength of the two countries, there seems little doubt that China, barring foreign intervention or military aid on an unexpectedly large scale from abroad, is almost certain to break down first in open field operations with large bodies of troops because of the manifold disadvantages which have been outlined above. The course of hostilities indicates that Japan by the end of the year, if not sooner, will most probably succeed in driving the regular Chinese Central Government armies out of the five provinces, Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shantung and Shansi, which are usually regarded as constituting North China.

Military Success Is Not Enough

Japan's problems, however, will not end with this military success. It will still be necessary to pacify and administer an area of almost 400,000 square miles, inhabited by some 75,000,000 people. Manchukuo, much smaller in area and with less than half the population of North China, still requires a Japanese army of occupation, the strength of which had been gradually rising, even before the recent hostilities began, and was generally estimated at about 100,000 men. The extra expenses lumped under the heading "Manchurian Incident" have represented a constant annual drain averaging over 200,000,000 yen in the Japanese budget.

Hope is sometimes expressed here that North China will not require such thorough-going occupation as Manchuria. The basis for this expectation seems rather slender. There seems to be as much reason to expect political banditism in North China as in Manchukuo, where it is still far from extinguished; it will most probably be kept alive by agents and raids from those parts of China which remain unsubdued.

The economic resources of North China are being depicted in alluring colors to the Japanese public. The province of Shansi does contain the richest single deposit of coal in China, with reserves estimated at about 127,000,000,000 tons. The only substantial iron deposits, in the Lungyen region of Chahar Province, northeast of Peiping, are reckoned at only 90,000,000 tons. So there is little prospect for the development of a permanent large-scale heavy industry, based on a combination of coal and iron. Sections of Hopei and Shantung are well adapted to cotton cultivation; and Japan hopes to reduce its dependence on America and British India by promoting more extensive cotton plantations. Industrial salts are also to be found in North China. On the other hand, the region reveals no signs of oil or gold and is, of course, too cold for the development of rubber and the various tropical products which Japan needs. Much of it is a barren waste of desert and arid land, supporting a thin population of Mongols with their flocks and herds. The settled portions are far too crowded to offer any prospect for Japanese immigration and agricultural settlement.

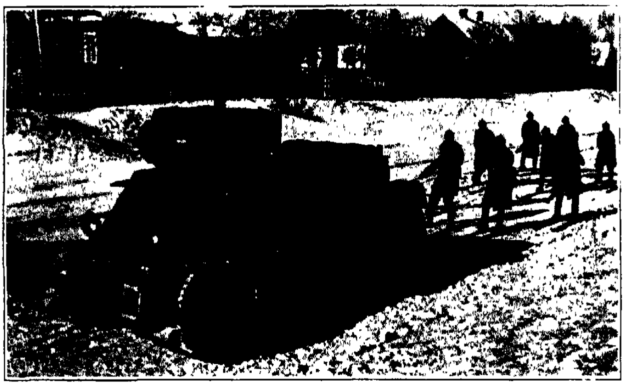
It is also a question whether Japan, saddled with heavy war expenditures and with the additional costs of developing Manchukuo, will find the capital for profitable exploitation of such natural wealth as North China does possess. Already there is some slowing down of the pace of new construction in Manchukuo because of the primary need of capital for war purposes. How much will be available for peaceful reconstruction is problematical.

Saving Those Faces

But Japan's forward thrust on the Asiatic continent cannot be either justified or explained on purely economic grounds. The question of prestige plays an important part. Confronted with evidence of increasing firmness, unity, and hostility on the part of a China that was pushing forward its development along modern economic lines, Japan felt that its ultimate political and economic interests in East Asia demanded strong action, even at the cost of heavy immediate sacrifices. And, once hostilities had begun on a large scale, once it was evident that China would not capitulate after merely face-saving gestures of resistance, the logic of the situation, to the Japanese military mind, called for as complete a smashing of China's newly formed military machine as possible.

The ultimate issue of Japan's stake in empire is still uncertain. But Far Eastern equilibrium has been upset beyond hope of restoration. There can be no restoration of the status quo either in North China or in Shanghai. In an extreme case it is conceivable that the war, in sporadic guerrilla form, may drag on for years, with large sections of western and northwestern China gravitating toward the Soviet orbit as a result of arms shipments, and Japanese puppet regimes established in those regions which are more accessible to the Japanese arms. China may thus be forced into the role of a second Spain.

However distasteful the prospect may be to outsiders who wish to go about their normal business, there seems every likelihood that President Roosevelt's phrase, "an awful mess," will characterise the Sino-Japanese situation for a long time to come. For years the shadow of a major war between Japan and China has been hanging over the Far East. The outbreak of such a conflict was so often threatened and so often averted, because each side seemed to shrink from its full implications, that optimists had begun to believe it would never occur. Now it is here; and present indications are that, as between China and Japan, it will prove much easier to start war than to conclude peace.



Sovfoto

RED RAIDERS: *How much help China is receiving from the Soviet is not definitely known. Modernized Russian war equipment, such as special tanks which can tow large numbers of ski-soldiers, could play an effective part in transporting men or materials to the war front.*

POST-MORTEM ON AN "INCIDENT"

An analysis of Japan's excuse for the invasion of Shanghai

By

ANDREW TOLSTOY

IT IS amazing that Japan succeeded in persuading the whole world that she was drawn into the battle of Shanghai unprepared and against her will and that the hostilities were the outcome of the shooting affray at Hungjao airport. Let us review the events of this memorable week of August 9th and see if it is so.

On August 9 a Japanese squadron composed of the cruiser *Yaeyama*, the destroyers *Kuri* and *Tsuga*, and the gunboats *Atami*, *Tutami*, *Hozu*, *Hira*, *Kataka*, *Seta*, and *Toba* dropped anchor at Shanghai. These warships completed the evacuation of Japanese concessions in Gantze river ports and were to proceed to Japan after taking aboard civilian residents wishing to leave Shanghai. The famous incident occurred when these warships were already in the harbor. Two members of the Japanese landing party (this term is applied to the permanent Japanese garrison at Shanghai), Sub-Lieutenant Isao Ohyama and Seaman Tozo Saito, trying to force their way to the Hungjao airdrome, shot the Chinese guard at the gate and were in turn killed by the Peace Preservation Corps men at 5:30 p.m. on Monday, August 9. Japanese authorities were immediately notified and the joint investigation committee composed of Chinese and Japanese reached the scene of the shooting at 1 a.m. on Tuesday, August 10. The Japanese strategy was to reject each and every statement made by the Chinese and to stick to their own theory, regardless of the evidence. The lengthy investigation lasted until 7 p.m. and did not reach any conclusion. The Japanese claimed at first that their men were not armed (despite the fact that they were in uniforms!), but when the Chinese authorities produced the Japanese service revolver of .32 calibre, found near the body of a killed officer, they changed their statement, explained that the men were on duty inspecting Japanese-owned factories two miles away. How they could be on duty and in uniform and yet be disarmed was not explained. The Japanese insisted that the guard was killed by rifle shots of the Chinese; this was refuted by the autopsy performed by Judicial Medical Laboratory, which established that death was caused by .32 calibre revolver bullets. These are merely details illustrating the Japanese attitude during the investigation.

The most important point is that Hungjao airport is located far beyond the so-called extension roads (under nominal jurisdiction of the International Settlement), and admission thereto is in the entire discretion of Chinese authorities. At a time when open warfare in the North was in progress and the tension between Chinese and Japanese was near a breaking point, necessitating the unprecedented evacuation of Japanese inland concessions, the appearance of Japanese naval men in uniforms at the gate of an airdrome could not possibly have had other results than what took place. Of this the Japanese were fully aware, and if it were not a deliberate provocation, it must have been inexcusable foolhardiness on their part.

Warships Arrive

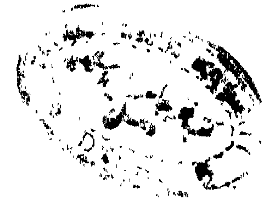
On Wednesday, August 11, the warships that arrived on the previous Monday did not leave for Japan; and instead of being evacuated, Japanese civilians were mobilized into a semi-military organization and armed. In the early afternoon of August 11, while the negotiations were still pending, ten Japanese warships came into port bearing 3,000 marines, large quantities of ammunition, food and supplies. This squadron, composed of the cruisers *Kinu*, *Natori*, *Sendal*, and *Ture* and six destroyers, arrived from Sasebo, 502 miles away. If we allow only twelve hours for necessary preparations and 16 hours sailing at maximum speed (460 miles in open sea at 33 knots and 42 miles up-stream in the river at 20 knots) it will mean that these ships were ordered to Shanghai not later than 10 a.m. on August 10—while the investigation commission was still only gathering evidence. This short time is barely enough to establish an alibi, but not a very convincing one!

Simultaneously with the arrival of these warships, augmenting the Japanese forces to 25 warships and 5,000 marines, the Japanese consul general, S. Okamato, acting on instructions from Tokyo, demanded the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps from the vicinity of Shanghai and the demolition of Chinese defense works. The demand for the withdrawal of the Chinese gendarmerie from Chinese soil was obviously illogical, unwarranted, and unacceptable to the Chinese. By nightfall, six more Japanese warships appeared in the harbor: the destroyers *Asago*, *Ariake*, *Fuyo*, *Hasu*, and *Kurukaya* and the transport *Shiretoko*. Early in the morning of August 12 the Japanese, besides erecting sand-bag barricades, started to clear a site for an airport in Gantzepoo. That the armed Japanese and Chinese, facing each other across the barricades, were bound to clash and ignite the whole Shanghai front was beyond any doubt. It was within the power of the Japanese to avert this clash by speeding up the evacuation. When four Japanese seamen were killed in Tsingtoo and when landing of troops there for some reason did not suit their plans, they evacuated all civilians, shut down their factories, closed the consulate, and withdrew their marines and warships without a single shot. They fully realized that the preparations for "self-defense" would infuriate and provoke the Chinese. The fighting broke out on August 13.

A Revealing Flaw

However, even the most "perfect crimes" have usually a flaw, and a little detail which escaped notice may become very significant and revealing. On August 12 the funeral of Sub-Lieutenant I. Ohyama and Seaman T. Saito took place in Shanghai. These men, it was announced, received posthumously the ranks of Lieutenant and Warrant Officer respectively. Why did these two men, who at the very best committed a foolhardy and reckless act, disturbing the peace, suddenly become heroes rewarded with special honors? The answer is obvious: they rendered a distinguished service to their country. If we are to believe that the Hungjao incident alone was responsible for the outbreak of hostilities in Shanghai and that it was not a part of a well-conceived plan of campaign against China, then we must also believe that the Japanese attack on Shanghai on January 29, 1932, which occurred during the warfare in the North and preceded the invasion of Jehol, was also a coincidence.

WISE MAN'S BURDEN



By JOSEPH JASTROW

"There Are Those Who Sink, Those Who Float, and Those Who Swim . . . Every Swimmer Supports Some Fraction of a Submergee . . ."

WHO maintains civilization? Who keeps the elaborate, sophisticated, motley, questionable, yet withal progressive and redeemable affair going, so far as footing the bills? What proportions are contributors to and what dependents upon the budget of upkeep? What still larger numbers of the toiling population do no more than subsist on their earnings, neither supporting others nor themselves supported? Specifically, of what sorts and conditions is the burden portion of humanity, maintained by the contributions of their fellow-men?

Nature makes both the competent and incompetent, with a bias favoring a low-brow standard. Competence derives from chromosomes; that basic fact sets the limit to educational and legislative measures and likewise shapes their problems. A grossly wrong chromosomic choice for leadership may wreck a nation—has done so, is doing so. Civilization was created by the best minds and maintained by proficient ones. Under the title, *The Skyline of Humanity* (*Esquire*, January, 1937), I projected a graph of the distribution of *proficiency*. That inquiry emphasized the momentous differences of ability among the competent; that "the mere upkeep of our present complicated culture must depend upon a very trifling percentage of the population." (James Harvey Robinson) A saving remnant maintains civilization; the rest, competently though they do their bit, are but worthy camp-followers.

The present survey concerns *deficiency*, the drag on cultural and economic welfare constituted by the unfit, the incapacitated, the indigent, the socially hostile or inadequate. A preview reveals a situation obvious and ominous. The burden of support of the incompetent and incapacitated falls upon the better endowed and circumstanced minority, and will ever do so. The proficient must carry the deficient. The great masses can do no more than shift for themselves—at least not until a new deal gives way to a newer deal.

We all begin, and most of us end as dependents. Education is set toward preparation for such competence as lies within the power of each to attain for the mature span of life. The inequalities of mankind that have gone far to shape the course of history are both inherent and adventitious; some must be, and others should not be. In the process of inquiring what fraction of an unsolicited dependent each contributor to the budget has wished upon him by the present dispensation, we may learn much that is interesting, if depressing, concerning our disqualified fellow-humans.

Competence is an acceptable general term for the ability to hold one's own in adjustment to the environment, with all its fair and unfair competition. There are specific aspects of competency: economic, intellectual, social and, conditioning them all, biological competence, which is nature's primary concern. Nature counted upon a fierce struggle for existence to weed out the weak. Primitive people followed the same principle. Under the humanitarian code, many are born unfit to cope with the exactions of competitive civilized life, but are maintained by a sentiment that finds its justification elsewhere. Constitutionally unable to make the grade, the weak become a burden upon the strong. Removed from the active scene, seamy institutionalized humanity is not usually in evidence. If every metropolis segregated its dismal City of Deficiency, as does in part the social geography of New York harbor—presenting for the contemplation of the wage-earners of Manhattan a panorama of incompetents assembled on a chain of lesser islands—the burden-bearers would be more cognizant of their burden. Detention-camps of ostracized fellow-citizens are duplicated a thousand-fold throughout the length and breadth of the land.

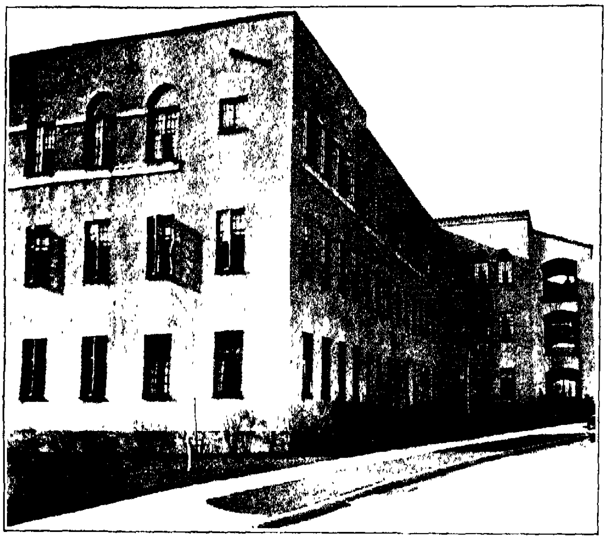
The Personnel of Incompetence

In economic water, there are those who sink, those who float, and those who swim. As the submerged are not allowed to drown, every swimmer supports some fraction of a submergee; the floater population far exceeds the other groups.

The significant inquiry focuses upon the personnel of the debtor class. The submerged—tabulated as economic deficits—are the mental defectives by chromosomes or circumstances, the victims of neurotic disability, bowled over by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, the physically handicapped, the criminals (who require separate consideration); and in numbers towering far above all the other liabilities combined—the unfortunate poor, still to be described in Voltaire's terms, as suffering from nothing more serious than poverty.

Incompetent on all counts are those who lack the neuro-psychic equipment for the citizen's life—the *mentally deficient*. The introduction thirty years ago of the concept of "mental age" in developing children—expressed also as an Intelligence Quotient (I. Q.), with 100 as standard—provided a rough means of grading mental defect. The idiot of the older classification proved to have a mental age of 2 to 4 years, and an I. Q. of 20 or

less, the imbecile, a mental age of 4 to 7 years and an I. Q. of 20 to 50. On this basis, about 4 in every 1000 were classed as mentally deficient. These form a permanent charge upon the social order, whether cared for in institutions or in communities The hope of the race lies in the gradual elimination of the hopelessly deficient With the introduction by Dr. Goddard (1911) of the indispensable word "moron" for the high-grade mental defective, the proper perspective of the problem appeared Morons have a mental age of 8 to 12 years, an I Q. of 50 to 70 Above that are the *subnormal* dullards found in all schools, grading up to 90, where 100 is the norm. Intelligence-tests enter into a diagnosis, but do not complete it A very low I. Q has a significance in itself, but a greater one as an index of the social criterion of incapacity to "manage their own affairs or of competing on equal terms with their fellows"—and of requiring special supervision.



International

SANCTUARY *This asylum at Orangeburg, New York, is but one of many supported by the State. Approximately 70,000 mental defectives are cared for in New York's hospitals and institutions. In the entire country, the insane population equals in number the students attending the nation's 175 colleges with an attendance of 1000 or more.*

The Moronic Population

One must be circumspect in considering alike the social menace and the economic burden of the moron in our midst. By decree of nature, the moronic population is large. There are low-grade and high-grade morons, "good" morons and "bad" morons; morons with neglected training, a burden and a threat to the community, and morons trained to perform simple routine tasks and become partly self-supporting. In terms of frequency, for one idiot there are two imbeciles, and four morons. If the lower moronic grade be included, at least 1 per cent of the population is mentally defective, in the clinical-social sense that they cannot "manage their affairs with ordinary prudence," and are likely to get into all sorts of trouble in a none too scrupulous world. Most of them would perish unless guided and supported by others.

How many we list as morons depends upon how low-grade a mentality we adopt for the upper limit, where the border zone of dull normals begins. The inadequacy of the moron is gauged by the environment; unfit for one job, he may pass for another. As Binet, father of tests, said of some of his "inferiors," they were feeble-minded in Paris, but normal in their village homes If every child in the schools who rated I. Q. 70 or below were called a moron, there would be throngs of protesting parents. An I. Q. of below 70 is suspect; when social and behavior deficits are also present, the diagnosis of moron is warranted.

I cite from a letter from Dr. Doll that "one may make the general statement that at least 1 per cent of the *total population* is mentally deficient within conservative definitions and standards. . . . This estimate of 1 per cent is the same as that found in the U. S. Army for men rejected for military duty because of mental deficiency. It is also confirmed by the very careful survey by the Wood Committee (England)." Dr. Doll continues: "The low-grade feeble-minded are completely dependent. In the case of the high-grade, well-adjusted feeble-minded, a comparatively small amount of supervision and welfare aid is sufficient to enable them to get along. While, under these conditions, the feeble-minded still are never really desirable members of society, they at least are not an active menace to society, *except as they reproduce their kind.*" I add the italics; many would print the reservation in black-face type, so dire is this peril. What makes it worse is that dullards on the border-zone of moronity, who far outnumber the morons, carry the same menace. Hence the dismal warning of Professor Hooton in *Apes, Men and Morons:* "Society faces the immediate prospect of domination by quick-breeding dullards, led by cunning psychopaths."

We shall ever face the problem of making low-grade mentality safe for democracy. Morons there are, and morons must live. The crux of the question is whether society shall decree that morons shall not pass on their defect. Some thirty States have enacted sterilization laws, which, if properly enforced, will at least check the survival of the unfittest. The indiscriminate importation of low-grade population is an equal menace. The slums as a convergence of low-grade heredity and environment contribute heavily to moronity, crime, and dependency

The Mentally Disordered

A stupendous bill, which able-minded citizens pay, is for the care of the incapacitated by mental disorder, popularly called the insane. Statistics of insanity in the several States cannot be accepted at their face value; a low rate presumably indicates inadequate provision. A fairer picture is presented by selecting a State such as New York, in which reliable statistics are available, through the efforts of Dr Horatio M. Pollock. According to him: "Mental Disease creates by far the greatest institutional problem with which the State or nation must deal. . . . In New York State on June 30, 1936, there were 68,218 resi-

dent patients under treatment in Mental Hospitals."

If New York may be accepted as a 10 per cent sample of the United States, the total "insane" population in public institutions, including for good measure the private mental hospitals which shelter 2½ per cent, would number about 700,000 souls—in the most sadly deteriorated cases bodies from which the soul has departed. Only 400,000 are reported as in institutions. How many more are cared for at home is unknown. The insane equal in number the student population of the 175 universities and colleges of the land with an attendance of 1000 or more. These figures offer text and sermon in one.

The oft-cited statement is true but misleading that the beds provided for "mental" cases far exceed the total for all other illnesses combined. Though it does not affect the bill for mental disorder, it must be noted that the average hospital sojourn of mental patients is from two to five *years*, while that of "general" patients is from two to five *weeks*. The "beds" in mental hospitals are long occupied by the *same* patients, while those in general hospitals are constantly shifting their occupants. It would be fairer to count occupants than beds.

To obtain the total picture of incapacity through mental disorder, we must remember that mild and transitory psychoses are commonly treated at home under the general heading of "nervous breakdown"—a term which properly refers to the functional psycho-neuroses, which usually run their course of defeat and recovery leaving scars. In the aggregate, they cause incapacity, loss of earning power, and profound and exhausting misery, greater even than the true psychoses. They are specifically the maladies of civilization; civilization both makes the ills and pays the bills. All in all, by far the greatest "natural" liability is loss of sanity. Ninety per cent of those who at one age or another, through one cause and another, become victims of mental disorder were, until so afflicted, normal; yet 60 per cent are described as of temperamentally abnormal make-up. Dr. Pollock has calculated an "expectation" of insanity. It appears that one person in 22 in New York State, and one in 18 for New York City, may be expected to develop mental disorder at some time in life—though not for life. This is the *average* expectation, as unequally distributed as the expectation of life, which varies from family to family, class to class, race to race. The most desirable citizenry is one with a high sanity, a low expectation rate of insanity. The fear has been generally expressed that we are drifting into, even encouraging a high "expectation" and an increasing one. (See Fig. I.)

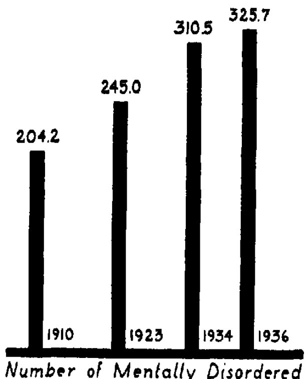


FIG. I. *It has been predicted that should the present rate of increase in all forms of mental disorder continue there will be just about enough sane people left to take care of the insane.*

How far mental disorder is increasing is difficult to say, in that the data from one period to another are not wholly comparable. The picture of incidence of mental disorder shows a steady ascent. How far the increase represents improved methods of diagnosis and registry, is a matter of estimate. Psychiatric opinion—though not unanimous—sees many evidences of increase all along the line, and most decidedly in the functional neuroses, which do not appear in this picture. The marked improvement in psychiatric care, together with the phenomenal growth of the worthy movement for Mental Hygiene, is operating both to reduce the numbers of mental victims and to their prompter treatment and rehabilitation. There is a wise man's hope as well as burden.

The Burden of Crime

The story of sin and the decalogue has grown into a vast literature of criminology and shelf-miles of legal statutes. Only recently has the sociological and psychological significance of crime and the criminal emerged from the avalanche of legal dialectics. There is no unity to the varieties of law infraction. The psychopathic enters into the criminal picture, although the notion of the criminal as a distinct human type—*l'uomo delinquenti* of Lombroso—is long discredited. The modern view recognizes feeble-mindedness as one port of entry to the criminal career, and the psychopathic personality as another. All manners of abnormality prevail among low-grade criminals.

The relation between deficiency and crime is reflected in a selection of data. Of 8,000 delinquent children appearing in a juvenile court of New York City, only 20 per cent had normal or better I. Q.'s (Armstrong); and the proportion was similar among children brought to court because of improper guardianship. In another group in correctional institutions, 13 per cent were feeble-minded and only 18 per cent normal or better. (Slawson). Of 8,300 adult prisoners in nine prisons of New York State, 19 per cent were normal or better, 27 per cent had I. Q.'s below 70 (Branham). A low-grade mentality combined with poor environment forms a culture-bed for crime.

Crime is definitely a youth problem; 50 per cent of the Sing Sing inmates are under 25 and 80 per cent under 30 years of age. It is definitely a masculine enterprise (15 to one) and reflects the national go-getting traits. "We Americans," says Dean Roscoe Pound, "have more crime per capita than the British for the same reason that we have more automobiles, more telephones, more ton-miles of freight moving, more horse-power of electric energy per capita." Likewise there is greater respect for the law, and prompter and more rigid enforcement in Great Britain. Their crime quota is declining; ours is increasing; theirs moderate and ours huge. All of which confirms the dominant sociological factor in the prevalence of crime. Crime is a burden which a wise administration of human affairs can notably decrease.

Among the older and repeated offenders the "psychopathic" element is greater. "It is the higher grade of defective who constitutes the most serious problem in anti-social behavior" (Glueck). Of a group of 510 prisoners, only 33 per cent had I. Q.'s of 90 or over (compared to 79 per cent of school children); 46.4 per cent had I. Q.'s of 70 to 90 (school children, 19.5 per cent); 20.6 per cent with I. Q.'s 50 to 70 (school children 1.5 per cent); and only 27.3 per cent could be pronounced free of mental disqualifications. Psychic instability plays a marked role in the social maladjustment that favors crime. "An intellectual defect is a misfortune, an emo-

tional defect a calamity, a defect in both realms a catastrophe" (Judge Olson).

It is important to consider the social environment; that 70 per cent of juvenile offenders come from the very poor districts. Consequently the mental status of criminals must be compared with that of their social class. The poor end of the scale, which includes 50 per cent of the prisoners, includes 40 per cent of the recruits for the United States Army (Doll). The statistics of crime are limited to the apprehended and sentenced; the abler and more normal are more successful in evasion. The "intelligent" orders of crime (embezzlement, forgery) show completely normal mentality.

Such are the deficients whose support runs up huge bills for the proficient to meet. The bills may now be presented.

Presenting the Bills

In the cost-accounting of the deficiency, incapacity, and delinquency of mankind, the bill appears in three items: *maintenance, investment* in buildings, equipment and costs of administration, and what may be called the *implicational* charge. The bill reads:

To the responsible, competent, moneyed citizenry of the United States, Dr.

ANNUAL BILL FOR MENTAL DISORDER

Item I. Maintenance of 700 000 cases of mental disorder at $400*	$280,000,000
Item II: Estimated investment and overhead	180,000,000
Total	$460,000,000
Item III: Implicational charge	$10,000,000,000

For the judicious estimate of the "implicational charge," we are indebted to Dr. Pollock. He has computed the economic loss in earnings of the mentally afflicted in New York State for 1937 to be $1,000,000,000 dollars; as New York represents 10 per cent of the nation, $10,000,000,000 is the amount for the United States. In appraising the economic loss, he considers the chief mental disorders, the average age of onset; of incidence, of duration, of incapacity, of recoverability. The loss is nearly 100 per cent in senile cases, 70 to 80 per cent in the most serious psychoses, with 50 or 40 per cent loss in the more recoverable ones. The net future earnings of a citizen whose maximum earning power is $2,500 annually, has been calculated by Dr. Dublin for Life Insurance purposes; the earning of a woman is assumed to be half that of a man.

The same taxpayers will foot a further

ANNUAL BILL FOR MENTAL DEFICIENCY

Item I: Maintenance of 125,000 feeble-minded at about $365.	$45,000,000
Item II: Investment and overhead	30,000,000
Total	$75,000,000
Item III: Implicational charge	$1,250,000,000

As the earning power of the mentally deficient is low and all but the most helpless contribute something to their own support, no very large sum for earning loss can be included in the implicational charge. Only about one tenth of the feeble-minded live in institutions; hence the relatively low item in the bill. One authority has estimated that the cost of rearing every markedly feeble-minded child is $10,000, and would be far more but for their brief longevity. On that basis is entered the above implicational charge, which is nothing more than an intelligent guess. If the burden which feeblemindedness places upon the community through producing other feeble-minded is added, the implicational charge would be multiplied many fold.

In regard to crime, obviously and importantly, the ***prison bill is not the crime bill***, nor any large portion thereof. In comparable form, there would be the

ANNUAL BILL FOR INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF PRISONERS

Item I: Maintenance of 200,000 prisoners, at $400 annually*	$80,000,000
Item II: Investment and overhead.	55,000,000
Total	$135,000,000

For the implicational cost of crime, the sky or any other horizon is the limit. To begin with, it is an underestimate that for one criminal apprehended there is another at large; so that at least 400,000 are engaged in crime. There is one person sentenced to each 443 of the population fifteen years old and over. Mr. Courtney Ryley Cooper writes of *Ten Thousand Public Enemies*, which 10,000 are a sample of some 3,000,000 who have been convicted of crime—by far the



Times Wide World

WHAT PRICE GLORY? *These eight Philadelphia youths, all of them in their 'teens (each of the two boys seated at the lower left is 14), operated as a robbery gang but were caught by detectives, pictured at extreme right and left. Some were cocky and boastful, some enjoyed the spotlight, others were curious, even puzzled. Crime is definitely a youth problem; 50 per cent of the Sing Sing inmates are under 25.*

*The data for the Massachusetts institutions are accepted as standard, the per capita weekly cost being $7.59 (1936). About 60 per cent of *total* cost is for maintenance. The paying patients reduce this so far as the tax payer is concerned by 7 per cent. Estimates are given in round numbers, and data for the better providing States are extended to the United States.

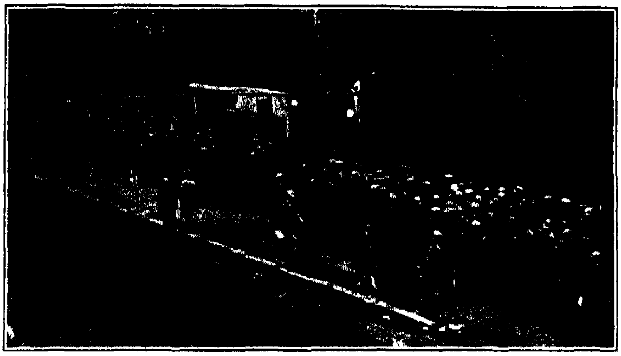
*New York penal and correctional Institutions (1936), record 22,396 prisoners, at an annual cost of $400. As New York has presumably a larger than average prison population, the number is multiplied by 9 instead of 10, which is its population ratio.

greater portion, of the crime of dishonesty or some form of "loot" crime. If this proportion obtains, there must be several crooks to every carload of subway passengers.

The dramatic statistics of crime—that there is a murder in the land every 45 minutes, and a crime committed every 20 seconds, that crime reaches into one of every 16 homes—are effective in keeping the importance of crime before the public. They cannot well be brought into the perspective of the cost of crime. When Mr. J. Edgar Hoover estimates that the cost of crime is $120 for every man, woman and child, and that the money saved by two years without crime would wipe out the national debt, he is including the cost of the protection of lives and property, and the cost of prevention of even more crime than we have, and of administering its machinery. The implicational charge he makes to be $16,000,000,000 a year. It is only in Utopia that there would be no bill for maintaining ordinary law and order.

The Burden Exceeds the Bill

Such is the deficiency bill presented to the proficient taxpayers, but only part of it*—the lesser part. The distribution of human ability is a decree of nature; but it become a social responsibility when the eugenic counsel, "breed from the best," becomes a political policy. The excess above the "normal" deficiency bill, some would argue, is the penalty for a low birth-rate among the fitter classes, and a high one among the less fit. So long as progeny, far from following proficiency, is in inverse ratio to it, the bill will grow; and the weak will inhabit so much of the earth as remains. Hence the alarm which brought into being the corrective eugenical movement.



Times Wide World

HUNGER ON THE MARCH: *This is one of the thousands of breadlines which were linked across the continent during the pit of the depression. The bill for poverty is the greatest of all.*

It applies most specifically to mental deficiency, psychopathic personality, epilepsy, and the psychoses in which the heredity factor dominates. But nature does not create—at least not unaided and unabetted—the stresses, maladjustments, trials, defeats, that increase the bill for mental disorder to its appalling dimensions. That is chargeable to unwise designs for living promoted and imposed by the social order by its manifold unfitness; these assail the brain, the master-organs of life, and convert a normal into a neurotic being.

Yet the bill of bills for human disparity of circumstance is that for *poverty*, which in recent years has focused national attention upon relief measures and social security. If the best that society can do is to maintain the bulk of the population close to the margin of decent subsistence; if slums are an inevitable excrescence on the face of civilization; if only a minority can live in fair comfort and security, with a few in extraordinary luxury, the system—call it by what name you will—registers a lamentable failure, despite its magnificent triumphs. Only when the same wisdom that has been expended upon the control and utilization of physical resources is applied to control of human behavior will the wise man's function come within reach of realization.

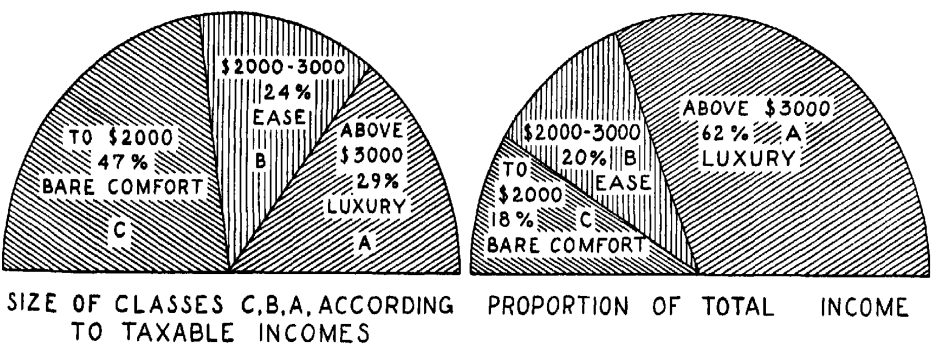


FIG. II. *Of 4,000,000 federal income tax-payers, approximately ten per cent pay a considerable share of the deficiency and dependency bill. Classes A plus B plus C constitute one-tenth of the entire population. The C class, in proportion to what it pays, supports only 18 dependents; the B class supports 20 dependents; while the wealthy A class supports as many as 62 dependents.*

Who Pays?

Accompanying charts (Fig II) show that the largest proportionate amount paid for the support of dependents

*The cost of handicap has not been included in the interests of simplification. There were in 1930, 63,000 blind and 57,000 deaf, the majority at least partly, some wholly self supporting. Under the compensation acts, $240,000,000 was paid annually to 20,000,000 workers. To this must be added the cost of care of foster children, and (in some part) for the aged.

comes out of the pocketbooks of those in the upper income brackets.

It is open to any to protest that in a properly organized society these classes and their respective incomes would be very differently distributed, while a communistic or socialistic regime would abolish them altogether. What is wrong in this picture? is a challenging inquiry. It may also be interpreted as a strong hint that soaking the rich runs the serious danger of drenching the poor. Without political implications, they present the ledger reality.

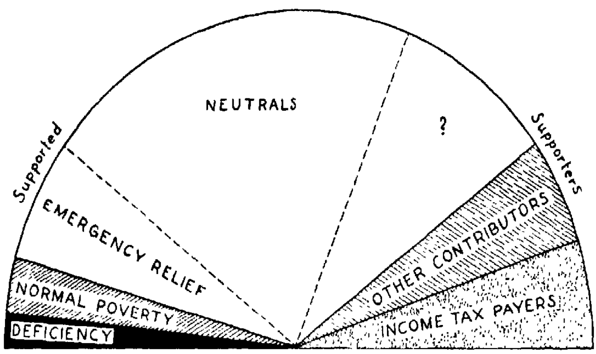


FIG. III. *An impressionistic diagram of the relative proportions of supported, neutral, and supporting groups.*

We proceed to the more problematic diagram (Fig. III.). With allowance for doubtful boundaries, let us divide the population into I, the income class who in the nature of things pay most of the bill; into N the neutral class who neither contribute to making the bill nor to paying it (or pay so little as to fall better into this class than in any other), and D the dependent, for whose support the bill is incurred.

The attempt to reach a statement as to what fraction of a dependent each group of contributors carries as its burden is beset with uncertainties. The best one can do is to indicate the limits, themselves conjectural, on each side and accept whatever point between seems most consistent with such data as are available. On the side of the *Supported*, there is the deficiency bill as presented, here indicated by the black sector; the normal (?) poverty bill, if one could know what that is in so sharply fluctuating times, here indicated by the shaded sector; and the emergency relief, for which several groups of data are available, and is here indicated by the sector up to the broken line. It is ominously large, about one sixth of the population, and represents broken hopes, broken homes, and unemployed looking for rehabilitation.

Accepting the figures at their worst, it means that one fifth of the population must be supported, and asks what proportion of the four-fifths can support them. Certainly the income taxpayers, who amount to only half a fifth, in addition, one may assume, another half-fifth who contribute by way of other and indirect taxes. How far beyond that the *Neutral* zone begins is doubtful, and is so indicated. With these liberal allowances, the Neutrals form about 45 per cent of the population; of the remaining 55 per cent, perhaps 35 per cent support 20 per cent or 40 per cent support 15 per cent. A mean between these guesses would suggest that *a supporter supports half a supportee*, in the emergency condition under which we are living. Under a return to a wishful "normalcy," that ratio may be reducible to every six contributors supporting one dependent. Whether the social order can do better than this is the issue to which the present survey makes what contribution it can. Such is the problem facing the wise man; such the burden which an imperfect solution imposes.*

In Conclusion

The wise man's burden is to provide reasonable protection against the folly inherent in the untrained mind, and specifically to further the accent on sanity in all endeavors. Without the wise man's vision, the people will perish. Neither we nor our wisdom can live by bread alone, by the pursuit of immediate and material succor; it is still truer that we cannot live without it. In comparison with the reduction of poverty, all remedial measures seem Lilliputian. The pressing problem of troubled times cries for a redeemer in the person of a great economist; but human welfare is equally the psychologist's concern, his thought coerced to a realistic temper. Poverty is a menace to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — in lowlier and higher phases alike. Poverty is a headache and a heartbreak; some measure of economic freedom is the precondition to the employment of the mental, emotional, and spiritual powers that make life worth living.

Competence and proficiency may be interpreted on any level of aim and ability. Not in the spirit of avoiding his burden do the competent and proficient deplore the rising tide of deficiency and dependency. Nor does responsible wealth regret the expenditure that balances the budget of inequality, for there is no better employment of money than to give it away to those who need it. Nor would the humane man shirk the burden of being his brother's keeper. But it is the goal of every worthy design for living to arrange life wisely, nor let sentiment too much impede reason. The wise man's burden involves the obligation to reduce deficiency, dependency, and poverty in the interests of a wholesome dispensation, in which the proficient shall both inherit and cultivate the earth to the benefit of the commonweal.

*In so conjectural an estimate, it seems better to let the diagram speak to the eye, and not attempt to present all the several facts upon which it is based. I have checked each item that goes into the estimate by a variety of considerations. The diagram cannot be completely correct; it is presumably not grossly wrong. It is obvious that there will always be a normal amount of dependency in addition to children and the aged; it is the superload above that that gives concern.

CAESAR OF THE CARIBBEAN

A sadist with many medals, Trujillo would be insignificant if he weren't murderous

By CARLETON BEALS

TOWARD the middle of October, I received a letter from an American in Santo Domingo in which he recited the details of the terrible Dajabón massacre, in which the Dominican army and police, incited by drunkenness, set upon peaceful Haitians, men, women and children, and murdered some five thousand of them in the most brutal ways. My correspondent claimed to have seen truck after truck, dripping with blood and filled with mangled bodies, pass by in the direction of the shark-infested seas. Other bodies were cremated with gasoline, great pyres that smouldered on for days, with an unsupportable stench. According to the writer, these crimes were not confined to the frontier areas but were committed simultaneously, during the first week of October, throughout the Dominican Republic.

If any news of these atrocities leaked through the tight Dominican censorship into the American press, I failed to see it. In view of the magnitude of the crime, it seemed incredible that our Caribbean news coverage could be so inadequate. I decided that some minor border incident not uncommon between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, had overheated the imagination of the writer.

Some days later, I saw items in the Spanish-language press of New York that large numbers of Haitians had been murdered by the Dominican peasantry. This could mean only one thing: official complicity; for so thorough is the dictatorship of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, that no Dominican lifts a finger except by official consent and no Dominicans except the members of the army and police have weapons. Soon other reports leaked through from different parts of Santo Domingo, relating similar occurrences.* Apparently there had been a veritable St. Bartholomew night of Haitians residing in Santo Domingo.

Then, on November 10, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a front page column story with a column carry-over, telling of the gruesome details of the slaughter that had occurred over a month before. These details, the tossing of babies on bayonets, the clubbing to death of women, the jabbing of men with three-pronged daggers provided to the Dominican army and police, have been corroborated by hundreds of Haitians who miraculously escaped and fled across the border into their own country.



Caricature from *Selecta*, Havana

LOVER OF MEDALS: *Like most tyrants, Rafael Trujillo goes in for lavish decorations and medals. He trusts no man. Visitors can see him only when he is escorted by his machine-gun bodyguard squad.*

This frightful occurrence is not entirely a surprise to those who have followed politics in Santo Domingo since Trujillo seized power nearly eight years ago. His administration has been one long record of brutality and assassination, one of the most frightful tyrannies in the history of the Americas or of the world. Official sadism, however, has heretofore been largely confined to abuse of Dominican citizens.

The sentimental adventure fiction of tropical America, which flourished during our "Big Stick" days from the close of the Spanish American War down until 1917, had a simple formula. The villain was some little swarthy dictator under a big hat, with bristling moustache, a glittering sword, many titles, medal-inflated chest—a man of vast ignorance, ferocious cruelty, greed and vice, but desperately cunning. Our minor Rudyard Kiplings, following on the heels of our marines, eulogized the boys in blue and the square-jawed Anglo-Saxon soldier of fortune, who defied malaria, wild beasts, and dum-dum bullets with high-minded baby talk and nonchalant courage. Our heroes invariably brought discipline to sprawling, lazy native recruits and instructed their enemies in the ways of generosity and civilization. By bravery, swift action, good luck, and nobility, the blond hero overcame the devious wiles of his opponent, saved the endangered honey-and-cream daughter of the sugar-plantation, and won beauty, love, and wealth.

A Richard Harding Davis Villain

But fact is sometimes quite as strange as fiction. If anyone seems cut to the pattern of the Richard Harding Davis villains, it is General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, the present tyrant of the so-called Republic of Santo Domingo. He is a throwback to our best fiction traditions. Really he should be called "*Generalisimo*," for that is the bombastic title his puppet Congress long ago gratefully bestowed upon him. In addition, he is officially "Benefactor of the Fatherland," "Doctor of the University," "Admiral" of a discarded little steamboat of pre-war vintage, mounted with a clumsy deck-howitzer and several machine-guns; and he has been planning to have himself called "Life-President."

The title of Doctor Honoris Causa in the Economic and Political Sciences, from the oldest university in the New World, was presented to him a week after a deal with the university which netted him a handsome profit. The Dictator had bought the farm of Senator Jaime Mota, Jr., on Kilometer 8 of the Mella Boulevard for $10,000 and had just resold it to the State for $100,000. Minister of Agriculture Cesar Tolentino then uttered a colossal panegyric of Trujillo's great public spirit in relinquishing such a valuable

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominican Republic shares with the Republic of Haiti the island of Haiti which lies between Cuba on the west and Porto Rico on the east. However, the Dominicans occupy more than two-thirds the limited island area.

President of the Dominican Republic is one General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, 44 years of age. In his honor, the city of Santo Domingo has been renamed *Ciudad Trujillo* (Trujillo City).

The 1935 census reports a Dominican population of 1,500,000 racially mixed persons of European, African, Indian and even Syrian blood. Speaking an official Spanish tongue many of these people are devout Catholics. Haiti has a population of 2,500,000.

From 1916 to 1924 the Dominican Republic, as well as Haiti, was occupied by the United States Marines. Today, the Republic possesses a bicameral legislature, although the political leaders hold elections infrequently.

Approximately the size of Vermont and New Hampshire the Dominican Republic produces sugar and coffee, and nurses a valuable mineral deposit.

property to further the Republic's educational progress.

Even Trujillo's nine-year-old son by a favorite mistress has been, since he was a baby, a colonel in the army drawing a colonel's pay. Several years ago, Congress renamed Columbus Plaza in the capital, where the remains of the discoverer of America are supposed to rest, "*Ramfis*," after the little colonel's nickname, and at the same time titled the boy, "Illustrious Child."

"Remember, fellow-members," reads the Congressional resolution, "the virile complacence with which the great Philip of Macedonia received the consecrated laurel of Alexander on the plains of Charonea," and how "the heart of the father, the illustrious male to whose patriotism, talent, and character the destinies of our Republic have been entrusted, will be greatly moved by the homage rendered his son."

Trujillo has caused an entirely new province and the main city of the country to be named after himself. A goodly share of the bridges and other public works, though he has constructed few of them, now bear his name. All government employees and private citizens were coerced to build a statue of him and a private mansion for him. Like most tyrants, he has acquired more medals at home and from foreign governments than anyone who has ever done anything decent for humanity can ever acquire.

The spangled ruler of this little tropical country is a man in whom fear and vanity struggle for the upper hand. When he receives visitors, four gunmen train sub-machine-guns on them, and on leaving visitors are required to walk backward out of his presence. He trusts no man. Those most intimate with him, men high in the government, have suddenly found themselves in jail or their families find them under the sod.

Several years ago the body of a dead Dominican girl was shipped back to her country from the United States for burial in the family mausoleum. The rumor that revolutionary plans were concealed in the body had anticipated the shipment. At the customs, the corpse was hacked to pieces in a vain effort to discover them. Thus Trujillo's ridiculous love of glory, his bombast, and his fear of revolt have many lugubrious sides.

But there are also many amusing notes. Everyone who wishes to remain alive is converted into a waist-bending adulator, and the high-flown flattery that results, if it may wound the sensibility of native Dominicans gravely concerned over the sad fate of their country, produces mirth in the outsider. It is doubtful if any man who has ever lived has been so touted as the living superior of every great figure in the history of mankind. Among those who for obvious reasons have had the unpleasant task of showing Trujillo unusual public honors has been ex-President Archbishop Nouell, once put in office through American pressure. In the last presidential election in which Trujillo was the sole candidate, the campaign buttons bore the phrase "God and Trujillo." Since those elections, the newspapers, in a fashion which would arouse the envy of the ex-Kaiser, always speak of "Trujillo and God." To read the Dominican press day by day is an education in the forced abasement of human beings. The only way that any newspapers have succeeded in remaining alive is by putting across the front page of every issue a big black banner headline with fulsome praise of the dictator.

Terror in Dominica

Long before the recent massacre of Haitians occurred, the political enemies of Trujillo—and thousands of Dominicans are in exile all over the world—declared that the dictator's victims totaled several thousand dead, among them some of the finest men of Dominican literary and professional life. Thousands of political prisoners have crowded the jails for years. Not even Ulises Heuraux, who ruled the country so ruthlessly, until assassinated in 1899, ever dared commit the extreme depredations that Trujillo has, nor was he ever so execrated by the Dominican people. The long list—and just a moderate percentage of the names would occupy as much space as this entire article—of those assassinated in the Dominican Republic, includes writers and editors who failed to sing Trujillo's praises; officials of past administrations who held quietly aloof from his government and even some who participated in it loyally; plantation owners who objected to the soldiery stealing their cattle or who resisted arbitrary confiscation of their estates; too impetuous students and professors; men of every profession and walk of life.

A notorious secret strong-arm gang, known as "*La 42*"—after the Forty-second company of American marines which left such bitter memories in Santo Domingo—deals out beatings, kidnaps the supposed enemies of the regime, or murders any suspects. The murder of the poet Virgilio Martínez Reyna and his wife is a dark crime that aroused dismay in Spain and all Latin America. Virgilio Martínez, long known as a patriot and an outstanding writer, was sick with tuberculosis contracted when jailed years before by American marines; yet he and his wife were brutally shot down. Several years ago six hundred peasants—Dominicans not Haitians—were slaughtered in the Moca and Puerto Plata provinces for resisting the stealing of their lands by large sugar corporations. It is claimed that more than a thousand prisoners have been murdered, after horrible tortures, that many of them were burned alive in the black-hole Nigua prison.

Cuba, under Grau San Martín, was obliged to break off relations with Santo Domingo because of the maltreatment of its citizens. Among those killed by Trujillo's henchmen were two

uerto Ricans. Only after scandalous ublicity were the relatives of these wo American citizens able to get beated though largely ineffective State Department assistance. Not so long go fifty prominent Dominican women, ehind a veil of cringing flattery to the Dictator, signed a petition for the reease of relatives and friends, a petition hat quivered with the sobs of those nguished souls. But though the petiion carried such mawkish phrases as "clairvoyant statesman," "valiant and brave ruler," "extraordinary man," the prisoners were not released, and some of the signers, despite their sex, have since been murdered.

Trujillo's Climb

Trujillo, among other things, is a product of gangsterism, banditry, miliarism, and our own marine occupation. Originally he and his brothers formed part of a notorious gang known as the Pandilla de Pepito, Trujillo's nickname being "*Chapita*," still applied to him by his exiled opponents. He and his brothers, who now hold lucrative pubic offices, ran foul of the law on various occasions. According to two different biographers, Gotay and Sánchez, in 1911 Trujillo stole government funds rom the San Cristóbal post office and had to hide out in exile in Saint Thomas until the revolution against President Cáceres made it possible for him to return. Shortly after, he and his brother Anibal were arrested for cattleustling. In 1918 he forged the name of his employer to a check and was condemned to serve a sentence of six months.

On his release he joined the National Guard, which had been established by our occupational forces, as a secretervice agent. He grafted protection money from gambling dens and houses of prostitution. Though for reasons which cannot be set down in print he had become personally serviceable to a leading American officer, who tried to protect him, he had to be let out of he service.

For a time he was a company guard or the San Andrés Sugar Central, then re-entered the National Guard as an ordinary recruit. He was ruthless and ready and ascended in rank. He became notorious for his brutalities, robberies, and assaults on women. Several imes his superiors brought him to trial or theft or rape, but the same high American officer continued to befriend him. After an engagement at Fermín, he was demoted—after public trial—or cowardice.

Following the withdrawal of the American marines, Trujillo remained as an officer in the National Guard and, through treachery to his immediate superiors, rose rapidly. One superior was killed by an irate husband after Trujillo had tipped the latter off as to what was going on. Another superior was shoved aside through the falsification of documents purporting to implicate him in a revolutionary plot. Trujillo elbowed his way into the commandancy



of the entire National Guard. He then renamed it the "National Army," recreating the sort of militarism that the American occupation had attempted to abolish.

The 1929 investigations of the Dawes commission, of which the present Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, was a member, were carried on in an effort to put the country's financial conditions in order and to lay the basis for a new American loan. An attempt was made to force an army clean-up because of the exaggerated military expenditures due to increasing costs and rampant graft under Trujillo's administration. Though the direct charges do not appear in the commission's final report, the great economy urged was precisely the reduction of military expenditures. Various officers, among them Captain Baez, had to flee from the island when they refused to conceal the true facts from the commission and tried to support its efforts. Among other things discovered was that army laundry was being handled in the establishment owned by a mistress of Trujillo, naturally at an exorbitant rate. The army rolls contained many straw men who received full pay but never shouldered a rifle. Of the $16 paid to the soldiers each month, it was estimated that from $8 to $10 found its way into Trujillo's ample pockets. Soldiers who protested were sent to the guard-house or simply "disappeared."

Attempts to clean up the army brought friction. Unwittingly the Dawes commission, by the very honesty of its efforts, dug a grave for the Vásquez government then in office. In February 1930, Trujillo and the army revolted. Rafael Estrella Ureña was put in as a puppet provisional president until a typical bayonet-election could be held to seat Trujillo in the chair. Estrella Ureña then took the place of Vice-President. In this election Trujillo actually received more votes than there were registered voters. A Supreme Court judge who declared the elections fraudulent had machine-guns focused on him and fled from the country. Presently the dutiful Estrella Ureña, trying

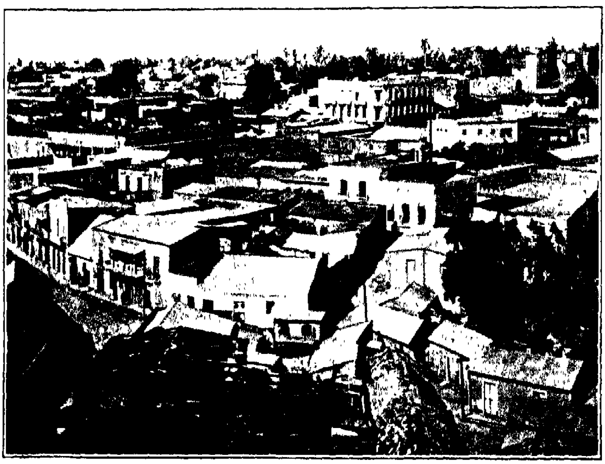
somewhat to curb the dictator's sanguinary tendencies, had to flee from the island to save his life.

Army Rule

Trujillo, thus seated by bayonets, by the army, which was merely the National Guard ironically enough created and made efficient by us, continued and still continues to crush the slightest nod of opposition. The graft and monopolies, previously a feature of army circles, were thereafter made nation-wide. Trujillo continues to use his high office for personal enrichment. He or his near relatives have monopolies over nearly all food supplies and most other necessities. No one but Trujillo can sell cattle in the slaughter houses; he dominates the tobacco-leaf trade; he has a silk monopoly. So high has the cost of living become that for years now ordinary staples are bootlegged. Recently a suit for slander was brought against a large foreign bank trying to collect debts which involved Trujillo. Scandalous stories circulate regarding the seizures of large inheritances. Representatives of American business firms, in competition with Trujillo's enterprises, have been thrust into jail charged with political conspiracy and denied trial.

The final financial reorganization effected by the time of our marine withdrawal in 1924 left the island with a $20,000,000 external debt of 5½ per cent sinking-fund gold bonds, maturing in 1940 and 1942 at 101 plus interest. The President of the United States was empowered to appoint a customs collector to guarantee payment. Repayment on principal was not to begin until 1930. But in that year Trujillo seized power and in that year he defaulted, declaring a two-year moratorium. This was concurred in by the Hoover Administration, and in 1933 it was extended for another six months. More recently, an arrangement was made with the bondholders which cut annual payments down to an illusory sum and prolonged American customs control for forty years.

There were sound reasons for the original moratorium. World depression had shattered Dominican sugar, coffee, and tobacco industries. The terrible September hurricane of 1930 had brought desolation to much of the island.



Times Wide World

SHANTY TOWN *Santo Domingo, which Mr. Trujillo prefers to call* Ciudad Trujillo, *is hardly a city to excite the envy of a municipal art commission.*

The recent official slaughter of Haitians has its causes in two new developments. The first is the proximity of new elections. Rumors of plots, dissatisfaction, and possible revolt against Trujillo, in spite of his iron-clad rule, have grown more numerous. Trujillo is attempting to allay domestic dissension by cooking up a foreign difficulty. This was the tactic followed by the savage dictator of Peru, Sánchez Cerro, some years ago, when he precipitated the Leticia imbroglio with Colombia. It is the tactic used by Benavides of that same country, who keeps a dispute with Ecuador conveniently simmering. It is the tactic of the European dictators, who in order to maintain their grip on the people constantly rattle the sword against their neighbors. There is little doubt now but that Trujillo intends more or less to follow the example of President Getulio Vargas in Brazil and declare himself perpetual dictator along fascist lines. The massacre of Haitians not only diverted public attention to the possibility of war with Haiti but reminded the Dominicans that the Trujillo regime would drown the slightest opposition in blood.

Trujillo Flirts with Hitler

Another factor connected with the recent massacres has been Trujillo's active relations with Germany. Like the other southern dictators, however much they may pretend friendship with the United States and to subscribe to Roosevelt's democratic notions as set forth in the Buenos Aires conference, they find all ideas of democracy a dangerous heresy menacing their control. If they smile at the United States, they carry on secret negotiations with the Germans and Italians, and in many cases also the Japanese. Trujillo's relations with Germany have grown constantly stronger; and there is no doubt but that the Hitler regime has been casting eyes upon Santo Domingo as a possible friendly base near the Panama Canal in case of international struggle. Trujillo has completed arrangements for a preliminary land settlement of forty thousand Germans along the Haitian frontier. Many of the Haitians recently killed were squatters on lands which Trujillo planned to turn over to the German settlers.

Unfortunately the actions of Trujillo represent another blow at Roosevelt's efforts in the Western Hemisphere on behalf of democracy, neutrality and peace. He represents a further extension of the Nazi *putsch* throughout the world. The Berlin-Rome axis, which with the inclusion of Japan became a triangle, now becomes a many-pronged spear; and the prongs jab ever nearer to our shores.

Haiti, which diplomatically has confirmed the story of the massacres of its citizens, does not want war. Though President Stenio Vincent is something of a dictator himself, he has not spent large sums on armament, and the national defenses consist largely of a mobile constabulary, without the technical equipment for aggressive war or even adequate defence. In a long conflict, of course, the Haitians, being so much more numerous than the Dominicans, would sooner or later overrun and seize the entire island. For the present Haiti is likely to accept any satisfaction for the murder of its citizens which will save face, but undoubtedly Trujillo has sowed the seeds of future war on the island, and possibly the demise of the Dominican Republic.

COOPERATION IN CARTOON

Anglo-American co-operation against Japan ends just where it started—as seen by the world's cartoonists



Brooklyn Eagle

1 *1920—"Lafayette we have quit". . .*



United Feature Syndicate

2 . . . *But in 1937 Uncle Sam finds isolation embarrassing*



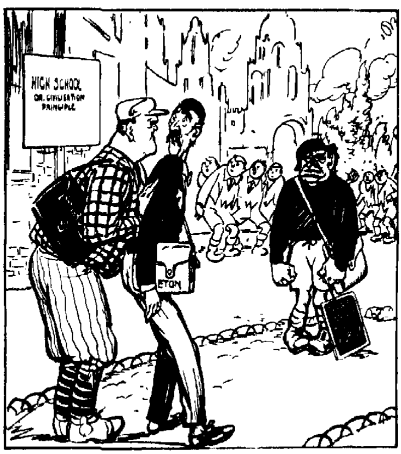
Herstock in NEA Service

3 *And the British lion gets coy . . .*



NEA Service

4 . . *So Uncle Sam changes horses.*



London Daily Herald

5 *"Go on, young England," says Franklin "I'm behind you" "But look who's in front of me," replies Neville . . .*



NEA Service

6 . *Uncle Sam himself is not enthusiastic about the badge of leadership England offers him* .



Arizona Republic

7 . . . *And the whole beautiful idea ends up just about where it was back in 1920 with everyone heading for home.*

W.P.A.

By CORRINGTON GILL

EVER since the beginning of the Federal Works Program for the relief of the destitute unemployed of the nation, a great deal of discussion has gone on as to the merits of such a program. Is a work program preferable to a dole? Is the recipient of work relief, or any kind of relief, better or worse off for it in the long run? Are W.P.A. projects economically executed? What about boondoggling? What about politics and relief? Are W.P.A. workers loafers?

These and similar questions have been discussed in the halls of Congress and State legislatures, from the rostrum of the lecture platform, from church pulpits, in the press, and in the home. They have been debated long and ardently, generally shedding much more heat than light, their value impaired and often nullified by lack of basic information about the program. How can the philosophy of a program be discussed without a thorough knowledge of that program? How can the merits or shortcomings of a program be debated without the primary facts and data on which valid arguments have to be based?

Perhaps the fault for this lack of information lies partially with the Works Progress Administration. Because we have been so busy getting the program on its way, we have not taken sufficient time adequately to explain it, because we have been so harassed by what we felt to be unfair partisan attacks on the program, we have concerned ourselves altogether too much with answering our critics and defending those phases of our program which have been attacked. We realize now that we should not have permitted ourselves to be dragged into the byways of discussion. On the other hand information about the program is and has always been available. Some individuals and organizations have used this material; but most people will not take the trouble to go through reports and statistics—they would rather argue in vague generalities.

Who are the people receiving W.P.A. work relief? How many are there in the United States? How old are they? Why are these people on relief? Who determines whether a man or woman is eligible for work relief? What kind of projects do they work on? What wages do they receive? What percentage of the total amount spent by the W.P.A. is used for administrative expenses? How many laborers work on the program? How many white-collar and professional workers are employed? How many women? How is the money which Congress appropriates for work relief apportioned among the States? How is it spent? What does the Government get as a result of these expenditures?

These and other elemental questions need answering before discussions of the value of the program can be intelligent. The answers are not so simple as the questions: to answer them completely would require a good sized volume. But the trimmings can be cut and the essential basic information presented. That is the purpose of this article. I will not get into any arguments. I will not discuss the pros and cons of any controversial question pertaining to the subject of work relief. I will try to limit myself to an exposition of the vital facts of the W.P.A. program.

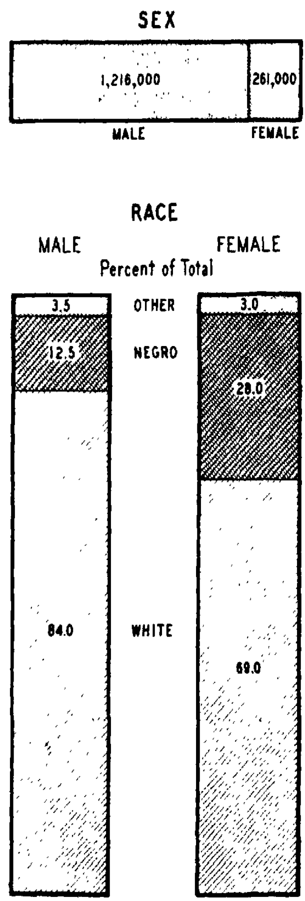
Some Vital Facts

Today there are approximately one and a half million workers employed on W.P.A. projects. If we take four as an average family, there are then some six million men, women and children dependent on the W.P.A. payrolls. These do not represent all the people in want: they are a part of the group of destitute families with an *employable* wage earner, able and willing to perform a useful and productive job; they represent the number for whom the W.P.A. can provide work during this fiscal year with its share of the billion and a half dollars appropriated by Congress for the relief program.

The destitute *unemployables,* the physically and mentally handicapped, those too young and those too old to work, are taken care of by local relief agencies, or, in some instances, by the Social Security program. In a few States there is practically no public relief program whatsoever. The W.P.A. program is a work program for unemployed workers in need, but the W.P.A. is not an organization for dispensing relief. The connection between them is that the workers are in need and would be on relief if there were no W.P.A. program.

Of the remaining millions of unemployed, but employable, people not reached by the W.P.A., or the public welfare program, some are managing on their own financial resources, some eke out a living by part-time work, some receive relief from State and local relief agencies, some receive charity from private organizations, some depend on relatives, and some are merely existing as best they can. In this article we are concerning ourselves

SEX AND RACE OF WPA WORKERS



only with the workers on the W.P.A. rolls.

This group is not static. Workers are constantly leaving the W.P.A. rolls for work in private industry and their places are taken by others in dire need and out of work. However, the present day complexion of the W.P.A. workers —their age, sex, color and skills—can be shown, based on surveys, taken from time to time, of the W.P.A. rolls.

Of the 1,477,000 people employed on W.P.A. projects throughout the United States in September, 1,216,000 or 82 per cent were males and 261,000 or 18 per cent were females. Studies have shown that of the males, 84 per cent were white; 12.5 per cent were Negroes and 3½ per cent were of other races. Of the females, 69 per cent were white; 28 per cent were Negroes and 3 per cent were of other color extraction.

A breakdown of the ages of W.P.A. workers showed that 14* per cent were under 25, 24 per cent between 25 and 34, 25 per cent between 35 and 44; 22 per cent between 45 and 54; 12 per cent between 55 and 64; and 3 per cent 65 or over. The average age for all W.P.A. workers was approximately 40 years.

A few words of explanation are necessary in connection with these figures. The average age of W.P.A. workers is but slightly higher than the average age in private industry. The reason for the difference is that W.P.A. does not compete with private industry for labor: W.P.A. takes its workers after private employers have selected all the people needed to run private industry and business. In selecting replacement labor or additional labor, private industry has its choice of the unemployed labor and usually selects younger workmen. Another reason for the somewhat higher W.P.A. age average is that W.P.A. employment is limited almost entirely to heads of families.

The reader has probably also noticed that only 3 per cent on the W.P.A. rolls are over 65 years of age. The reasons are that comparatively few people over 65 can qualify as employables, and hence be eligible for a W.P.A. job; moreover, in those States where old age assistance has recently become operative, people over 65 have been pensioned.

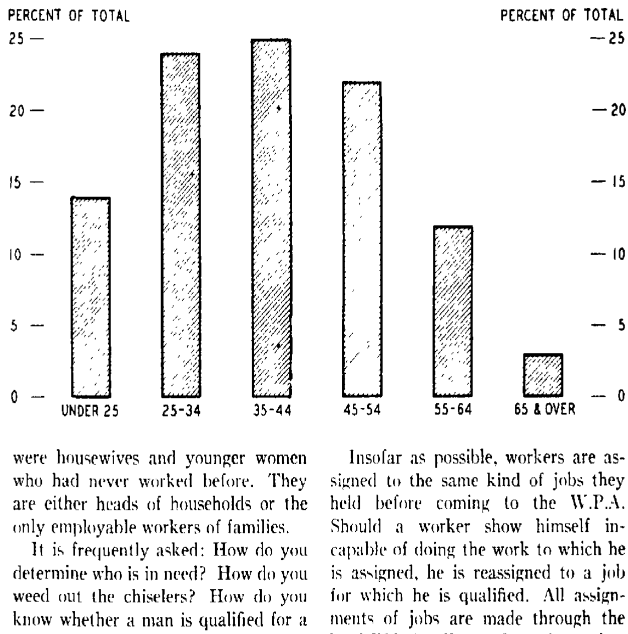
A further breakdown shows that of the male workers, 16.5 per cent were skilled workmen, 24.8 per cent were semi-skilled, 22.1 per cent were unskilled or common laborers. Another 9.9 per cent were clerical or white collar workers, 16.2 per cent were originally farmers, 4.2 per cent were engaged in domestic or personal services, and 6.3 per cent were inexperienced before coming to the W.P.A. Of the women, 13.4 per cent were white collar workers, .2 per cent were classified as skilled workers, 18.1 per cent were semi-skilled, 1. per cent unskilled, 3.4 per cent were formerly engaged in farm work, 27.5 per cent were employed in domestic or in personal services, and 36.4 per cent were inexperienced and unclassifiable, before the depression. This large group represents women who were housewives and younger women who had never worked before. They are either heads of households or the only employable workers of families.

It is frequently asked: How do you determine who is in need? How do you weed out the chiselers? How do you know whether a man is qualified for a particular job? These are interesting questions and to the point. They deserve candid answers.

Theoretically, the W.P.A. does not determine who is to receive work relief. The local, public relief agencies certify workers as in need of relief. They certify further that the worker is employable, physically and mentally. The matter of determining need and employability is, therefore, primarily the task of the local relief agencies.

Theoretically, again, the job of the W.P.A. is to put as many people to work as the local authorities certify within the limits of the funds available for the program. In reality, the W.P.A. does more. Its State and local offices are familiar with every public relief agency in the United States. They know by experience and by the professional standing of the local relief authorities how reliable their findings are. Periodic check-ups are made, sometimes in specific local areas and sometimes on a State-wide or nation-wide basis. Should a person certified by local relief agency be found unfit or not in need of work (from a relief standpoint) he is automatically dropped from the W.P.A. rolls and sent back to the local authorities. In the thousands of investigations made by the W.P.A., the number of chiselers found on the work rolls has been negligible.

AGE OF WPA WORKERS



Insofar as possible, workers are assigned to the same kind of jobs they held before coming to the W.P.A. Should a worker show himself incapable of doing the work to which he is assigned, he is reassigned to a job for which he is qualified. All assignments of jobs are made through the local W.P.A. offices, where the project supervisors actually see the work being done by each worker.

Paying for Relief

Congress appropriated one and a half billion dollars for work relief for the current fiscal year. Of that amount between 40 and 50 million dollars, or about 3 per cent, will be spent by the National Youth Administration for purposes of training and educating, as well as assisting financially, some 350,000 of the youth of the land; another 75 to 100 million, or about 6 per cent, will go to the Farm Security Administration (formerly the Resettlement Administration) for the program of

*This percentage figure does not include the special youth programs, the N.Y.A. and the C.C.C. Were these two groups included the percentage of this age group would be approximately the same as in private industry.

rehabilitation of destitute farmers. Another 52½ million has been set aside by law for the flood-control program of the Army Corps of Engineers. That leaves a balance of about $1,300,000,000 to be spent under the supervision of the Works Progress Administration for the period of July 1, 1937, to June 30, 1938.

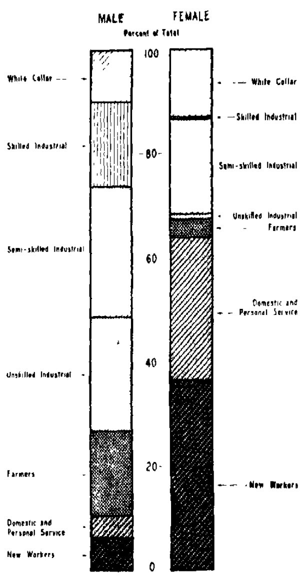
At the present writing there are approximately one and a half million workers on the W.P.A. rolls. Because of seasonal shifts in numbers of unemployed in various parts of the country, this number may go somewhat higher during the winter months.

A million and a half is a great many workers—more, in fact, than are employed in the steel, automobile, and coal industries combined. With their families included, the number of dependents on the W.P.A. is almost equal to the entire population of New York City. A comprehensive and thorough system of finance is necessary if every worker, in all parts of the United States, is to receive his pay on time. How this is done has aroused the curiosity of many, judging by the number of times this question is asked. Yet the problem is not so difficult as it sounds.

Let us see how these funds filter through, from Washington to the man on the job in any city or county. The money is appropriated by Congress and the President is authorized to spend it. The President makes allocations to the W.P.A. from month to month as funds are needed. From that point the money is broken up. The central W.P.A. office in Washington makes a specific allocation for each State. Each State Administrator in turn allocates the money to the various localities within the State. These are all bookkeeping figures since the W.P.A. doesn't actually handle the money or pay the wages directly to the workers. The local W.P.A. offices certify the payrolls to the Treasury Department, which maintains branch offices in all the States; the Treasury Department actually draws the checks. These checks are turned over to the W.P.A. officials, who distribute them to the workers. This system has been routinized and works practically without a flaw. Of all the millions of checks paid out to W.P.A. workers, the instance of a man's check being lost or delayed is extremely rare.

W.P.A. wages are not equal for every person on its rolls. For example, the wages for unskilled workers range from $21 per month in the rural South to $60.50 per month in New York City. Similarly there is a variation in wages in all classifications of W.P.A. workers—intermediate, skilled, professional and technical. This last group is the highest paid of all W.P.A. workers and their pay ranges from $42 per month to $104.50 per month. The average W.P.A. wage of security workers throughout the United States is $54.84 per month.

FORMER OCCUPATION OF WPA WORKERS



The reason for these differences in pay is obvious: cost of living and living standards vary in different States and localities. Since W.P.A. work is relief work, the pay per month for each grade of worker does not go above what is called the security wage. In reality this wage represents the amount of money necessary to maintain a subsistence standard of living.

W.P.A. workers frequently do not work a full month for their monthly pay. The hourly wage approximates the prevailing wage-scale in the community. The worker is given enough work time to earn the maximum amount under his classification. For example, if a common laborer earns fifty cents an hour and his security wage is $50 per month, he works but 100 hours a month on a job to earn his full pay. So, while the hourly rate of pay for workers corresponds to the prevailing wage rate of the community, the total monthly pay is kept within the security wage.

People interested in the mechanics of the program very frequently ask, How is the amount of money each State gets determined? That can be answered by an example. Suppose in the State of Ohio there are 100,000 destitute employables. Suppose also, that, over the entire country, the W.P.A. program, because of budgetary limitations, is caring for but 80 per cent of the total number of needy employables. Then the W.P.A. State office in Ohio will get enough money to take care of 80 per cent of its load, or 80,000 workers. It will get enough money to pay its workers, purchase or rent equipment, buy materials and pay for its administrative expenses. The State Administrator follows the same procedure in apportioning the money to localities within the State. Money, therefore, is not sent into a State based on the total population of that State; rather, the percentage of funds for any given State, for any given period, is determined by the number of unemployed who are certified by the local relief authorities as in need and able to work and by the security-wage scale of that State and the localities within the State.

It is constantly pointed out that one State may profit from the program more than another. That is true. Those States which have a relatively high percentage of unemployment receive comparatively more money than those States with lower unemployment figures. In this respect the W.P.A. program is entirely a Federal program. It looks on the problem of unemployment as a national problem, and makes no attempt to divide the available money proportionately, either on the basis of population or size of the States.

We have all heard a great deal about administrative or overhead expenses in connection with the W.P.A. program. On May 5, 1937, Harry L. Hopkins, W.P.A. Administrator, appearing before the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, testified that the cumulative administrative expense of the W.P.A. program since its inception was 4.2 per cent. Since the program has been curtailed financially for this fiscal year, and since the area of W.P.A. operations remains the same, the administrative expenses would naturally be expected to increase on a percentage basis. But by severe cuts in personnel and by combining field offices, we have been able not only to maintain the same administrative percentage cost but to reduce it slightly. One policy

is definite: the administrative expense for this entire fiscal year regardless of what circumstances may arise, will not exceed 5 per cent of the total.

Without injecting argument into this article, it must be kept in mind that the W.P.A. is a far-flung and necessarily complex organization, reaching into practically every county, city, town, village and hamlet of the nation. The program cannot be run from a central office and best meet the needs of the locality; it has to be decentralized to be efficient.

The administrative expenses of W.P.A. compare most favorably with large private organizations. In line with the President's economy drive, costs are constantly being trimmed to bring the administrative cost of the program down to as low a figure as possible, consistent with efficient management.

Work Projects

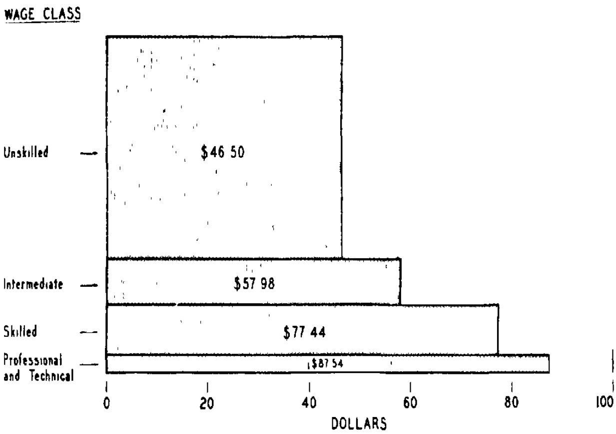
We have discussed W.P.A. workers and we have discussed W.P.A. money. We now come to the subject of W.P.A. work projects, about which so much is heard and on which the entire program rests. There is a definite tie-in between projects and money, but, they start from opposite ends. As we pointed out, the money for the W.P.A. program originates in Washington and from there is allocated to the States and in turn to the W.P.A. districts within the States. Projects, on the other hand, originate for the most part in the localities and come through the various stages until they reach Washington and are approved by the President. *Over 98 per cent of all W.P.A. projects originate locally.*

Let us take a typical project as an example. Let us assume that responsible officials of the City of Miami, Florida, submit a project for the erection of a school building. The proposed project is examined by the local director of the W.P.A., who sends it on to the State office, where it is thoroughly inspected by the technical officials of that office. Then the project is sent to the W.P.A. central office in Washington. If our office in Washington approves it the chances are that the President will give it his final approval. The President, however, has the veto power on any project submitted to the W.P.A.

While this procedure, like the finance procedure, may sound complicated, it too has been routinized and works smoothly and with dispatch.

In the matter of W.P.A. work projects there exists a real partnership between the Federal and local Governments. The initiation of State, county, and city projects is left entirely in the hands of the local authorities. The W.P.A., as a Federal agency, concerns itself only with four considerations before a project is approved: (1) Does the project best meet the unemployment needs of the locality for which it is proposed? (2) Have the local sponsors evidenced enough interest in the project by contributing funds to it in sufficient amount so that practically all the Federal money involved can go directly to labor? (3) Have all the legalities of the Congressional Act, appropriating the money for work relief, been complied with? (4) Is the proposed project feasible from a technical viewpoint and at the same time socially worthwhile? If these four questions are answered in the affirmative and if the project comes within budgetary limitations, it is approved.

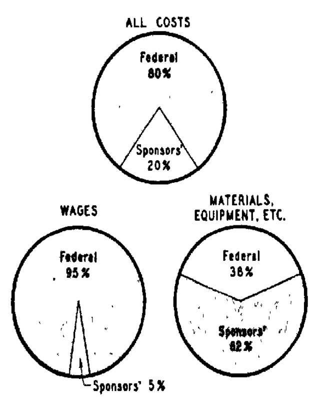
AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF WPA SECURITY WAGE WORKERS



It should be pointed out, however, that not all projects which have been approved are started immediately after approval. The States are encouraged to build up a reservoir of projects. The State W.P.A. Administrator selects projects for operation in accordance with the available skills necessary to the efficient execution of the project and in accordance with the preference of the community concerned as measured by the amount of the sponsors' contribution. The building up of reserve projects permits a smooth working of the entire program: there is seldom a lag between the completion of one project and the taking up of a new project. The State and local officials do not have to keep workers unemployed while waiting for Washington to approve a project

The local authorities are concerned also with the financial aspects of a project. They are encouraged to make "sponsors' contributions." When the W.P.A. figures $800 per year per man as a basic cost for its program, the average percentage for materials and equipment is necessarily small. It must be remembered that 85 per cent of all Federal W.P.A. funds goes directly for labor. Sponsors' contributions are used primarily to supplement non-labor costs of the project. In the past fiscal year the localities or sponsors matched Government W.P.A. funds to the extent of some 14 per cent of the total; currently, sponsors' funds are running close to 20 per cent.

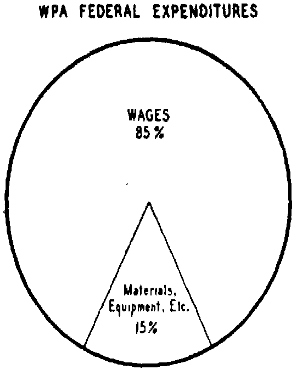
SPONSORS' SHARE OF WPA COSTS



A word here is in order about Fed-

eral W.P.A. projects as contrasted to local W.P.A. projects. There are four cultural, nation-wide projects under the direct control of the central W.P.A. office in Washington. These are the Federal Writers' Project, the Federal

WPA FEDERAL EXPENDITURES



Music Project, the Federal Theatre Project, and the Federal Art Project. These projects, it is obvious, lend themselves to handling on a nation-wide basis, from an administrative point of view. Each State has, however, advisory committees to assist in carrying out the program. Also, the local relief agencies certify these workers as they do all other W.P.A. workers.

Another type of Federal project is work which is done on Federal property located in the several States. Of course local relief workers are engaged on these projects but technically the sponsors are Federal agencies and not local authorities.

At the present writing there are some 35,000 W.P.A. projects going on in the United States. Of this number approximately 34,350 or over 98 per cent are locally sponsored. It must be pointed out again, however, that the workers engaged on Federal W.P.A. projects are relief workers, operating substantially under the same rules and regulations and receiving the same pay as do workers on local projects.

The W.P.A. engaged in a wide variety of projects. They range from building a municipal aquarium to conducting classes for illiterates, from building a sewer system to beautifying a public park; from repairing a road to building sanitary privies in rural areas. A project that may be superfluous in one area is a necessity in another. The W.P.A. does not judge proposed projects abstractly, but considers each and every project in terms of the locality where it originates.

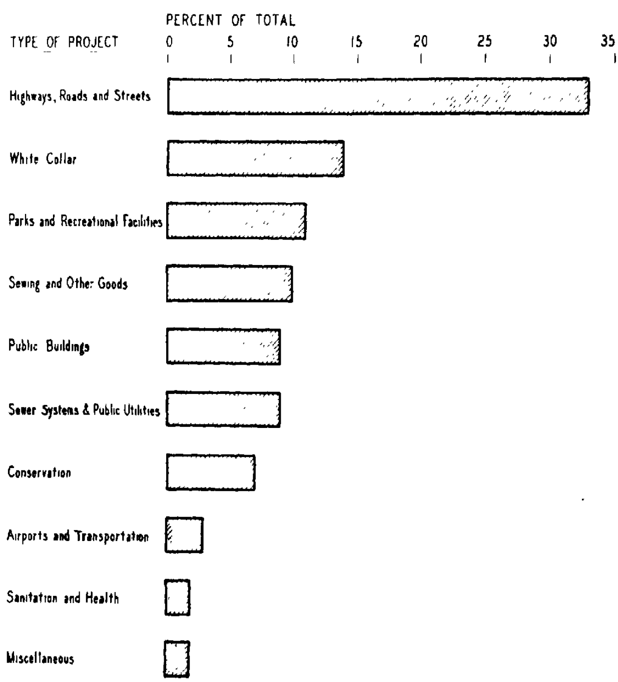
In the past, four fifths of all W.P.A. projects have been construction projects. Thirty-three per cent of the total W.P.A. project expenditures in the past fiscal year has gone for highways, roads, and streets, with particular emphasis on farm-to-market roads and on secondary county roads. Approximately 9 per cent of the total went for the erection, renovation, or repair of public buildings—schools, hospitals, recreation buildings, court houses, etc. Another 11 per cent went for parks, playgrounds, swimming pools and other recreational facilities. Seven per cent went for conservation projects—forestation, erosion control, irrigation and water control. Another 9 per cent went for sewer systems and other public utilities, 2 per cent went for sanitation and health projects other than sewers such as elimination of stream pollution and eradication of mosquitoes and other pests. Three and one half per cent went for Federal, nation-wide projects. Three per cent of the total went for airports—new municipal airports and the enlargement or the repair of old—and transportation and navigation projects. Ten and a half per cent of the total went for the non-Federal white collar and professional projects—education, library projects, statistical surveys. Approximately 10 per cent went for such projects as sewing and canning on which most of the women are employed. (The products resulting from projects of this type are turned over to the local relief agencies and distributed to needy families.) The balance, or some 2 per cent, went for a large assortment of miscellaneous projects.

Construction projects are self-evident. Everybody sees them in process, on roads, in towns, and in cities. The white collar projects are not so obvious and, therefore, not quite so understandable. It is these projects which have received the bulk of adverse criticism directed at the W.P.A. program.

In January 1936, 12 per cent of all employables certified for work relief were white-collar workers. These people did not emerge unscathed from the prolonged depression; they were in in need of work relief as much as manual laborers. Let us examine the value of a few of these non-physical, white collar projects, not in terms of statistics but in terms of general accomplishments.

WPA FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

BY TYPE OF PROJECT



The Federal Art Project has opened

Physical Accomplishment on WPA Projects for a 1-Year Period

Type	Unit of measurement	Construction: New construction	Construction: Repairs or improvements
Highways, roads, and streets:			
Bituminous or concrete roads	Miles	2,454	3,813
Brick or block roads	Miles	267	568
Dirt, clay, or gravel roads	Miles	22,765	61,453
Improvement of roads	Miles	3,658	27,614
Road shoulders	Miles	1,555	18,838
Grade crossing elimination by relocation	Number eliminated	16	—
	Miles of road	26	—
Grade crossing elimination by viaducts	Number eliminated	6	—
	Length of viaducts in feet	323	—
Bridges	Number	7,633	12,053
	Length in feet	251,803	435,627
Culverts	Number	85,811	26,541
	Length in feet	2,231,478	637,383
Sidewalks and paths	Miles	2,510	1,072
Curbs and gutters	Length in feet	7,936,922	3,721,208
	Miles of road equipped	1,130	892
Roadside landscaping	Miles of road	—	8,731
	Acres of roadside	—	25,702
Guardrails and guardwalls	Length in feet	1,881,833	1,997,514
	Miles of road equipped	1,256	799
Lights for roads and streets	Number	3,007	5,860
	Miles of road equipped	61	309
Fire trails	Miles	658	777
Flood and erosion control Irrigation Navigation aids:			
Grading	Cu yds. excavated	17,741,185	—
	Cu yds filled	11,393,710	—
Bulkheads	Number	181	127
	Length in feet	71,630	27,022
Docks, wharves, and piers	Number	27	52
	Feet of waterfront	9,082	44,476
	Area in sq ft	101,570	1,009,707
Jetties and breakwaters	Number	28	15
	Miles	5	4
	Cu yds placed	86,702	17,603
Levees and embankments	Miles	107	269
	Cu yds. placed	4,957,608	4,075,150
Riverbank improvement	Miles		653
Riprap (other than river bank)	Sq yds surfaced	1,229,034	474,306
	Cu yds placed	410,508	152,735
Retaining walls and revetments	Number	4,014	2,206
	Length in feet	1,056,160	454,026
	Cu yds placed	765,855	203,28[illegible]
Stream bed improvement	Miles	—	2,307
Canals and channels	Number	128	178
	Miles	112	410
Irrigation	Number of projects	26	50
	Acres irrigated	72,080	1,040,050
Dredging	Miles	80	4
	Acres	624	108
Terraces (including erosion terraces)	Number	1,315	3,138
	Length in feet	2,787,476	10,901,385
	Area in sq ft	101,856,137	80,375,333
Recreational facilities:			
Athletic fields and playgrounds	Number	1,415	1,535
	Acres	5,981	6,889
Golf courses	Number of courses	39	55
	Number of holes	435	673
	Acres	3,355	5,229
Parks and fairgrounds	Number	425	1,058
	Acres	17,029	48,312
Swimming pools	Number	248	61
	Surface area in sq ft	2,808,667	580,301
Grounds improvements:			
Fencing	Feet of line fence	2,776,273	2,062,829
	Feet of enclosing fence	2,384,857	—
	Acres enclosed	16,769	—
Lights for parking lots	Acres lighted	3	
Other grounds improvements	Acres	—	100,450
Airports and airway equipment			
Landing fields	Number	45	67
	Acres	4,207	8,360
Bituminous airport runways	Number	41	49
	Length in feet	92,624	94,456
	Area in sq yds	2,111,188	1,259,296
Concrete airport runways	Number	7	
	Length in feet	17,850	-
	Area in sq yds	226,555	—
Other airport runways	Number	37	27
	Length in feet.	97,194	76,465
	Area in sq yds	2,303,310	795,555
Water supply sanitation and drainage systems:			
Drainage ditches	Number	36,088	6,916
	Acres drained	1,533,822	4,365,171
	Linear feet of ditch	23,502,747	28,526,151
Drainage work other than ditches	Number	1,673	2,552
	Acres drained	129,759	127,832
	Linear feet of pipe	1,858,303	1,470,339
Sanitary toilets	Number	431,014	3,505
Storm or sanitary sewers (trunk lines)	Miles	2,172	802
Storm or sanitary sewers (laterals)	Miles	1,185	282
	Number of service connections	107,148	22,824
Sewage treatment plants	Number	1,155	97
	Capacity in gals. per day.	57,349,962	107,308,210
Storage dams	Number	1,503	93
	Impoundage in acre feet	1,061,604	58,449
Water supply sanitation and drainage systems—Con.			
Pumping stations	Number	130	58
	Capacity in gals per day	94,347,605	364,763,120
Water purification plants	Number	14	4
	Capacity in gals. per day	2,355,000	3,500,000
Water mains	Miles	1,651	683
	Number of service connections	48,206	53,567
Wells	Number under 20 feet	124	149
	Number 20—100 feet	544	1,022
	Number over 100 feet	97	110
Sprinkler systems	Number	4	—
	Length of pipe in feet	415,794	—
Buildings:			
Administrative buildings	Number	610	2,360
	Floor area in sq ft	2,596,260	36,907,080
Educational buildings	Number	1,099	7,176
	Floor area in sq. ft.	5,752,075	135,242,218
	Pupil capacity	158,611	2,750,670
Institutional buildings.	Number	155	870
	Floor area in sq ft	1,078,403	22,170,172
	Person capacity	8,808	151,932
Garages	Number	342	336
	Volume in cu ft	15,551,235	20,304,277
	Vehicle capacity	4,615	5,303
Airport hangars	Number	20	25
	Volume in cu ft	2,843,162	16,147,790
	Ship capacity	186	715
Enclosed recreational buildings	Number	961	703
	Floor area in sq ft	3,043,493	4,507,656
Open recreational buildings	Number	478	174
	Floor area in sq ft	2,084,670	2,927,690
Warehouses and other storage buildings	Number	475	521
	Volume in cu ft	12,895,598	37,948,033
Demolition (except slum clearance)	Number of structures	—	4,063
	Square feet of area cleared	—	40,645,063
Electric and communication utilities:			
Power dams	Number	22	8
	Impoundage in acre feet	1,754	811
Powerhouses	Number	5	10
	Floor area in sq ft	22,480	105,528
	Kilowatt capacity	9,830	19,078
Transmission lines	Miles underground	15	15
	Miles above ground	36	20
	Kilowatt capacity	4,618	3,242
Distribution lines	Number of service connections	1,442	2,729
	Miles underground	23	49
	Miles overhead	22	49
Telephone and telegraph lines	Miles underground	120	37
	Miles overhead	688	66
Fire alarm systems	Number of systems	11	13
	Number of boxes	171	2,503
Traffic control systems	Number of systems	31	27
	Number of signals	15,462	35,667
Miscellaneous:			
Paving other than for roads	Area in sq yds	2,471,230	442,716
Boats and ships	Number	174	5
	Displacement tonnage	143	1,916
Fire observation towers.	Number	13	9
Tunnels	Number	63	9
	Miles	10	1
Mine sealing	Number of mines	1,859	1
	Number of openings sealed	13,065	15

Nonconstruction Projects

Type	Unit of measurement	Number or amount
Conservation:		
Reforestation	Acres	16,405
	Number of trees planted	4,740,824
Spray treatments	Acres sprayed	83,196
	Gallons of spray	3,720,023
Plant disease eradication	Acres cleared of diseased plants	967,262
Mosquito eradication	Acres drained	528,682
	Gallons of spray	317,803
Clearing and grubbing	Acres	138,728
Planting fish	Number of fish	22,968,393
Planting game	Number of animals	25,342
Planting fowl	Number of fowl	2,670
Distribution of surplus commodities.		
Garments	Number	31,411,511
Cloth	Number of yards	247,452
Foodstuffs	Number of tons	272,948
Educational, professional, and women's activities:		
Work in libraries	Number of books repaired	11,142,684
	Number of books cataloged	9,480,134
Sewing rooms operated	Number of sewing rooms	10,052
	Number of articles produced or repaired	60,839,800
Canning	Number of operating units	746
	Tons of food canned	6,316
School lunches served	Number	72,437,606
Medical, dental, and nursing assistance	Number of visits, examinations or treatments	9,110,287
Gardens cultivated.	Number of gardens	8,987
	Number of acres	2,291

the way for a new cultural expression in America. Hundreds of thousands of people have been introduced to the theatre—people who did not have the price of admission or who were too far removed from theatrical centers. The effects of this program will endure long after the present participants in it are gone.

The educational program has systematically reduced adult illiteracy in the United States; it has assisted in the naturalization of aliens by providing education in the fundamentals of American citizenship; it has provided vocational education for unemployed men and women.

As the result of a W.P.A. survey it was found that no service appears to offer greater opportunities for employment than recreational leadership. With the work week steadily decreasing and with leisure time increasing there is a definite need and a definite demand for additional recreational facilities and programs—not so much the spectator type of recreation but rather the participating type. The W.P.A. is training suitable people for recreational leadership and is encouraging participation by all people—old and young—through well integrated recreational programs.

Thousands of W.P.A. clerical workers have aided State and local agencies in making surveys and bringing official records up to date. Traffic surveys have been made in practically every community of the United States to aid local officials in prescribing traffic regulations. Real property inventories have been made for many cities where they were badly needed. Research projects have been conducted to determine causes of and trends in unemployment. The cost of living in various cities and sections of the country has been studied. Special studies on farm tenancy, housing, migratory and transient labor, and many similar subjects have added materially to the knowledge of our Country and people.

W.P.A. nursing and public health projects are now in operation in most of the States. All such projects are sponsored by State or local units of public health. The W.P.A. personnel works under the direction of these agencies, rendering services which the regular public health offices, because of limited personnel and too much work, are unable to provide. W.P.A. nurses and technicians assist in immunization campaigns against typhoid, diphtheria, smallpox, and other diseases. They promote physical and oral hygiene through health campaigns. They examine children for communicable diseases, physical defects, and tooth decay. In these and in many other ways does the W.P.A. supplement and assist in the work of the local health authorities.

In touching merely on the highlights of the so-called white-collar projects, it becomes obvious, in my opinion, that these projects have definitely contributed to the well-being of our people, that, in terms of work accomplished, they have more than justified the expenditure necessary for their operation.

What Shows for the Money?

A question most frequently asked is: what do you have for your money when it is spent? What will the Government have to show for the billion and a half dollars which Congress appropriated for the Works Program for this fiscal year? Leaving aside the indirect values of the W.P.A. program—the preservation of the skills of the unemployed, maintaining morale, creating purchasing power—and limiting this inquiry to actual accomplishments and results, this question can be answered in a tangible way.

Since the fiscal year extends to June 30, 1938, we can but estimate the results of the program to that date. But when we base this estimate on a previous, one-year period, with about the same number of unemployed workers involved, we feel it will come close enough, for all intents and purposes, to the actual future figures. In fact, my estimate is very conservative.

The W.P.A. in a single year has built 30,000 miles of new roads and streets and improved or repaired 110,000 additional miles; has constructed 1,500 athletic fields and playgrounds and improved 1,500 additional; has built 250 and improved 61 swimming pools; has built 45 new airports and improved 67; has built 4,000 miles of new sewers and repaired an additional 1,000 miles; has built 500,000 sanitary toilets; has built some 4,500 new public buildings, and renovated or improved another 12,000; has repaired some 12,000,000 books in public libraries and catalogued 10,000,000; has planted some 5,000,000 trees and drained 500,000 acres of land.

These figures merely highlight the physical work accomplished. The accompanying table, covering the same time-period, furnishes a more detailed study.

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In the course of this article I have tried to keep the promise, made in the introduction, to stick to facts and avoid arguments. The article, therefore, is anything but spectacular. However, those readers who have had the patience to go through it will have an honest and fair analysis of one of the most difficult and complex programs ever undertaken by any nation. Those readers, at least, will be able to discuss the W.P.A. program on a factual, reasoning, and intelligent basis rather than on an emotional basis, which has been the case only too frequently in the past.



PALESTINE IN PROPORTION

A noted historian rereads the Bible and reaches new convictions on the Holy Land

By H. G. WELLS

THE other day I was talking to an assembly of teachers and scientific workers on the problem of getting the elements of a modern world outlook into the ordinary human mind during its all too brief years of schooling and initiation. I was not persuading nor exhorting; I was exposing my thoughts about one of the primary difficulties in the way of a World Pax which will save mankind from the destruction probable in putting the new wine of mechanical and biological power into the worn bottles of social and moral tradition. I dealt with the swiftness of life, the shortness of time available for learning and the lag and limitations of teaching.

In my survey of the minimum of knowledge needed to make an efficient citizen of the world, I laid great stress upon history. It is the core of initiation. History explains the community to the individual, and when the community of interests and vital interaction has expanded to planetary dimensions, then nothing less than a clear and simplified world history is required as the framework of social ideas. The history of man becomes the common adventure of Everyman.

I deprecated the exaggerated importance attached to the national history and to Bible history in western countries. I maintained that the Biblical account of the Creation and the Fall gave a false conception of man's place in his universe I expressed the opinion that the historical foundation for world citizenship would be better laid if these partial histories were dealt with only in their proper relation to the general development of mankind. In particular I pointed out that Palestine and its peoples were a very insignificant part of the general picture. It was a sideshow in the greater conflicts of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Nothing important, I said, ever began there or worked out there. . . .

In saying that I felt that I was stating plain matter-of-fact to well-informed hearers. But it is not what I should have thought and said, forty years ago. And since the publication of my remarks, there have been a number of retorts and replies to my statement that have made me realize how widely and profoundly and by what imperceptible degrees, my estimate of this Jewish history has been changed since my early years and how many people still remain under my earlier persuasions. Long after I ceased to be a Christian, I was still obsessed by Palestine as a region of primary importance in the history of human development. I ranked it with Greece as a main source in human, moral and intellectual development. Most people still seem to do so. It may be interesting to state compactly why I have grown out of that conviction.

Evolution of a Concept

Very largely it was through rereading the Bible after an interlude of some years and with a fresh unprejudiced mind, that this change came about in my ideas. My maturer impression of that remarkable and various bale of literature which we call the Old Testament was that it had been patched a lot but very little falsified. Where falsification appeared, as in the number of hosts and slain in the Philistine bickerings, it was very naive, transparent and understandable falsification.

I was not impressed by the general magnificence of the prose, about which one still hears so much. There are some splendidly plain and vivid passages and interludes of great dignity and beauty but the bulk of the English Bible sounds to me pedestrian translator's English, quite unworthy of the indiscriminate enthusiasm that has been poured out upon it. From their very diverse angles the books of the Bible have an entirely genuine flavor. It is a collection; it is not a single book written *ad hoc* like the Koran. And the historical parts have the quality of honest history as well as the writers could tell it.

Jewish history before the return from Babylon as the Bible gives it, is the unpretending story of a small barbaric people whose only gleam of prosperity was when Solomon served the purposes of Hiram by providing an alternative route to the Red Sea, and built his poor little temple out of the profits of porterage. Then indeed there comes a note of pride. It is very like the innocent pride of a Gold Coast negro whose chief has bought a motor car. The prophetic books, it seems to me, reek of the political propaganda of the adjacent paymaster states and discuss issues dead two dozen centuries ago.

One has only to read the books of Ezra and Nehemiah to realize the real quality of the return of the miscellany of settlers from Babylon, a miscellany so dubious in its origins, so difficult to comb out. But a legend grew among these people of a Tremendous Past and of a Tremendous Promise. Solomon became a legend of wealth and wisdom, a proverb of superhuman splendour. In the New Testament we hear of "Solomon in all his Glory." It was a glory like that of the Kings of Tara.

When I remarked upon this essential littleness of Palestine I did not expect any modern churchmen to be shocked. But I brought upon myself the retort from the bishops of Exeter and Gloucester that I was obsessed by "mere size" and that I had no sense of spiritual values. My friend Mr. Alfred Noyes reminded me that many pumpkins were larger than men's heads, and what had I to say to that? But I had not talked merely of physical size. I had said that quite apart from size nothing of primary importance in human history was begun and nothing worked out in Palestine. That is, I had already said quite definitely that Palestine was not a head but a pumpkin and a small one at that.

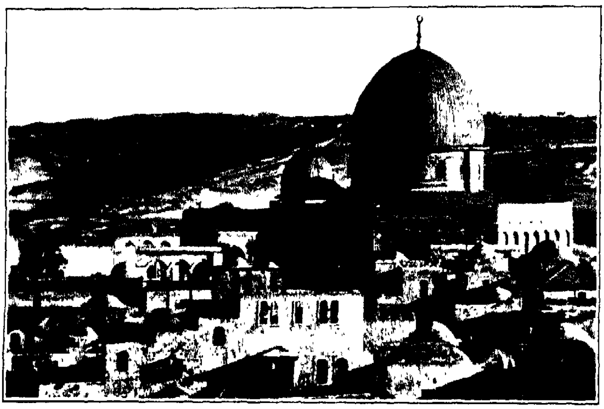
A number of people protest. But, they say, surely the great network of modern Jewry began in Palestine and Christianity also began in Palestine! To which I answer, "I too thought that." We float in these ideas from our youth up. But have we not all taken the atmosphere of belief about us too uncritically? Are either of these ideas sound? I myself have traveled from a habit of unquestioning acquiescence to entire unbelief. May not others pres-

ently do the same? I do not believe that Palestine was the cradle of either Jewry or Christendom.

So far as the origin of the Jews is concerned the greater probability seems to me that the Jewish idea was shaped mainly in Babylon and that the return to Judea was hardly more of a complete return and concentration than the Zionist return today. From its beginning the Jewish legend was a greater thing than Palestine, and from the first it was diffused among all the defeated communities of the Semitic-speaking world.

The synthesis of Jewry was not, I feel, very much anterior, if at all, to the Christian synthesis. It was a synthesis of Semitic speaking peoples and not simply of Hebrews. It supplied a rallying idea to the Babylonian, the Carthaginian, the Phoenician, whose trading and financial methods were far in advance of those of the Medes, Persians, Greeks and Romans who had conquered them. It was a diffused trading community from the start.

Jewry was concentrated and given a special character far more by the Talmudic literature that gathered about the Old Testament collection, than by the Old Testament story itself. Does anyone claim a Palestinian origin for the Talmud? I doubt if very much of the Bible itself was written in Palestine. I believe that in nine cases out of ten when the modern Jew goes back to Palestine he goes back to a country from which most of his ancestors never came.



Soibelman

The dome of the "Haram el Sharif" at Jerusalem

When Paul started out on his earlier enterprise of purifying and consolidating Jewry before his change of front on the road to Damascus, he was on his way to a Semitic—a Jewish community there, and Semitic communities existed and Semitic controversies were discussed in nearly every centre of his extensive mission journeys. There was indeed a school of teachers in Jerusalem itself, but Gamaliel was of Babylonian origin and Hillel spent the better part of his life and learning in Babylon before he began to teach in Jerusalem. From the Bible itself and from the disappearance of Carthaginian, Phoenician, Babylonian national traditions simultaneously with the appearance of Jewish communities throughout the western world, communities innocent of Palestinian vines and fig trees and very experienced in commerce, I infer this synthetic origin of Jewry.

Of course if the reader is a believing Christian, then I suppose the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth at Jerusalem is the cardinal event of history. But evidently that crucifixion had to happen somewhere and just as my Christian critics can charge me with being obsessed by mere size in my deprecation of Palestine, so I can charge them with being obsessed by mere locality. If the crucifixion has the importance attached to it by orthodox theologians then, unless my reading of theology is all wrong, it must be a universal and eternal and not a temporal and local event.

Moreover nowadays there is a considerable body of quite respectable atheists, theists and variously qualified Christians who do not find in that practically unquestionably historical event—I throw no doubt upon its actuality—the centre upon which all other events revolve.* There has been a steady enlightenment upon the relations of Christian doctrine ceremony and practices to the preceding religions of Egypt, Western Asia and the Mediterranean, to the Egyptian trinity, to the Goddess Isis, to the blood redemption of Mithraism. In this great assembled fabric of symbols and ideas, the simple and subversive *teachings* of the man Jesus who was crucified for sedition in Jerusalem, play a not very essential part.

Christianity, I imagine, or something very like it, would have come into existence, with all its disputes, divisions, heresies, protestantism and dissents, if there had been no Essenes, no Nazarenes and no crucified victim at all. It was a natural outcome of the stresses and confusions that rose from the impact of more barbaric and usually Aryan-speaking conquerors, upon Egypt and upon the mainly Semitic-speaking civilizations, very much as Greek philosophy and art were the outcome of the parallel impact of the Hellenic peoples upon the Aegean cultural life. Old creeds lost their power and old usages their prestige. The temporarily suppressed civilization sought new outlets. The urgency towards new forms of social and moral statement and adaptation was very great.

Legendary Distortion

It was, I suppose, the advantage of the nexus of Semitic communities throughout the western world, that favored the spread of Judaism and of the semi-Semitic Christianity that grew side by side with it rather than the diffusion of Persian religious inventions or Greek science and philosophy. It was an unpremeditated advantage. The thing happened so. And on that basis European mentality rests. We are all more or less saturated with this legendary distortion of historical fact. It makes us a little uncomfortable, we feel a slight shock when it is called in question.

Such is the conception of Jewish and Christian origins that has replaced the distortions of my early Low Church upbringing. It has robbed Palestine of every scrap of special significance for me and deprived those gigantic figures of my boyhood, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses of their cosmic importance altogether. They were local celebrities of a part of the world in which I have no particular interest. Once they towered to the sky. I want to get them and Palestine out of the way so that our children shall start with a better perspective of the world.

ARMING THE GOOD NEIGHBORS

An Open Letter to the Ladies of the Flying Caravan

By GENARO ARBAIZA

TO THE ladies of the Flying Caravan:

You have just returned from a 17,000-mile air tour of Latin America, where you went to urge upon the various governments an early ratification of the peace pacts signed at the Buenos Aires Conference a year ago. During your tour you have stopped at practically every Latin-American capital and have been greeted by foreign ministers and prominent public officials. You have spoken at public meetings and have been applauded at luncheons and banquets, honored at universities and cultural centers, fêted at teas and cocktail parties. I imagine the cruise has provided you with the satisfaction of having worked for a noble cause, and that throughout your trip it has been your conviction that official Latin America has taken you seriously.

Recently, a delegation of five lady members of the People's Mandate for Peace started from Washington on a six-week airplane tour of Latin America in order to urge the governments of the southern republics to ratify the treaties signed at the Buenos Aires Conference a year ago as a means of securing peace in the Western Hemisphere. The accompanying letter is written to the lady crusaders.

Well, as far as official Latin America is concerned, I am afraid you have only provided a good laugh for the gentlemen who are now in power from the Caribbean Sea to Patagonia. To be sure, you have received their assurances that the pacts will be ratified. And, no doubt, they will be. But, do you, perchance, think that their ratification will be an inducement to permanent peace? Just about the time you started on your crusade, Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, was slaughtering Haitian squatters by the thousands, and Trujillo's government is one of the only three governments that have ratified the Buenos Aires peace pacts.

The treaties you are so anxious to see in force left the basic causes of internal and international strife in Latin America untouched and have gone into the paper baskets of Pan-American diplomacy, already overflowing with forgotten peace pacts. The only real move for peace in the western hemisphere during recent times was made by President Roosevelt in 1933 when he dropped his predecessors' policy of armed intervention—and that was a spontaneous move, not the result of pacts.

I haven't the slightest doubt it has been your honest purpose to banish the fear of war from South America. But, may I ask, who wants to banish the fear of war down there? War has always been a very profitable business, and just now the universal fear of war is proving to be perhaps a more profitable business than war itself. Many of the gentlemen you met on your tour are playing the game now with great personal gain.

South America is an important territory in the world's armament trade. Some people regard it as the largest dumping market in that trade. And the armament traders have developed a special and most interesting technique in the market. They used their technique with great profit in the twenties, and they are using it again now. If you had not been so eager about the ratification of those peace pacts, you might have seen this technique in operation. And that would have brought you far nearer to the processes of international trouble-making than the discussion of peace pacts. But I shall tell you the story.

Post-War Arms Salesmen

Following the World War, European munitions makers and governments turned to South America for the sale of left-overs. Several Allied powers sent military missions and instructors to the young republics to teach them the science learned at the Marne, Caporetto, and the Dunajec, and pending debts for South-American wheat and coffee and beef and nitrate were settled with exports of trench mortars, bombs, and the like. Plans for increasing the South American military establishments were submitted by the missions, and a promising trade was started. When American bankers began raining gold dollars upon Latin America, the transatlantic flock of arms vendors and military envoys became a gold-dollar rush.

One of the cleverest things that the arms manufacturers' high-placed agents in South American capitals did at that time was to drop into the ears of presidents and war chiefs the idea of a South-American balance of power. None of the ideas imported from Europe into the South American international scene had a more magic effect. The South-American people woke up one day to learn from solemn editorials that there was a continental balance of power, and diplomats, politicians, wise grafters, patriotic fools, and college boys talked of grave international problems and dangers, national defense, armed peace, and militarized citizenries.

The arms traders pressed their game by playing up the current boundary disputes. The bitterest of them, the Tacna-Arica controversy between Peru and Chile, was drummed up into a war scare that threatened to involve also Bolivia, which had a grievance against Chile; Ecuador, which had another dispute with Peru; Argentina, because she was a neighbor of Chile and Bolivia; Brazil, because she was a rival of Argentina on the Atlantic coast, and Paraguay because she had another feud with Bolivia. It was the perfect setting for a continental shake-down.

England sent a naval mission to Chile, and the British Government sold a whole fleet to that republic: the battleship *Canada*, four light destroyers, and later six submarines built for the British Government in the United States by the Electric Boat Company. The press cried that the South American balance of power had been "badly dislocated" and that Argentina, Brazil and Peru were "taking a decided interest in the matter of increasing their naval strength."

American naval constructors hastened to the field. England and Vickers, the notorious Sir Basil Zaharoff's concern, were supplying Chile, and



NEA Service

"DRIVE YOURSELF-WARSHIPS". *The latest wrinkle in the South-American armaments game has been the proposal that the United States should lease some warships to Brazil Here are some of the possibilities as seen by Herblock*

could not openly sell to Chile's rival and potential foe, Peru. So the Electric Boat Co., an American organization of which Sir Basil was a shareholder, and of which A. S. Roberts, Vickers' representative in the United States, was a director, went after the Peruvian business. In June 1920 Admiral Niblack head of the U. S Naval Intelligence, told Peruvian Ambassador Pezet at Washington that, in view of the Chilean purchases, "it was now a matter of Peru going into the market" and buying not only destroyers but also submarines. Electric Boat secured the Peruvian orders for naval equipment. Commander Aubry, Peruvian naval attaché at Washington and later representative of the Electric Boat Co. in South America, opened negotiations for the sending of an American naval mission to Peru. The mission arrived in 1919 to organize a Peruvian naval academy and reorganize the Peruvian fleet.

Argentina, outdistanced by Chile, decided to enlarge her naval strength, and Brazil joined the race, increasing her army and navy expenditures to at least 35 per cent of her revenues. In the early twenties, Latin America was spending about $235,000,000 a year in armaments and war and navy departments. The combined disbursements of the ABC powers aggregated $145,000,000 A score of American arms manufacturers, including Du Pont, Remington Arms, Colt's Patent Firearms Manufacturing Co., the New York Shipbuilding Co., were elbowing their way in a market already crowded by the Vickers-Armstrong, Skoda, Schneider-Creusot, Krupp, and other European concerns.

The cry "Submarines are the weapon of the weak!" went around South America, and every South American country that could afford it bought submarines. England, France, Italy, and the United States shared most of the business. Even German naval constructors, who had been forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles to build sul marines, established yards in Hollan and Sweden, and went to South Amer ica offering U-boats. Later on, th Japanese with Mitsubishi made thei appearance among the competitors.

In 1922 the United States sent an other naval mission, this time to Bra zil, under the terms of a "contract signed by Secretary Hughes and th Brazilian Ambassador Alençar in orde "to assist the Brazilian Navy Depart ment in all matters that pertain to im provement in the naval service." Th sending of this mission, attacked b the Buenos Aires press, only served t stimulate naval competition betwee Brazil and Argentina. At the hearin of the Nye Committee held on Sep tember 5, 1934, Senator Clark, whil questioning a witness about the matte made this interesting disclosure: "I is a fact that the Secretary of the Nav stated at the time Congress passed th act to authorize the naval mission t various South-American countries tha one of the purposes of it was to sel armaments and to induce them to in stall American equipment."

Armament Conference

Arming was in full swing when th South-American nations met at th Santiago Disarmament Conference i 1923. After the fracas of the confer ence, war chiefs and propagandists in sisted upon more security, and ther was more armament. During the suc ceeding years Argentina and Brazi undertook programs of naval buildin aggregating about $130,000,000. Som time before these programs wer adopted, the arms traders became s aggressive that President Bernardes o Brazil at a cabinet meeting on Decem ber 13, 1923, denounced "the existenc of an international band formed fo the purpose of intriguing in Sout American countries and obtaining th opportunity to make great sales o armaments." It was also reported tha several propagandists had been ar rested, among them three newspaper men and a diplomat. At the time Aubry, agent for the Electric Boat Co. "was actively engaged in trying to in duce both Argentina and Brazil t enter on a submarine building pro gram."

There was another outcry. "Air planes will decide future wars!" An European and American air mission descended upon the southern conti nent. Always preceded by a good pub licity campaign, they often arrive with cargoes of planes which were dis posed of at a low price while the fête

air heroes got jobs as instructors. The British sent a loaded aircraft carrier to Rio de la Plata in 1930. Italy stationed De Pinedo as air attaché in Buenos Aires, and the French made transatlantic flights. General Balbo was dispatched by Italy in a spectacular flight to Brazil with 21 planes, and he sold them to the Brazilian Government. United Aircraft, Curtiss-Wright, controlled by Du Pont, Fairey of England, Caproni of Italy, Junkers of Germany, and others sold hundreds of war planes.

The Leticia affair, a petty frontier incident, was another ball of fire kicked down the continent. Prosperous Colombia, on the north part of South America, somewhat removed from the arms traffic maelstrom of the lower latitudes and enjoying comparative freedom, had this time to buy protection from the racketeers. She was made to spend many millions in purchasing a small fleet, an air armada, and war supplies in a dispute for a small jungle settlement which from the beginning could have been solved by diplomacy.

Arms Salesman at Work

The part played by the American munitions industry in the South American armament boom of the Twenties was turned inside out by the Nye Committee. The arms makers and their salesmen "greased" their way through high official and military and naval quarters and bought influential politicians. They placed spies in government offices to watch their competitors' moves; they contributed funds to local political campaigns; they sold secretly to both belligerents or both prospective enemies, making them believe that each one alone was receiving their trade attention; they "fixed" bids and simulated competition with split-profit partners; they helped insolvent governments to finance war purchases by loans secured in the United States; they were assisted by American bankers in obtaining orders; they outfitted revolutionists as well as the governments the latter were revolting against; they taught Latin-American dictators and police forces how to put down insurrections and break strikes with the merciful help of tear-gas bombs.

This piling up of war equipment had a climax in the wave of revolutions and wars that followed the breakdown of the Coolidge Bull Market and culminated in the Chaco War and the Brazilian civil war of 1932.

The armament boom covered the whole period of prosperity, and at its peak there were between 300,000 and 400,000 men under arms in Latin America, most of them in South America. The munitions salesmen had a few corrupt allies in public office, but the great majority of Latin-Americans were bamboozled into a frenzied nationalism. It was the most extensive job ever pulled there by munitions makers, and the least laughable in results, for during that period more than 150,000 Latin-Americans were killed with the marketed wares.

The South American republics did not arm against the possibility of aggression from outside the continent, but only against each other. Chile armed herself against Peru, and Peru against Chile, and Argentina against Chile, and Brazil against Argentina, and so forth. A decade and a half of intensive militarization made more remote than ever the possibility of a South-American united front.

One third, at least, of the money lent to South-American governments by the United States in the twenties or about half a billion dollars was spent in buying war equipment, mostly from Europe. Thus Europe recaptured, in a vast triangular game, a substantial part of the funds that had been drained from Europe into the American reservoir during the war to be used by Americans to build the Latin-American investment dominion. The American munitions industry succeeded in making of Latin America its major customer abroad, but it was not able to displace the giant European arms traders who are entrenched in South America. They got, and still are getting, most of the business. Of course, north of Panama the United States would not tolerate armaments on the South-American scale. The European arms industry has been careful not to challenge, at least openly, the American tutelage in the area.

The Merchants Come Back for More

When South-American government vaults emptied during the depression years, many arms merchants packed their bags and left the market. But since 1935 economic recovery in South America has brought them back. And now a new armament boom is on. For the European nations that are producing munitions on a tremendous scale, it is comparatively easier to pay for South-American raw materials and foodstuffs with their over-supply of war materials than with other manufactures. Besides, as the rapid replacement of warships by great powers in their mad naval competition leaves behind many vessels which become a liability if not used, some of the European nations are offering naval bargains to South-American republics.

The most active competitors in the field are Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and the United States. In a somewhat different setting, the arms makers are using the same methods they used during the



International

THE UNITED STATES ARMS SOUTH AMERICA: *The Western Hemisphere has furnished a profitable market for the arms makers. These American-built planes have been bought to strengthen Colombia, not against the outside world, but against her neighbors.*

twenties, stirring up artificial rivalries, agitating for armaments through powerful newspapers, creating new conflicts and doing their best to keep South-American disputes open. But there is a new factor. The selling efforts of Italy, Germany and Japan also have as an aim the securing of a foothold in the military and naval establishments of some of the southern countries.

Economic recovery smiled first upon Argentina, and that is where the present "rearmament" boom began Argentina undertook an extensive naval, military and air program in 1935, whereupon the press of Chile, Brazil, and other countries, pointing at the Argentine plans, clamored for the modernization and increase of the local war establishments. One of the first results, following the visit of the Brazilian Foreign Minister Macedo Soares to Santiago in December 1936, was a rapprochement between Brazil and Chile, both rivals of Argentina. Uruguay and Paraguay are planets in the Argentine system, but their support does not carry much weight. With Chile and Brazil in what looked like an anti-Argentine partnership, Buenos Aires found a friend in Peru. Early in 1937, right after the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, Argentina, in a superb show of strength that proclaimed her dream of hegemony in the continent, sent a squadron of eight warships to the South-American west coast on a visit to Peru. The Chilean press cried for war planes, and while the Argentine fleet was steaming past the Chilean coast, the Chilean Congress voted 100,000,000 pesos for bombers. At the same time, Brazil hastened to carry out a vast naval program, asking the United States for assistance and for the leasing of American destroyers. Landlocked and bankrupt Bolivia had been a potential enemy of Argentina since the Chaco War, which was instigated by Buenos Aires, but last month the Argentine Government—following the cancellation of oil concessions held by the Standard Oil in Bolivia—reopened the Argentine frontier to Bolivian oil, and now Bolivia, having a previous understanding with Peru, is with the Buenos Aires-Lima partnership. Ecuador, that has a boundary dispute with Peru, leans toward Chile, and so does Colombia since the Leticia affair. The South-American game revolves now around two cross axes: Argentina-Peru and Brazil-Chile.

Within this setting—the work of the Zaharoffs of South America—there are boundless possibilities for international intrigue, "international dangers," and the selling of munitions. Another possibility is a new period of revolutions and wars as that of the late twenties and early thirties.

The rivalry between Argentina and Brazil is a terrific rivalry—in importance. Each country answers in the first person to the infantile question: "Which is the greatest country in South America?" But when you think of the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in armaments by these two nations, their rivalry has a definite economic meaning. An equally clever piece of work by the international provocateurs has been the revival of the Chilean-Argentine rivalry, that had subsided since the erection of the "Christ of the Andes" upon the mountains separating both countries. Inspired articles in Chilean organs attribute to Argentina greedy designs upon Chilean territory in Magallanes and Tierra del Fuego, and Argentine and Peruvian spies are reported to have been caught recently in Chile gathering information about Chilean warships and coast fortifications.



Times Wide World

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER: *Dr. Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Argentine Foreign Minister, who said after the Buenos Aires Conference, "Now we have to arm to the teeth."*

Britain Arms Argentina

The biggest slice in the South-American rearmament pie so far has been the Argentine naval program, and the British naval constructors have got most of the helping. Last September, the $2,000,000 destroyer *Misiones* slid down the gaily decorated slipways at Birkenhead, England, the seventh Argentine warship to be launched in Britain in 1937. Argentine has ordered in English and Scottish shipyards seven destroyers, similar to the British H class, and one 7,000-ton training ship, which will be delivered between February and May this year. The Buenos Aires Government is also building ten mine-layers in its own shipyards, and the Argentine navy is to be supplemented with a number of auxiliary vessels and transports. Argentina is buying war-planes in several countries, including a recent order of 35 bombers in the United States at a cost of $4,-300,000.

Chile is planning an extensive modernization of her army and navy. She is to create a fourth army in the southern provinces, and to establish a military garrison in Arica. The Chilean naval program includes the purchase of a new training ship, two modern 8,000-ton cruisers at an approximate cost of $13,000,000, and destroyers. Following the announcement of American naval assistance to Brazil last August, instructions were cabled from Santiago to the Aracena commission, then in Rome, to close a deal with German and Italian plants for the acquisition of military aircraft. The Aracena commission recommended the purchase of Junkers bombers and planes of the Breda type and amphibians now used by the Italian forces. Last October, when an Italian air mission visited Chile, the Santiago Government was reported to have bought sixty Italian planes. Italy, Germany, Japan and Great Britain are the most active bidders for the Chilean naval orders. Last August Italy was reported to have offered to the Santiago Government the 10,000-ton cruisers Pola and Zara of the 1930 class now in the Italian navy in exchange for Chilean nitrates. Some time before the Chambre Syndicale des Industries Aeronautiques representing the French aircraft industry was negotiating with the Chilean Government for the purchase of 120,000,000 francs worth of nitrate to be paid in planes.

Peru, as was mentioned in the last issue of *Current History*, has granted a concession to the Italian Caproni interests for the erection of an assembling airplane factory near Lima, and has bought a large number of war

planes from Italy. The factory, finished a short while ago, is now operated under Italian direction. Ecuador has also acquired military aircraft in Europe, and Venezuela has been reported as negotiating for the construction of two modern destroyers in Germany.

Second to the Argentine naval program, the Brazilian naval program is the most ambitious. It calls for the construction of two large cruisers, nine destroyers, five submarines, one training ship, six mine-sweepers, and scouting craft and smaller vessels which would be bought unassembled to be finished at the Ilhas das Cobras shipyards.

While Argentina has favored British naval constructors, Brazil has called on the United States for assistance in carrying out her naval program. Brazil, whose foreign policy has supported American policy in this hemisphere since the World War, has had American help in naval matters from the time the American naval mission was sent to that country in the early twenties. The mission, still there, was enlarged in August 1936. Some time ago the Brazilian battleship *São Paulo* was fitted with Sperry-Ford fire-control installation in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and in January 1934 the Bureau of Ordnance of the United States Navy Department helped, as a matter of routine, the New York Shipbuilding Company in preparing estimates of bids on cruisers for Brazil. In January 1937 the Navy Department assisted the Brazilian Government in drawing up specifications and proposals for bids for material for the Brazilian 1500-ton destroyers. Early in May 1937 President Vargas drove the first rivets into the keels of new warships, and now three of the nine destroyers planned are being built in Brazil on plans drawn by United States engineers, and with American equipment. The remaining six destroyers are expected to be built in the United States and Great Britain. As for the proposed lease of over-age American destroyers to Brazil that aroused such an international howl a few months ago, it is only a secondary item in a very comprehensive plan of assistance.

Naturally this assistance has enlivened the naval race the South-American good neighbors are staging, and has come as the best break in years for American armament interests, including Du Pont and allied concerns, New York Shipbuilding and Bethlehem Steel, which have been hard after the Brazilian business for more than a decade. Du Pont set up a powder plant for the Brazilian Government in the twenties, and has a very extensive organization throughout the continent.

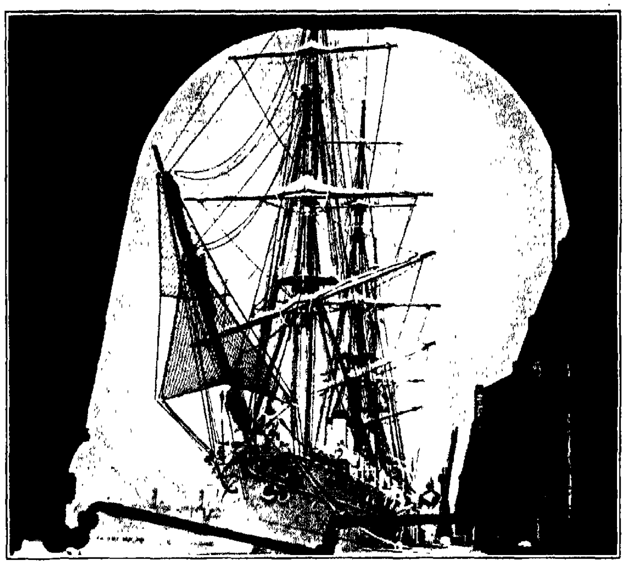
Back to the Old Game

The Roosevelt administration in 1933 took a definite stand against encouraging armaments in South America, but apparently the bitter competition for economic advantage among world powers and the bullying tactics of Italy, Germany and Japan, have brought about a reversion of that policy. And now we are falling back to the same methods that failed in the twenties.

In the meantime, today, as in the twenties, South America is arming against South America. In the South-American press campaigns that have preceded and are keeping up the present race there has not been a single word about the danger of extracontinental aggression to the South-American republics. Only their local foreign-made rivalries have been played up. And it is doubtful whether South America will ever put up a united front against the international arms racket, because South-American public opinion is totally blind to the facts.

All this is what the Buenos Aires Conference "for the Maintenance of Peace" was supposed to end with a set of pacts or treaties. But, as you see, it hasn't. South America is headed now in the same disastrous direction as it was before. Yet you, and with you millions of organized peace lovers in the United States, are still placing hopes in those treaties.

Do you know what Saavedra Lamas, the famous Argentine Foreign Minister, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1936, said when the Buenos Aires Peace Conference was over? This is a rather confidential piece of information. But I am handing it to you because I know how sincere is your interest in peace. He called the head of another South American delegation and told him: "Now we have to arm ourselves to the teeth!"



Times Wide World

HANDS ACROSS THE OCEAN: *Argentina's rearmament has been the biggest pie for arms salesmen, and England has gained the biggest slice. Above is one of the ways in which she did it: the Argentine training ship,* Presidente Sarmiento, *takes its detachment of cadets to pay a diplomatic visit in London.*

If you want to work for peace in Latin America, the way certainly is not to organize thrilling air tours in order to go and shake hands and drink cocktails over platonic peace pacts with the men who are arming South America against South America, in many instances only to fill their own pockets. A more practical design for peace would be to demand the control of the munitions traffic with Latin America, to follow the activities of the munition makers down there, and to expose them before the public opinion of the Americas.

"AMERICA'S BEST UNION"

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the fifth of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press early this year. The sixth installment will appear in the February issue of Current History.

THE International Ladies Garment Workers is far more than a trade union. It is also a welfare agency, an educational institution, a philanthropic society and a kind of experimental station for the amicable adjustment of industrial disputes.

It was formed on June 3, 1900 at a "national convention" held in New York City's "Labor Lyceum" on East Fourth street and attended by eleven delegates. They represented the dubiously eager 2000 members of seven cloak makers' and pressers' unions located in Newark, Manhattan, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The founders were able to raise $30.00 in cash which covered the cost of the charter and seals that symbolized the International's affiliation with the A.F. of L. and left enough over for the General Secretary to buy (a) a ledger, (b) a bottle of ink, (c) pen and nibs, (d) stationery, all of which he tenderly transferred to his two rooms in a Lower East Side tenement, first "office" of the union.

Today the International has five million dollars in its treasury reserves, invested chiefly in Federal, State, and municipal bonds. It has 200,000 members, 70 per cent women, 30 per cent men, many of whom display an almost religious devotion to the union, its policies, and its leadership.

They pay dues ranging from $.25 to $.35 to $.50 a week, in direct proportion to income. And certainly they get an amazing lot for their money. They get more perhaps than the adherents of any other union in the world.

In the 38 years of its existence, the International has reduced their hours from 70 to 60 to 56 to 52 to 48 to 40 to 35 and, beginning in 1939, to 32½ per week. It has similarly helped to raise their wages to a very appreciable extent, and to eliminate many and diverse health hazards. Yet its significance in the American labor movement is that it has gone beyond such irreducible minima of any alert and intelligent unionism. Propelled by the special conditions of women's garment making, and by the aspirations of its polyglot *persona*, it has evolved an outlook of responsibility to industry and to the community at large that in itself forms a "case study" of socialist aims and ideals as muted and modified by the American environment.

Up until about 1870 "ready-made" dresses and gowns and hoopskirts, capes and cloaks and coats, mantuas and mantillas were made mostly by native-born women in the shops of the merchant who specialized in "Ladies' Furnishings and Notions" and who sold either by the yard or the garment. It was a trade largely dominated by German Jews whose ancestors in Berlin and Frankfurt had for generations conducted most of the clothing commerce in the realms of the First Reich.

In America such merchants, or merchant-manufacturers, allotted a special space in store or warehouse to the work of women who plied needle and thread and pedaled at Mr. Howe's "most marvelous and intricate machine" and were as a rule presided over by an "imported" French tailoress who saw to it that the results of all the sewing, cutting, pressing, pleating, basting and fitting at least approximated the fashions decreed by La Belle Paris.

Within the quarter of a century between 1870 and 1895, however, three crucial changes occurred in the industry. The first was technological. In 1876 the heavy steel cutting knife, sharp as a samurai's sword, was patented and put on the market. It enabled the operator to cut several designs at once, even from thick velvets and woolens and brocades, but it required a good deal of strength to wield it and men began to replace women in doing the job. The second change was in the division of labor, quickened by improvements in the sewing machine, and which fostered the "contracting system" with its sweat-shop evils. Many of the merchant-manufacturers as business grew, wanted to keep from overcrowding their shops with too many garment makers, since they occupied space better devoted to the still brisk piece-goods trade and for the sale of the finished apparel. Gradually, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and Chicago, such dealers began to "let out" first portions and then nearly all of their cheaper "ready-to-wear" work to "outside" shops, the owners of which guaranteed to furnish clothing made up to specifications. Meantime, the spasmodic growth of railroads, filiating out in all directions at once, like rivulets of iron, extended the demand for "boughten" raiment even to rural areas, while in the cities the aristocratic and their imitators were beginning to give up their seamstresses, permanent or traveling, and to patronize the better custom shops.

From 1890 to 1890 the industry's output jumped in value from $32,000,000 to $68,000,000. Invested capital rose from $8,000,000 to more than $21,000,000. The number of establishments increased from 562 to 1,224 and the number of workers from 25,192 to 39,149.

It was obviously a "coming" business. What was more, it was easy to enter. If you could obtain a "contract" or "bundles" from the larger merchant-manufacturer you could set up an outside shop of your own for as little as $50.00. To meet orders that often swamped their facilities, the merchant-manufacturers—some of whom were becoming wholesalers and retailers only—thought it easier and cheaper to place upon the contractor the task of breaking in new labor and getting the finished goods out. The former believed that they could never carry on their business otherwise since "the number employed was so vast that it would be next to impossible to furnish sufficient workrooms for their accommodations in the same buildings where merchandise is sold."

By 1893 this trend had fastened itself upon the industry to such an extent that the New York State Bureau of Labor reported that in Gotham out of "a hundred wholesale-cloak houses"

The ILGWU Has Both a Social Philosophy and Something in the Bank for a Rainy Day

only "half a dozen now provide their own factories and workshops." Such firms as Oppenheim, Collins in New York, Marshall Field in Chicago, and Day, Callaghan in Boston each had as many as 25 or 30 "outside shops" turning out their women's wear for their counters.

Along with such developments, and marking the industry's third great change was the vast new influx of Jews from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, comprising 10.7 per cent of the total immigration to the United States from 1891-to-1900.

Early Sweat Shops

The majority of such newcomers to the American garment industry found dark chaos instead of Canaan. Sweat shops were at this time moving towards their apotheosis of horror and degradation. Hundreds of them were located in tenement house fire-traps where in fetid, ill-ventilated rooms, full of vermin, and all the odors of domesticity, workers crowded upon one another and in fair weather spilled out onto roofs, still stitching doggedly away since they were paid on a piece-rate basis.

The laconic report of an Illinois factory inspector in 1893 describes a typical shop at 159 West Taylor street, Chicago:

> "This is in rear of lot, over stable; entrance by narrow passage between houses in front, low-ceiled and dirty; bare brick walls, sink in room gives out bad smell; gasoline used in pressing, odors from alley and stable coming up combine to make stench unbearable; no separate closet for women; employs seven men, three women" And another at 549 West 19th street: "home shop, in basement of tenement house, low, dark and filthy; dimensions of workroom were 14 x 14 x 17½, two windows; room contained four sewing machines; stove with fire in it, and four men and three women working; air intolerably bad; folding doors were open between this shop room and living room in which Darwut (the owner) and his wife eat and cook and keep boarders; the boarders (two) slept in a low room off shop, unlighted and unventilated.

In New York City, chief center of the garment trade, conditions were even worse, if possible. Plumbing in the shops that clotted the lower East Side was still of the Chic Sale variety. The workers had to pay for the privilege of getting a job, and keeping it. They were ridiculed for clinging to old-country habits. Their ignorance was exploited on every side. They were fined for being a few minutes late. They had to buy their own needles and thread from the proprietor, yielding him 300 to 500 per cent profit on package or spool. They had to work 16 and 17 hours a day, many of the single men sleeping on their "bundles" to "save rent" and to "borrow a couple of hours from tomorrow." "Mistakes" in payment, which were made by check, were frequent and enraging but argument about it could mean instant dismissal. Average wages were $7.00 and $8.00 and $11.00 the week and were often delayed until an entire shop had finished an "immediate delivery" order. Dust from cloth piled high on tables and floors promoted the whole list of pulmonary complaints. Sometimes whole families, especially "learners" labored from sunup to midnight to earn $15.00 a week.

As early as 1886, under the leadership of the Jewish intellectuals, these workers had organized an "Anti-Sweating League" and in the German and Yiddish press and by word of mouth campaigned against sweat-shop thralldom. They urged the workers to study, to read, to learn English, to "orient" themselves to their new environment, and to dare to stand up against the most hard-boiled proprietor. Hence the workers were gradually accustomed to the idea that when in trouble, the only people to offer a helping hand were the intellectuals. At the same time, however, the latter gained few followers. The workers were grateful for aid and succor in time of crisis; they did not, as a whole, accept the political and economic views of their benefactors. A small minority was won over, however, forsaking the traditions of "Chedar" and "Schule" for the Social Revolution which, as every enlightened person knew, was just around the corner.

Yet the intellectuals and their handful of "rank-and-filers" wielded an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. They were sustained by the certitude that their cause was "just, right, and invincible." They were willing to take on themselves the most onerous tasks in calling strikes and seeing them through; and in the early days of unionism in the needle trades they assumed commanding roles.

During the eighties a few unions had been formed notably that of the Dress and Cloak Makers in New York City who had waged the industry's first significant strike in 1883. Their revolt spot-lighted the triangular nature of the trade with its special relations between manufacturer, contractor and labor, for in this instance the contractors tended to side, morally at least, with the workers against the Big Fry who allied themselves into the first Cloak Manufacturers Association to repel the "foolish and misguided" attacks of their newly-joined adversaries.

The walkout attracted a good deal of attention as the "Emigrants' Strike"; and the union, aided by the sob-sisters of the daily press and the Knights of Labor gained its goal of a



MAYOR LA GUARDIA VISITS THE HEALTH CENTER: *"About 90,000 International members use the Union Health Clinic every year for everything from curing a cold to getting a cardiograph"*

$2.50 minimum for a day that began at 8 a.m. and ended at 6 p.m. It was chartered as a Knights of Labor local assembly but its immigrant members didn't quite know what it meant. To them a union was a bread and butter affair, a device for sating belly-hunger. They were unprepared for the grandiose mumbo-jumbo by which the Noble Order tried to express the yearnings of that day's labor for a greater personal dignity, a sense of "being somebody" other than a very "common laborer" at the bottom of the heap.

In his *Memoirs*, Abraham Rosenberg, who was to become first president of the International, depicts the astonishment that marked their first encounter with the Knights.

> "I still retain," he said, "a vivid picture of the scene which took place when the District Master Workman and his deputies, all Irish, came to perform the ceremony of installing us We were all new in America and we did not understand a word of what was said We could only see how one of them took a piece of chalk and drew a large circle on the floor and told us to stand on the circle Then another deputy placed a small sword on the table and a globe was hung on the side of the door of the meeting-hall . . Many of us on seeing the sword were not sure whether we were all going to be slaughtered or drafted into the army . Only later . did some explain . . that if any one of us broke the oath and became untrue to the interests of Labor, he would be pursued by the sword and would be unable to escape because the Knights were strong the world over"

Other groups, from reefer to corset makers in the variegated industry, were heartened by the success of their dress and cloak colleagues and began to set up unions of their own. All of them ran into trouble. Extremist factions warred constantly for their allegiance. In the mid-eighties Johann Most, fiery disciple of Bakunin's new Nihilism, established headquarters in New York City and published a charming little booklet entitled *Science of Revolutionary Warfare—a Manual of Instruction in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, Etc., Etc.* He was an eloquent man with black flowing hair and black bushy beard and the slogan of "Extirpate the miserable brood." His appearance and activities first gave to American cartoonists that stock-character, bearing the varied labels of any "subversive element" that has survived to the present day. He was the idol of various revolutionary clubs in New York and Chicago. He preached the "creative joy of destruction." He prided himself upon being a "propagandist of the deed" and he believed that the adroit use of percussion-caps was the only method by which the workers could liberate themselves from the shackles of the "bloodsuckers," the capitalists. He controlled the "International Workingmen's Association," which was a kind of central committee for anarchists in America. Whenever possible Most and his lieutenants would try to "bore from within" the nascent feeble unions in the garment trade, and as a rule turned them into debating clubs that displayed a high scorn for getting anything done and were soon wrecked by "ideological dissensions" between pro-Most and anti-Most factions. At the same time the Socialist Labor Party, guided by the magnificently handsome and brilliant orator, Daniel DeLeon, told the workers that they should join only the trade union branches of the S.L.P. which itself kept splitting off into splinter groups. Simultaneously, the A.F. of L. was battling the "blunderings" of the Knights of Labor who retorted in kind, while both sought the loyalty of newly organizing workers. The I.W.W. traveled to the Atlantic Seaboard to infuse the more effete Eastern wage-slaves with Western derring-do in the "war against capitalist oppressors." The I.W.W. denounced the A.F. of L. as the "American Fakiration of Labor" and Gompers as a "traitor to the working class" and tried to convince the bewildered garment workers that salvation lay only through adoption of the Wobbly platform. Along with such conflicting claims that set the head of the would-be unionist spinning around and around, were vast alterations in the industry itself that made him even dizzier. In the decade from 1890 to 1900 the number of establishments in the trade had increased 120 per cent, from 1224 to 2701 and the number of wage-earners 114 per cent or from 34,149 to 83,739.

Refinements in the sewing-machine and the steam pressing machine combined with more complex and intricate marketing methods to subdivide work more and more into a mass production diversity. Instead of being made by three or four workers, a garment now would pass through thirty or forty or even fifty different hands before completion. Hence "sub-contracting" within a shop began to appear. It was less a system for the division of labor than a kind of perpetual fission.

The owner, for example, would hire two or three pressers who would contract to take care of all the pressing and who would in turn hire two or three or four of their own "sub-pressers" or "helpers" to do most of the work. A skirt-contractor would engage a dozen men who in turn would hire five or six assistants, each of whom had two or three "sub-assistants" until an arrangement of "sub-sub-sub-contracting" ensued. It created a hierarchy of its own, an endless chain of bantam-weight, light-weight, welter-weight, and heavy-weight bosses, all of whom were interested in keeping wages down.

International's Uphill Struggle

The International, from its beginnings in 1900, therefore faced an uphill struggle to achieve the primary objectives of unionism: a "living wage," "shorter hours," and "decent conditions." Its philosophy in theory was colored by its many Socialist sympathizers, and its first constitution, in its preamble, endorsed the "class struggle" and all its implications. The International's practice, however, was the pure pragmatism of Gompers, "all you can get, here and now." In fact it reflected the official A.F. of L. credo in almost every respect. It urged high dues to build a strong strike and out-of-work benefit treasury. It pinned high hopes on the use of the union label and the effectiveness of the boycott. It discouraged strikes, save as the ultra-last resort, and counseled mediation instead. At conventions it passed Socialist resolutions and then filed them away. Yet there was one vital difference between the International and the A.F. of L. The former believed in an industry-wide welding of all the workers, from well-paid cutter to poorly-paid "helper," into a single body; and it has always acted upon the assumption that both skilled and unskilled had a unity of interests that transcended the confines of occupation.

Hence the International, from its inception, has been a combination of both the craft and industrial types of unionism. And it has fashioned a successful formula for reconciling intra-union disputes over jurisdiction by setting up "joint boards" on which workers from every classification, within a given area, receive "proportional representation."*

Despite such feelings of mutual aid, of "one for all, and all for one," how-

* In this regard it is interesting to note that in recent "peace" talks between the A.F. of L and the C I.O., the International in its structural form has often been mentioned as furnishing, in microcosm, the model which organized labor in America may eventually adopt

ever, the International in 1910, after a decade of often sacrificial effort, found itself unable to modify effectively the evils of a trade which was thriving upon the cheapness of its human labor. Union strategists at last concluded that the only way to correct abuses which were particularly vicious in New York City, would be the way of the general strike, which would close up every shop in the city "tight as a drum" and bring the employers to book altogether, and all at once. Experience had shown the International's chieftains that even when an employer did recognize the union, with its higher wage scales, he was placed more or less at the mercy of rivals who kept an open shop and who could cut prices at will, underselling his unionized competitor.

By talking up the "Great Event," the future general strike, as a quick bold method of improving conditions all along the line, union officials roused workers from their passive acceptance to a desire for action. And at the tenth convention of the International, 65 delegates by a 55 to 10 vote authorized the General Executive Board to issue the "call" whenever "advisable."

The Great Strike

It was a do or die decision. Advance preparations resembled in their magnitude, the planning of a major military operation. Weeks before the strike summons was issued, halls were hired for meetings, lawyers hired to fight court action and bookkeepers hired to supervise and allocate funds. To test the temper of the workers, the first labor meeting ever to be held in Madison Square Garden was arranged by the union's leaders on June 28, 1910. The response was overwhelming; the enthusiasm hysterical as thousands, unable to enter the jammed Garden, overflowed to nearby streets.

Suddenly and without warning at two o'clock on July 7, 1910, peak of the season, 60,000 garment workers quit. The 92 per cent of the industry centered in New York was utterly paralyzed by two-thirty. It was the greatest and most startling withdrawal of labor-power in American history. For caught up in the excitement of the occasion, non-union workers had also joined the marching multitude that surged towards meeting halls on lower Fifth Avenue, snarling traffic for block after block, south and west and east of the Union Square area.

It was a bitter and long-lasting combat that nearly ruined both sides. Employers lost millions. Workers suffered from a siege of semi-starvation as scanty reserves vanished and breakfast, dinner, and supper was one slice of black bread and one cup of tea. After nearly two months, when both owners and workers had attained a state of exhaustion, a settlement was reached between the International and the Cloak, Suit, and Shirt Manufacturers Protective Association. It was called the "Protocol of Peace." Despite its high-falutin' name, with its Eastern European flavor, it was really a genus of the collective agreement species, but of a special kind. It was animated by a new spirit of industrial relations injected into it by Louis Dembritz Brandeis who had acted as impartial chairman for the negotiations at the suggestion of A. L. Filene, Boston dry-goods merchant who was morally and financially disturbed by the causes and consequences of this general strike.

The "protocol" while specifying wages, hours and "shop rules" differed drastically from similar pacts. It had no time limit, and could be terminated by either side by simply "giving notice." It was a "treaty of peace" founded purely upon the good-will of its signatories. It created a brand new body in American industrial life, a "Joint Board" of sanitary control to remedy health hazards. It set up a Committee of Grievances to handle minor frictions and a Board of Arbitration to "consist of one nominee of the manufacturers, one of the unions, and one of the public."

The features of this last proposal were the "invention" of Brandeis who believed that industrial conflict could be resolved by brain-power instead of by force, and who also introduced the idea of the "public," as both victim or beneficiary in the processes of production.

Both manufacturers and workers accepted this viewpoint with reservations of their own. The former adopted the protocol mainly as a mechanism for equalizing labor costs and thus rendering competition less jugular. The latter ratified it only as a compromise when their resources had been drained to the last dime and they knew that they could hold out no longer. Union sachems like Rosenberg, then president of the International, were conditioned by Marxist thinking and were reluctant to swallow the thought of "common interests" and "cooperation" among employer and employee. They were thinking in terms of class struggle not in terms of collaboration. Many on both sides regarded the protocol as a muddling makeshift and at first it almost failed to function. Like foremen in motor plants of a later day, the petty bosses in the women's garment trade couldn't get used to the thought that they could no longer hire and fire at will or whim and exact graft, favors, tribute, and generally throw their weight around. The workers, still influenced by the idea that unionism and strike were somehow synonomous, were angry that under the terms of the protocol they had given up the right to strike and were compelled to abide by rulings of the Board of Arbitration as "final and conclusive." Yet the protocol, despite countless moves to call the whole thing off, justified itself. It worked. Law and constitutional procedure replaced the arbitrary exercise of authority on the owner's part and resentful retaliation by the worker.

Internal Strife

The essential principles of "protocolism," despite many variations in detail and even more temporary setbacks, have remained to dominate the union's attitude to the present day. Before the efficacy of this approach was vindicated, however, the International was subjected to a vicious internal strife that almost destroyed it.

For in August 1920 the Red Labor Union was organized in Moscow for the purpose of taking over the labor movements of the Western World. Its 21 point program declared, among other things, that it would be at once "necessary to establish Communist nuclei" in all such labor bodies. In America, the Trade Union Educational League, formed by William Z. Foster, was the lever by which the Communists sought to gain control of the A. F. of L. At the outset of this campaign, the units of the International were chosen as the most fertile and promising fields for sowing discontent. Its ranks contained numerous Russian and Polish Jews, ecstatic over the abolition of Czardom, who would be, it was thought, emotionally receptive to salvation by the Soviet.

Meantime, the International was riding high. It was at a new top of potency and prestige, with 3900 agreements covering 170,000 members, mainly as the result of the World War boom. At its convention in the summer of 1920, there was much exuberant talk about a greater "voice in management," about "industrial democracy." It was the bright clear day before the deluge. The post-armistice depression, commencing in the fall of 1920,

swarmed down over the country like a plague of locusts. In the women's garment trade, hundreds of firms folded as retailers canceled orders by wire and special delivery. Other employers desparately tried to save themselves by slashing wages to keep their share of a dwindling market. Agreements with the unions were revised, tacitly ignored, openly abrogated. In the retrenchments of panic, thousands of garment workers were laid off. In New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Toledo, Toronto, great strikes to maintain operating pacts with management proved mainly abortive. The workers were baffled, and discouraged by an experience the more demoralizing for its contrast with the halcyon days of a few short months before.

At this juncture, Mr. Foster and aides made an entrance onto the International's stage, an appearance exquisitely timed to the cue of the workers' general resentment. He was, and is, the most gifted organizer, *per se*, in the United States. And for three years as the depression deepened he exercised his talents to such good effect that in 1924 the Communists ruled the important Joint Board of the Cloak Makers Union and had made appreciable inroads elsewhere, concentrating all his forces in New York City. Group after group succumbed to his persuasions. The only local that like a Praetorian Guard stood out against this Communist invasion was the powerful Cutter Union No. 10, oldest in the International. It was managed by a dynamic resourceful, thirty-two year old Polish-born Jew, David Dubinsky. To people who had known him in the old country his anti-Communist activity seemed like a complete *volte face*. From his early youth he had been a firebrand in Poland's trade union branch of the revolutionary "Bund," a kind of Jewish Sinn Fein. At seventeen he had been left-wing leader of a bakers' union which conducted a strike against his own father, who owned one of the largest bakeries in Lodz. And at twenty Dubinsky *fils* had been sentenced to serve a prison term in Siberia for making an "incendiary" speech.

David Dubinsky Enters

He had come to the United States in 1911, still brimming over with radical ardor, settling in New York. By day he learned the cutter's trade, and he studied by night. And he was very soon "Americanized." He arrived at the conclusion that unions in this country, by the nature of American society, couldn't get very far by relying only upon Marxist syllogisms. He had quickly acquired a key position in the Cutters Union by the tactics of the typical "go-getter." He is today in fact less a labor leader in the customary usage of the term, than an efficiency expert with an accountancy neurosis. As manager of the Cutters No. 10 he handled the local's finances with what amounted to a kind of wizardry. If he couldn't raise enough money through dues, he would invent special drives for "Old Age Funds" and the like to keep the union's coffers full against a rainy day. Colleagues derided him humorously as a "miser," as "Mr Morgan," but forked over for the 57 varieties of special assessments that his ingenuity devised. By such means he built up a credit standing that is rare, if not unique, among American labor leaders. From his earliest days he could always swing a substantial loan with no other collateral than his reputation for being able to get money "out of the air."

It has been his financial acumen, rather than anything else, that explains his rapid rise to the presidency of the International, a post to which he was elected by acclamation in 1932.

For when in 1926 the Communists under Foster called a strike that ended in a shattering defeat for the International, in wage-losses of $3,500,000 and otherwise, the only local which was solvent was Dubinsky's No. 10. He transformed it into a kind of first-aid society, helping other International affiliates to get back on their feet again, to maintain offices and morale. He and his Cutters also functioned as an anti-Communist brigade, arousing antagonism against a leadership which, in their phrase, "had used the workers as a catspaw for Moscow politics," and ousting Foster's surrogates from positions of influence and trust.

After the NRA

When the Supreme Court abolished NRA codes in 1935, Dubinsky worked for weeks with the manufacturers of the cloak and suit industry to devise an elaborate system that has, at its hub, a voluntary "Recovery Board" which maintains standards generally better than the minima set by the Blue Eagle. Under his leadership of labor in the nation's fifth industry with its $1,325,000,000 production in 1936, the International has 8,550 agreements with firms in the United States and Canada, 7,230 of which are covered by contracts with 62 employers associations and 1320 by independent pacts. Out of a potential strength of 345,000, the International has 260,000 members divided as follows:

Per cent Unionized	Branch of Industry	Average Number of Workers per Shop
90%	Blouses	28.5
80%	Children's Outerwear	35.0
97%	Coats, Suits and Separate Skirts	19.0
95%	Dresses	37.8
97%	Corsets and Allied Garments	64.9
80%	Infants' Wear	25.3
50%	Knitted Outerwear	46.8
50%	Knitted Underwear	187.8
75%	Underwear and Nightwear	47.7
40%	Cotton Garments	125.4

They pay dues amounting to a million and a half annually; and at Dubinsky's insistence 15 Certified Public Accountants travel the year round out of National Headquarters, going from local to local in 52 cities to keep track of just where the money goes, and why, and otherwise to improve the quality of the union's arithmetic. Work or no work, dues have to be paid. And except for 4 per cent in mining districts where the traditions of the check-off are tenacious, all International adherents pay on a voluntary basis, a technique employed to stress to the workers that "it's up them" to share in the burdens and benefits of the union, and similarly to strengthen their sense of personal participation, the International's press is edited to and for them by the brilliant union publicist Max D. Danish. The official monthly, *Justice*, printed in English, is read by 170,000 members who subscribe to it in preference to other language publications such as the Yiddish journal *Gerechtigkeit* read by 35,000, the Italian *Giustizia* with a circulation of 45,000, a Spanish and a French edition of *Justice* read by 10,000 apiece.

Extra-Curricular Activities

And in this regard it is important to observe that about half of the International's time and energy are expended in "extra-curricular" activities that tend to make its own brand of unionism less a bargaining agency than a "way of life."

Its educational department, for example, with branches all over the country, and which includes a "cul-

tural and recreation" division is far and away the best of its kind in the world. It is the pet project of thoughtful, handsome Julius Hochman, vice-president of the International, who sees to it that funds are never lacking for this enterprise. Under the direction of Mark Starr, veteran of the British Labor Movement, and Fannie M. Cohen, famed anti-sweat shop crusader, the department conducts study classes in English, Parliamentary Law, Current Events, American History, Labor Problems, Training for Union Service, and so forth. Lecturers of national repute address its forums. It has a varied athletic program of baseball, basketball, bowling and soccer with teams drawn from all its affiliates. It gives instruction in music and has set up 40 of its own bands, orchestras and choral societies. It teaches dancing whether "tap," "ballroom," or "interpretive." It presents operas like *Aida* with its own cast. It gives free showings of the better movies like *Zola*, the French *Carnival in Flanders*, the Russian *Baltic Deputy*. On its own "Labor Stage" in New York City, it first produces plays like John Wexley's *Steel*, and presents musical comedies like *Pins and Needles*. It arranges exhibits for the paintings of both W.P.A. and private artists. It schedules picnics and outings in the country in the summer and dances in the winter. Its "handbooks" of union tactics and songs have been adopted, with slight changes, by the newer unions in motors, rubber, radio, and steel. It grants scholarships to promising students at Bryn Mawr, at Wisconsin, at Brookwood Labor College.

The International is also constantly concerned with the physical well-being of its members, organizing the Union Health Center, in New York City, in 1913. It is the biggest clinic of its sort in the country, staffed by some 16 doctors and 4 dentists, some of whom, like Dr. George M. Price, Director, have done notable research in the relation of work conditions to health. About 90,000 International members use the Union Health Clinic every year for everything from curing a cold to getting a cardiograph, receiving excellent medical care at about one quarter of the cost anywhere else, for the International underwrites whatever budget the Health Center needs.

Some years ago the International purchased for $500,000 the 1000 acre estate of a New York multi-millionaire in the Pocono Hills, Forest Park, Pennsylvania. The union has changed this property into a vacation resort for its members and the members of other labor groups. The main house and adjoining cottages accommodate 1000 guests. For $19.00 a week and a union card, you can spend as much time as you please at this "Unity House," play tennis, go boating, swim, ride horseback or what have you. The rooms are definitely on the luxurious side, and the cuisine is of a sort for which most of us would have to pay several times over $19.00 a week.



WHEN THE BLUE EAGLE DIED *This was the interpretation given to the passing of the NRA in a cartoon which appeared in a publication of the ILGWU.*

In addition to taking care of its own, the International, under Dubinsky, has acted on the premise that labor, instead of being at any time an object of charity, should stand on its own feet, and be able to contribute to the welfare of others, thus increasing its own self-respect and fulfilling its obligations to the community at large. Hence among the union's disbursements you find such items as "American Red Cross for Drought and Flood Victims, $10,000," the "Los Angeles Sanitarium, $7500." And among its investments you will find $100,000 worth of bonds in New York's World Fair Corporation to help the city make this giant undertaking a genuine success.

In the present A.F.L.-C.I.O. fracas the International has lined up with the latter and contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to C.I.O. drives in steel and textiles. Yet Dubinsky, as spokesman for his union, wants peace, the sooner the better, and he has waved the olive branch on every possible occasion. For one thing he believes that only a unified labor movement can help to build that new political alignment which will carry forward implications of the New Deal. Any such party, he insists, must not only be built up "from the grass roots of a state-wide basis first," but must also not be a strictly labor or class party and must "make ample room for all liberal and progressive groups, wage-earners along with the white-collar people of our middle classes and . . . all other gainfully employed citizens."

But he is daily plugging to achieve a united labor movement for a more important reason. He is convinced that the "wide participation in the aims and objectives of industry by responsible, constructive unions" alone can insure greater stability to American society as it moves inexorably towards a future "planned economy" which, he thinks, may even "place the unions in a position of leadership alongside of management," with government helping both.

Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

CONFLICTS between artists and their patrons have been notorious through the ages, and the odd aspect of it all is that they continue just as actively today even though the degrading and humiliating system of patronage is now a matter of historical recollection. In the remote ancient days of Phidias, in the exciting post-medieval days of Michelangelo, when the arts were being born full-grown, to a stature they have never achieved since, the conflicts were different in detail but not in substance. No battle which Michelangelo waged with the popes was any more exciting or melodramatic, even in Vasari's telling, than the one Diego Rivera waged with the Rockefellers in 1933 or the one Rockwell Kent has waged recently with the Post Office officials over his Puerto Rico mural.

The curious thing is that such battles are seldom about technical proficiency but about social concepts: differences in emphasis, interpretation, purpose. In each case the person (or entity) paying the bill, who today is no longer a patron but an employer, wants something that the artist will not provide or doesn't want something that the artist has provided. During the last two hundred years such conflicts have been less challenging and less crucial because artists have been more concerned with the "how," that is with the technique, of art than with the "what" of it, that is its substance, message, meaning.

It has been only in post-war years, when artists the world over have become socially-minded again, as they were in the olden days, that such conflicts have become public issues. Michelangelo had no conflicts on that score. He had the Biblical *mythos*, with its creative and mystical concepts to give form to; he believed in it; the popes believed in it; the majority of the people of his time believed in it. The "what" of his art, therefore, was provided for him. It was only with the "how" that he had to be concerned. With the rise of Protestantism, however, and the break up of the Biblical *mythos* into divers sections and segments, with individuals exalted as more important than institutions, and the individual and not social authority extolled as the final test of truth, art changed in direction and emphasis. The artist from that time on spent more of his time trying to decide "what" he would paint than "how" he would paint it; the result was that art during the last few hundred years became so individualistic that during the twenties, when it was in its ultra-modernist phase, it became so individualistic that only the individual artist knew what he had painted. This development reached its final extreme in the late twenties when a picture of a horse was portrayed in a painting featured in one of America's leading esthetic magazines, with the title beneath it: "The Violin." What the artist was really trying to say, to do justice to his aim, was that when he thought of a violin he saw the figure of a horse. Artists boldly declared in those days that their purpose was "to express" and not "to communicate." They were more interested in *expressing* their *selves*, even if no one but themselves understood them, than they were in *communicating* their *selves* to others.

The thirties rendered that form of modernism passé. Art in the thirties returned to its older forms. It disencumbered itself of its ultra-individualistic, anarchistic modernisms and became concerned with communication as well as expression. And, what is more, it began to develop an interest in social content. Many artists in the twenties, of course, had taken their stand on the side of "social art" but it was not until the thirties that their influence became internationally dominant. It was after the expressionists, cubists, vorticists, and what not had lost their influence that the names of Rivera, Orozco, Grosz, Benton, Curry, Wood, and others attained their widespread and highly deserved recognition and fame.

Most of these painters focussed their attention upon society rather than the individual and their works as a result attained interpretive significance sociologically as well as esthetically. Rockefeller's quarrel with Rivera was not with the design or even the concept of his mural; the quarrel resulted from Rivera's insistence upon including the head of Lenin in the work which otherwise would have proved acceptable to the Radio City magnate. The inclusion of the head of Lenin was significant to Rivera because he is a communist and his murals in Mexico as well as the United States are dedicated to interpreting society in communist terms. In the more recent case of Rockwell Kent versus the Post Office officials the conflict is similar although the issue at stake revolves about a letter instead of a head.

The letter in question is in Eskimo dialect, and reads as follows:

> Puerto-Ricomiunun Ilapticnum! Ke Ha Chimmeulakut Engayscaacut, Amna Ketchimmi Attunim Chuli Waptictun Itticleoraatigut!

Translated into English, it states:

> To the peoples of Puerto Rico, our friends Go ahead, let us change chiefs. That alone can make us equal and free.

The letter itself, as drawn in the mural, is so small, and the words themselves so microscopical, that no one at first paid any attention to it until a reporter copied down the words verbatim and then proceeded to have them translated. Since that time, the Kent case has attracted world-wide attention. The mural in which the letter appears is one of two adjoining murals and can be understood only in relationship with the other mural. Rockwell Kent describes the murals and the relevance of the letter in the following words:

> On Saturday, September 4th, two paintings measuring 6 feet 6 inches by 13 feet each, were mounted in one of the corridors of the Federal Post Office building in Washington. One of the paintings was an arctic scene, and showed groups of Eskimos attending the departure of an airmail plane: there were reindeer and dog sledges laden with mail. The other scene was tropical. Its foreground was a level, sandy floor. Beyond this stretched the ocean. Groups of Negro figures

were shown either waving farewell to a departing seaplane, carrying sacks of mail up the embankment of the shore, or showing eager light-hearted excitement over a letter that presumably had just been received. A mail carrier, white, occupied the central, dominating position of the picture. He was mounted on horseback.

The group whose interest was centered on the letter consisted entirely of women. One, presumably the recipient of the letter, held it playfully away from the importunate curiosity of the others. As she held it, its text was clearly readable to any spectator of the picture who might have the curiosity to approach close enough to read its normal script. . . .

In the picture, the letter occupied so relatively small and inconspicuous an area, that of the many people—several of them officials or employees of the Treasury Department's Procurement Division which had sponsored the paintings—few even looked closely enough to see the writing, and none spoke of it. Not even when, on that same Saturday, the paintings were illuminated by floodlights for the taking of the official photographs, did anyone concern himself with the text of the letter.

The repercussions of the conflict soon became international. European as well as American newspapers featured the dispute, wrote editorials about it, and in Puerto Rico itself politicians became enraged and delivered themselves of oratorical salvos of attack upon the mural. Rafael Martinez Nadal, president of the Puerto Rican Senate declared the mural "an insult" and urged that "it must be wiped out," and Senor Santiago Iglesias, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, described it as "perverse propaganda against our country."

In a fusillade of letters, one sharper than another, Mr. Kent explained that all he wanted the message to express was "that belief in liberty and equality which, beginning as a cardinal doctrine of our Declaration of Independence, has come to be held to be the very keynote of American social ideals." He even offered to substitute other messages for the one now in the mural. Among such suggestions which he made were the following:

To the people of Puerto Rico, our brethren: Let us in the spirit of America fight for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

To the people of Puerto Rico: our friends: We are told that you want equality and freedom. We people of the Far North wish you success.

To the people of Puerto Rico, our friends: Success to you in your fight for freedom, for freedom is a tradition of our country.

On every side, however, he declares in an article in *The New Masses*, he has been blocked, and it looks as if his murals may share the same fate of the ill-fated Rivera mural at Rockefeller Center. Rivera, however, it should be noted, succeeded in reproducing the same mural in Mexico, where it can now be seen in the National Arts building in Mexico City.

Bentonian Realism

Both Rivera and Kent represent revolt against the French tradition in art, and in their stress upon realism they have sought to get at the core of life in their work. The American artist who has gotten closest to the realism of American life, however, is Thomas Benton, a mid-westerner, who has dedicated his genius to a rediscovery of the United States in art form. No painter among us has concerned himself as much with American life in its most simple and significant forms. An enemy of the French modernists, an enemy of all *abstractionists* in painting, Benton has gone up and down the land, studying the country which is America and the people that are American, in an attempt to depict them as they really are, without camouflage, without embellishment. Convinced that large cities represent death, and that we must return to the smaller places, the minor cities, the sprouting towns, the growing villages, if we want to understand America, Mr. Benton has gone back to the mid-west and has concentrated his attentions upon the humbler folk who constitute its populace. No one has captured their faces, caught their gestures, made them so completely alive, as Benton in his drawings, easel-paintings, and murals. He urges all artists who would understand America to go back to the soil, to go back to the roots of the land.

"In the great cities fewer and fewer escape the pressures of one convention or another," he declares, "as these conventions, by their very isolated nature, do not reflect America, they work against the development of distinctively American forms. The interest in schools and museums in the smaller cities and towns indicates increasing tendencies to encourage such arts and, though they are subject, as yet, to many drawbacks and may be subject to many more, they hold one great promise. This is a great promise for American art. In those outlying places of the great rivers and fields which, in the self-satisfied vanities of the great cities, are regarded as the abodes of hicks and stuffed shirts, the promise of an artistic future seems to lie. The great cities are dead. They offer nothing but coffins for living and thinking."

Benton wants to encourage American forms of art, forms indigenous to the country itself, and he believes that those forms can develop only when American artists focus their eyes upon the people and scenery before them and divorce themselves from the esthetic theories of Europe. Benton's own achievement in that respect augurs well for what might be accomplished by others who follow his path. His



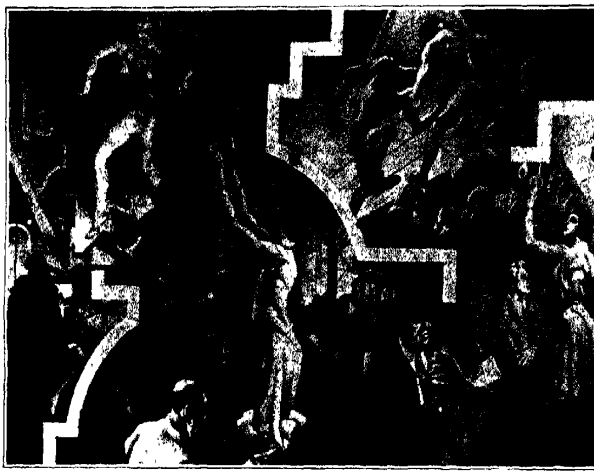
MESSAGE IN A MURAL: *The precise center of Rockwell Kent's new Post Office Department Building mural contains a letter from the people of Alaska to their American Brethren in Puerto Rico. It says, "Go ahead. Let us change chiefs. That alone can make us equal and free."*

farmers, his shipyard workers, his cotton-hands, all the folk who have come to life by means of his brush, have the look, the smell, the touch of the land about them. They are indubitably American.

An Artistic Renaissance

Part of the proof of Benton's prophecy is to be seen in the amazing work of Grant Wood and John Steuart Curry, two mid-Westerners, who belong in the Benton tradition although both of them are significant artists in their own right and reflect the influence of the country rather than that of an individual. Curry is now doing a series of murals for the State Capitol buildings in Kansas which will attempt to trace the history of the State through its divers vicissitudes of evolution. Subjects to be portrayed on the murals will deal with the pioneers who settled the State, with the great cattle drives, the coming of the railroads, the Indians, corn and wheat harvests, John Brown, and other Individuals and influences which have helped shape the character of the State. "In great measure," Mr. Curry says, describing what his murals seek to do, "it is the historical struggle of man with nature This struggle has been a determining factor in my art expression. It is my family's tradition and the tradition of a great number of Kansas people."

Interestingly enough, as evidence of the growing art-consciousness of the midwest, the money for these murals ($20,000) is to be raised by popular subscription.



CITY LIFE: *This canvas is one example of Thomas Benton's vivid realism in depicting American life.*

When we remember that not much more than a century ago a New England writer could declare that "The Plowman who raiseth grain is more serviceable to Mankind than the Painter who draws only to please the eye" and that not much more than a generation ago Thomas Benton's father "was profoundly prejudiced against artists" because artists were considered the ambassadors of idleness and iniquity, we can see what a far distance this country has advanced in its art interests and appreciations to date.

In Maine today, for example, the University of Maine has just completed the construction of a new art gallery, and, what is more important, has made arrangements for the circulation of pictures among the fraternities and other organizations throughout the State. In its effort to "stimulate a State-wide interest in art and to broaden the cultural background of the average Maine citizen," the University has already been circulating a travelling collection of colored reproductions of famous paintings among the schools and clubs in the State.

New Developments in the Theatre

Although announcement has been made that the W. P. A. Federal Theatre is faced with dissolution, because the Government has refused to subsidize it any longer, the excellent work which the Theatre has done in encouraging interest in the stage continues to challenge the attention of the public. It is most unfortunate that the Government in its slicing of expenditures had to l[...] the Federal Theatre fall "under i[...] axe," for no W. P. A. activity unde[...] taken has been more beneficial to th[...] public than that provided by th[...] W. P. A. mummers who revived inte[...] est in the stage in every part of th[...] nation, in villages and hamlets as we[...] as in towns and cities.

Part of the most interesting wor[...] carried on by the Federal Theat[...] Project has been strictly educationa[...] In addition to its own work in th[...] field, it has organized a National Serv[...] ice Bureau, which purposes to act a[...] "adviser-extraordinary" to the 50,00[...] amateur dramatic groups over th[...] country. Already it has published [...] descriptive list of 1314 plays "f[...] every taste, every purse, and ever[...] occasion."

In addition, the Project has encour[...] aged W. P. A. dramatists to write play[...] about such themes as "child welfar[...] youth, peace, and housing" and als[...] plays on health and safety for chil[...] dren's audiences. Most of these play[...] are one-acters, designed not "merel[...] for entertainment" but for instructio[...] and challenge. These plays have "[...] purpose," Mr. Fishel, head of the play[...] wrighting section of the Project, de[...] clares. "They teach. The Feder[...] Theatre, in my opinion, has opened [...] significant chapter in the developmen[...] of American drama and education. Among such plays are anti-lynchin[...] ones, anti-saloon ones, scientific one[...] (used very often by the schools in th[...] teaching of science), Easter plays, Eng[...] lish miracle and morality ones, rura[...] plays, children's operettas, Spanis[...] plays, Irish plays, and any number [...] vaudevillian and musical skits.

In Soviet Russia, the fifth Theat[...] Festival has just been celebrated ami[...] all the flash and fanfare with whic[...] the Russians always accompany suc[...] occasions. The performances includ[...] folk music and plays from all the var[...] ous republics of the Soviet Union an[...] a series of dramas, classical and mo[...] ern, among which were Shakespeare['s] *Much Ado About Nothing*, Tolstoi['s] *Anna Karenina*, Pushkin's *Boris Godu[...]nov*, Treneff's *Lyuboff Yarovaya*, Gus[...] eff's *Fame*, and Pafodin's *Aristocrat[s]* The ballet which was featured wa[...] *Sleeping Beauty* by Tchaikowsky, wh[...] not many years ago was out of favo[...] in the Soviet musical and theatric[...] world but who now is conspicuous o[...] every program. The festival is bein[...] celebrated also in the Ukraine, wher[...] in the theatres in Kharkov, Kiev, an[...] Rostov-on-Don many of the same play[...] will be produced.

DAVID DIETZ

Realm of Science

ONE third of all the deaths in America are due to three classes of diseases which have their inception in high blood-pressure. The three are heart disease, kidney disease, and cerebral hemorrhage or "stroke." High blood pressure—the medical man calls it "essential hypertension"—leads to hardening of the arteries or arteriosclerosis. The last chapter depends upon where the arteries first give way—in the heart, in the kidneys, or in the brain.

Essential hypertension and the diseases to which it leads occupied much of the time of the Tenth Annual Graduate Fortnight recently held by the New York Academy of Medicine. Experts from all parts of the country were gathered for this series of meetings.

One of the debated questions is whether essential hypertension is a "disease of civilization," the result of the wear and tear of nerves brought on by the frantic tempo of modern life. Some medical men think that this is the case and that the way to avoid high blood-pressure is to learn to "take it easy."

This phase of the subject was discussed before the assembled doctors by Dr. Karl A. Menninger, famous American psychiatrist. Dr. Menninger expressed the opinion that to determine whether nervous tension led to high blood pressure or vice versa might be like trying to decide which came first, the chicken or the egg. The important thing, he said, was to recognize that high blood pressure was accompanied by nervous symptoms which the physician needed to take into consideration in arranging the treatment of the patient.

In studying the problem we are faced by three pertinent facts, according to Dr. Menninger. One is that a transient rise in blood pressure may be induced in normal persons by emotional stimulation. In such people, however, the pressure quickly returns to normal.

The second important fact is that some persons suffering from high blood pressure are also found to be suffering from abnormal emotional conditions. The third is that chronic high blood pressure can be reduced in some cases by various procedures essentially psychological in nature.

Recent studies, he continued, have demonstrated that an undercurrent of fear frequently exists in the psychology of persons suffering from essential hypertension.

"Patients with hypertension are characterized by an external poise, often gentleness and amiability, beneath which there exists a strong undercurrent of fear which arises from the existence of strongly repressed aggressions, usually threats to the patient's security," he said.

Explaining this statement at greater length, he said that hypertension might be expected in a patient whose early childhood was threatened by poverty, death, or disaster whereby he was forced into a premature self-reliance. This self-reliance shows itself in later life in more or less external success, but there is a constant internal anxiety set up by actual or fantasied threats to his security.

Psychiatric treatment which reduces this nervous tension has proved to be a valuable aid in the treatment of chronic high blood-pressure, he added.

The Experimental Approach

Other speakers before the New York Academy of Medicine included Dr. Harry Goldblatt, associate director of the Institute of Pathology of the Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland.

Dr. Goldblatt is the first scientist to produce a continued high blood pressure in experimental animals. He accomplished this by reducing the blood supply of the kidneys. This condition, known as renal ischemia, leads to chronic high blood pressure and in some organs to the degenerative changes in the blood vessels which are characteristic of hardening of the arteries. He devised a tiny silver clamp for restricting the blood supply to the kidneys.

In recent experiments, Dr. Goldblatt has shown that the adrenals, the two tiny triangular ductless glands which are perched one on each kidney, are also concerned in the phenomenon in some way that is not yet entirely understood. He found that if the adrenal glands were removed, the animals did not develop high blood-pressure when the blood supply to the kidneys was reduced. In still other experiments, he demonstrated that once high blood pressure was established, operations upon the sympathetic nervous system would not cure it.

Scientists regard his experiments as the most important in the field to date although it is yet much too early to say what their eventual results may be.

Liver Extract and Pellagra

Advanced cases of pellagra have been treated successfully with a form of liver extract at Duke Hospital in Durham, N. C., Dr. David T. Smith of the Department of Medicine of Duke University told the American Dietetic Association. Apparently it is not the factor in liver which cures pernicious anemia which does the trick but some other factor, he said.

Recently it was announced that success had been obtained in treating pellagra with nicotinic acid and that this acid in all probability is one of the factors composing the so-called Vitamin B_2 complex, namely the anti-pellagra factor.

Between 1905 and 1915, pellagra was found to be widespread in the southern part of the United States. Dr. Joseph Goldberger of the U. S. Public Health Service established that the disease was due to a vitamin deficiency. Its victims were extremely poor, living on a diet consisting almost exclusively of corn bread and molasses.

Dr. Smith said that five years' experience at Duke University had shown that yeast was an effective treatment in the early stages of the disease but not in the advanced stages.

Acute constitutional symptoms which resemble those of an infection are due in most instances to an unknown toxic substance produced in the skin by the direct action of sunlight, he said. Victims must be protected from the sunlight until they have had proper dietary treatment.

Phosphorus Is Required

A warning against permitting the soil of the United States to become deficient in phosphorus is sounded by David E. Lilienthal, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Growing plants absorb phosphorus from the soil. This must be replaced, says Mr. Lilienthal, who points out that the TVA has launched a campaign to educate farmers to this important fact.

Highlights of the Law

GUERRA EVERETT

THE first session of the 75th Congress wrestled with 11,337 bills and 514 joint resolutions. Seventy-four of the latter and 822 of the former were landed in the statute books, but you should have seen some of those that got away.

Of course, if we turn a Socratic spotlight on the statistic 822, about half (407) fades into the shadows as "private" law; of the remaining public laws a great many are amendments to Federal administrative services, routine appropriations, and other special instances which affect the public only indirectly. That still leaves a substantial increment of new direct laws. Leo G. Koepfle of the Department of Commerce has summarized those which affect commerce, and since commerce affects everybody, perusal of this summary would profit him who runs or rides as he reads. Among the subjects are soft coal, sugar, price maintenance, agricultural marketing agreements, foreign trade agreements, neutrality, cotton classification, crops, taxes, and others of interest to the people at large.

International Rendition

Congress is beginning its labors again. Between the Acts, there is time to step out for a breath of fresh ozone and a look around to see what is going on in the everyday life of the law. Easily the most arresting case of recent weeks is the proceeding for the extradition of the former President of Cuba, long a patient in a New York hospital. This interest is due partly to the prominence of the defendant, but mostly to the fact that few lawyers have had occasion to participate in cases of extradition.

In the instant case defendant was served with a warrant of arrest on the mere request and unsubstantiated charge of the Cuban Government, which sought his return to Havana to stand trial for crimes alleged to have been committed before he was deposed as President. The defendant's attorney appeared before the United States Commissioner (who sits as a committing magistrate) and moved for the dismissal of the warrant. No one representing the Cuban Government was present; nevertheless the Commissioner denied the motion and ruled that defendant must be arraigned at his hospital forthwith. One of the odd things about extradition is that there is no appeal. However, that brightest jewel of English justice, the writ of habeas corpus, knows few insurmountable barriers, and an application for the writ was made to Federal Judge John C. Knox (based probably on the ground that defendant was a fugitive, not from Justice, but from Politics, and further that no evidence had been presented or could at the time be presented against him). Judge Knox, widely experienced in these matters, denied the writ, thus upholding the Commissioner's ruling that Cuba had, under the treaty, two months to produce its evidence.

The inexorable nature of the proceeding, which leaves little room for exhibiting the quality of mercy, has not suffered amelioration since the days when the defendant was in power and made such requisitions himself. One such case which aroused wide interest at the time was the arrest, pursuant to telegraphic request from Havana, of a young Cuban Negro prizefighter, then a great favorite in New York. He was taken into custody the day on which he was going to box at the Garden for a great charity event. His widely advertised participation was the chief drawing card. Moreover, his arrest portended ruin for his reputation and repudiation for valuable matches. At once the representatives and counsel of the charity, the arena, the pugilist's manager, and influential friends descended on Commissioner Cotter, who ruled that he had to hold the prisoner for sixty days against the receipt of the substantiating documents from Cuba. Counsel then asked that the prisoner be released in custody of a marshal for the fight, at least, urging the public interest in the charity. Counsel for the Cuban Government averred that he had no objection, but did not think it lawful. The opinion in camera of Judge Knox was sought, and he ruled that there was no precedent for bail or similar relief from incarceration in extradition cases, except (as in the more recent case) when defendant was hospitalized.

Extradition treaties developed slowly. Until recently Honduras had no treaty with us, and malefactors of great or little wealth found asylum there and sometimes a sort of anonymous fame as well, as O. Henry or Jack London characters. In the early days we obtained the return of fugitives as an act of grace from some countries. This was sometimes slightly embarrassing, as when our Minister to Roumania was instructed to request the return of a murderer and to advise the Roumanian Government, at the same time, that because of constitutional obstacles our Government could not offer to reciprocate in a like case, the several States claiming jurisdiction. A sensational case in 1913 spurred the work of treaty-making. An American residing in Italy atrociously murdered his wife there and escaped to the United States. Italy asked for his return, although Italy would not have consented to extradite an Italian for a crime committed abroad. When he was eventually extradited, public opinion compelled the adoption of the principle that we would not extradite Americans, but would bring them to trial here as best we could. Many treaties also provide that extradition will be denied where the penalty exacted may be death, and almost all expressly except political crimes and make the harboring country absolute judge of whether the crimes charged are in truth politically inspired.

Gentlemen of the Jury

Brazil, whose Constitution of two years ago was hailed as an instrument of greatest significance, now has a new one establishing a form of totalitarian state and, among other things, abolishing the distinction between federal and state court systems. The dictator evidently feels that he has the courts with him, but no chances are to be taken with the juries. The new procedural law will make juries liable to prosecution for perjury when the trial judge thinks that it has rendered a verdict contrary to the evidence. The justification of this new doctrine is that it will make jurymen more alert. These foreign notions make us either laugh or swell with pride over our own incomparable jury system. It is disconcerting to read that the machinery of justice stopped in Kansas City the other day "while authorities rooted out a jury summons racket in which chances to sit as a juror at $3 a day were sold in a tavern for $1 each."

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

AS THIS article is written, General Erich Ludendorf, German War Commander, is believed to be dying in a Catholic hospital. He is suffering from the same type of bladder complaint that caused the death of President Paul von Hindenburg.

General Ludendorf has been one of the staunchest advocates of the Tannenburg League, a neo-pagan, anti-Christian, anti-Semitic group. The Ludendorf Publishing House has sold numerous treatises against Catholicism, Judaism, Freemasonry, and other "supernatural powers inimical to the Reich." So great has been his enthusiasm for the new "German God Concept" that, despite his part in the 1923 putsch, the General has been estranged from Chancellor Hitler.

And now, as he lies dying, Catholic Sisters of Charity are caring for him in a Catholic nursing home.

Germany's "religious warfare" is making tremendous inroads in national unity, according to what the *New York Times* calls the "desperate petition" sent to Chancellor Hitler by the chaplains of the armed forces. The text of this petition indicates that the Nazi attacks on Christianity are becoming a threat to the National Socialist regime. The letter points out to the Fuehrer that public confidence in all official announcements is endangered by the failure of the government to keep its promises with regard to the "secure protection" promised to the Churches in the official declaration of the Reich government on Feb. 1, 1933. The chaplains boldly contradict the official declarations that the National Socialist State and party are not carrying on an anti-Christian campaign. The Protestant part of the German population knows how false are the charges against pastors and laymen who have been arrested. Catholics likewise know how their priests and religious are being maligned. As a result, the chaplains declare, half the population (those in accord with the Nazi program) believe everything that the government says, and the other half (those who seek to maintain their former religious status) believe nothing that comes from the government.

Such a statement, from an official source, would seem to indicate that Germany is really in the midst of a religious war which, if not settled soon, may cause the downfall of National Socialism.

"House of the Bible"

The "House of the Bible" at the Paris Exhibition was visited daily from 10 a.m. to nearly midnight by an amazingly large number of people, civilians and soldiers, young people and old, standing patiently waiting their turn (according to a dispatch from the International Christian Press and Information Service, Geneva). Some 28,000 Bibles, New Testaments, and Gospels have been distributed since the pavilion was opened. French, English, and German editions were naturally in greatest demand, but among the other languages are some of which the average person knows very little, such as Pashtu, an Afghanistan tongue, and Bambara, an African Negro language.

Teaching the Koran

Moslem schoolboys are taught the Koran in a most interesting way. The verses he has to learn are written on the shoulder-blade of an ox with a brush and black ink. When he has learnt to repeat these perfectly, they are erased and other verses are written in their place. Thus he learns the more familiar passages of the Koran and the liturgy used in the mosque worship by heart.

The Mohammedan abhors translations! The Scriptures must be read in the original, whether intelligible or not. They may be explained in the language of the country (Chinese, Burmese, etc.). But Arabic is the "language of the angels" and, to perform worship, or to read the Koran in any other tongue is an insult to God and a path leading to every kind of heresy.

Mohammedans when dying usually have read to them this passage from the Surah *Ya Sin:* (Sale's translation): "But they stoned him and as he died it was said unto him, Enter thou into paradise! And he said, O that my people knew how merciful God hath been to me, for he hath highly honored me." Every Japanese home has a shrine in it set aside for devotion. In this shrine is a figure of Buddha, the lights that must be lit at evening, the wooden tablets on the "altar" upon which must be written the names of the family's dead ancestors, the sacred lily in the vase. Religion plays a vital part in the lives of these Japanese, whom we so often call "pagan." The Japanese have not abandoned their devotion to religion. Especially now, during the war in China, every home altar and shrine is daily the scene of worship.

As we compare Christianity with the native religions of Japan and China, we are forced to admit two things. In the first place, the ethical teachings of Christianity are more diversified than those of Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism or any of the native religions. (That is, Christian ideals, Christian virtues, and consequently Christian vices, are more numerous.) But the startling second admission we are forced to make is that the native religions of the Orient are more perfectly practiced by their adherents than is Christianity in any country. If Christian missionaries could "point with pride" to a higher spiritual achievement than these Orientals, then would Christian missions have really great successes.

Christianity's Debt

The Feast of Hannukah each year reminds the world again of the debt that Christianity owes to Judaism. Commemorating the liberation of Israel from the Syro-Greek domination, this "Feast of Lights" each year recalls the heroic story of Judas Macabee and his brothers who refused to worship the images of Antiochus Epiphanes, and led a small band of faithful Israelites in a successful revolt. Had this not occurred, the probability is that Judaism would have dwindled to such a point that the stage would not have been set for the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth.

An Association of Godless Youth in the Soviet town of Saratow, has resolved to designate Jesus Christ as "Public Enemy No. 1." The Godless at Moscow have taken steps to establish the largest printing press in the world. The announced aim is to print anti-Christian and anti-religious books in forty-five languages. A budget of 11,800,000 rubles (about $6,000,000) will be raised by voluntary gifts. Russia has closed 612 churches during 1937.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

PARIS BOMBSHELLS

The grim secret dominating the diplomatic atmosphere of Paris and Geneva, making it sultry and strained almost to thunder-point, is that the French Government and the French delegation at Geneva have in their possession absolute proof that among those deeply and directly implicated in the Etoile bombing are two members of the diplomatic staff of the Italian Embassy in Paris.

That is why the bombing in the Rue Presburg and the Rue Boissiere have shaken a great deal more than the West End of Paris.

The facts are indisputable. The explosive question is: What to do about them?

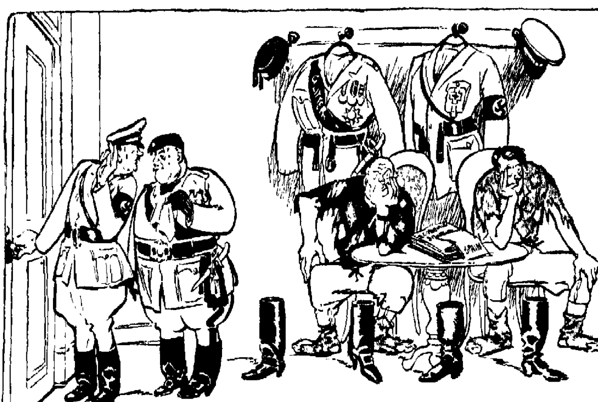
There are those in the French Government who are at this moment urging their colleagues to recognize the awesome but unavoidable necessity of taking the bull by the horns and proclaiming the truth plainly to the world.

Those terrified by nightmare fears of how the Italian Government would react to such an exposure are still turning over and over the bombshell of information given them by the police, and trying to gain time to decide their course of action.

That was why a Paris newspaper, very close to the Radicals, a few days ago published the ridiculous story, explaining that the police could scarcely be expected to find anything out about the crime because ever since the Stavisky scandal, they had been forced to give up their underground criminal contacts and "agents doubles."

On the contrary, the police acted only too well. The secret is getting harder and harder to keep. Already one newspaper outside France has been placed in possession of a substantial part of the dossier, and yesterday lifted a corner of the curtain.

Moreover, anyone who has been at all behind the scenes in Paris during the past two or three days knows that the pressure for a full exposure is growing fast, that in many quarters a sort of panic is beginning, and that scarcely a day goes by without a new terrorist affair—the latest at the moment of writing being the attack on the submarine at Bordeaux and the Tunis murder.



Daily Herald, London

"Now let's make ourselves comfortable—get down to our shirt sleeves—and think things out"

Yesterday the affair was the subject of an urgent telephone conversation between M. Chautemps in Paris and M. Delbos in Geneva.

No decision was taken.

There is another reason for the fear of taking drastic steps. It is that there are several highly-placed persons—non-Italians—implicated in the affair, who are straining all their influence in high political circles to get the matter stifled, just as the true story of the killing of King Alexander and M. Barthou at Marseilles was stifled for similar reasons.

There are all the makings of a new and much more dreadful Stavisky case, with high international politics instead of money as its central theme and outrageous murder instead of swindle as its principal feature.

The main defence of the guilty has been in the past to imagine incredulity in the public. That incredulity in France is wearing thin. People are aware of the existence of Governments who regard political terrorism as an ordinary political weapon—as witness the Marseilles murders, the Berthold Jacob case, and the murder of the Roselli brothers, at the moment when they were about to publish some articles on this very subject.

They are also aware of the existence of certain wealthy persons and organizations in other countries, including France, who are preparing for the sake of their factional interests to join hands with foreign powers against the rising will of Labor and "the masses" of their own people.

Moreover, the French public, though it has not seen the police dossier, has seen the following facts:—

1) On May 5th, two coaches of the express from Bordeaux to the Italian frontier were wrecked by a bomb found to contain 60 per cent tolite, and 40 per cent hexogene.



Daily Herald, London

"He bombs babies!" "But, my child, he's making such a success of it!"

2) On June 1st, Guglielmo Cantelli, with a passport issued by the Italian authorities, was found placing a bomb in the tunnel which crosses the Franco-Spanish frontier from Cerbere to Port Bou. The bomb contained 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene.

3) In the second week of August, a

bomb containing 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene exploded at Villeneuve-sur-lot and wrecked two American airplanes, supposedly destined for Spanish Government services.

4) On August 29th at Toussus, Paris, bombs charged with 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene wrecked some more American airplanes.



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WHAT'S BACK OF IT?

5) Since the beginning of September a dozen bombs have been found at various French airdromes, and elsewhere, containing 60 per cent tolite and 40 per cent hexogene.

6) Hexogene and tolite are both explosives particularly suited to the needs of countries poor in certain resources of chemical manufacture.

France is not one of those countries. Tolite is manufactured in small quantities in certain French arms factories. Hexogene is hardly to be found in France, outside a few laboratories.

On the other hand, at the Avilcana factory, near Turin, hexogene and tolite are manufactured commercially on a large scale by a method discovered by an Italian chemist, protected by an Italian patent, which, however, is leased to Germany too, under a special arrangement.

7) Finally, the following questions particularly relating to the Etoile bombings are being asked in Paris:

Why were the concierges of the two very important big business office buildings out of harm's way instead of being at their posts at the moment of the explosion?

Why did M. Villey, sub-director of the Employers' Federation visit the buildings on that evening, and yet refrain from opening the two packages addressed to him?

Why was the meeting of the bureau of the Confederation, called for that evening, suddenly postponed?

—*The Week*, London, published by Claude Cockburn.

Four Hundred Hand Grenades

The leftist press will certainly greet with glee the seizure of arms discovered in Paris and Rueil. Newspapers which systematically close their eyes to the communist armaments and to the enormous traffic in war material in favor of red Spain are *about* to unleash a campaign against the *cagoulards* (the hooded legion) and by extension against the national parties. We shall not be dupes of this hypocrisy.

The *cagoulards* are certainly, in the great majority of cases, patriots and men of good faith. The arms which they accumulated were certainly first of all intended for defensive purposes. They fear a violent uprising by the communists and are determined not to let themselves be exterminated without



New York *World-Telegram*

THREE MEN ON A HORSE

defending themselves, as did the Spanish middle class people, their brothers.

Nevertheless, the setting up of secret arsenals by whomsoever it may be for the purpose of civil war cannot be approved. France would rapidly move toward terrible anarchy if each political party were to start setting up complete armaments and fighting troops. But if the *cagoulards* are disarmed, it is also necessary to disarm the communists, who are much more dangerous.

We wish to point out that, in general, the *cagoulards* do not belong to any organized national party. They seem to be the extremists of all the rightist movements,—league members of the (royalist) *Action Francaise* who remained on the periphery of the movement, former member of the Patriotic youth who favored more energetic actions, former dissenters before its dissolution of the Croix de Feu who did not find their organization sufficiently aggressive. Nobody, except themselves can assume the responsibility for their activities.

The great danger of a movement such as that of the *cagoulards*, as well as of secret political societies in general, is that it offers cause for all sorts of provocation. These good but somewhat exalted men who are associated with these groups are certainly unaware how easy it is for an agent of the government, or of the police, or of the communists, or of a foreign country to goad them into ill-considered and dangerous actions, or to use them as a means of diverting the public attention at an opportune moment.

—Henri de Kerillis, in *L'Epoque*, Paris.

German Sub-Machine Guns in Paris

The discovery in a Parisian railroad station of 2,300 German sub-machine guns which were sent to the arms dealer, Marchal, caused a lot of ink to be spilled.

Without intending to forecast what the investigation may reveal, we nevertheless wish to make a few remarks concerning this sensational affair which in importance goes far beyond the many arms discoveries recently divulged.

It is known that 2,300 sub-machine guns have been bought from a German firm on behalf of the government of Iraq. It is also known that that government had nothing to do with the affair, which had been arranged with



NEA

"If you want to know who we are, we are gentlemen of Japan"

the connivance of a doorman of the legation, whom Marchal made to assume the role of military attache and who supplied the letterheads. This has been discovered because of the fact that Marchal happened to be in jail (for transport of arms) at the very



Arizona Republic

I've decided to compromise—

moment when the consignment arrived in Paris.

Newspapers reported immediately that these arms were for Spain. *Le Journal*, *L'Action Francaise* and others, without having any further information, at once wrote that they were intended for Red Spain. They were for Franco, according to other newspapers. It seems that we must look elsewhere for the truth.

First of all, let us point out that Marchal certainly must have been sure of his buyer when he gave this order. His explanation that he intended to sell the lot to the highest bidder is certainly not credible.

The lot was paid for when ordered. It is difficult to believe that an arms dealer who is not a novice would advance the considerable amount represented by this purchase (perhaps 2 or 3 millions) without being sure of getting his money back quickly It is still more difficult to imagine that he intended to run the serious risk of keeping an arsenal of such importance in France, subject to indiscretions, denunciations, and possible risks.

Who is the client? Spain?

Franco's Spain does not need such camouflage nor secret transit to the French frontier to receive sub-machine guns. Through all its ports every day ships arrive loaded with supplies. And particularly, does it have facilities to secure arms manufactured in Germany, without borrowing another name.

Neither does republican Spain have to adopt such methods.

If these arms allegedly on the way to Iraq had been destined for Barcelona or Valencia, there was no reason why their delivery should have been provided for in Paris.

It would have been practical and in line with the generally adopted subterfuge to send them to Marseille and even to ship them there. Why drop this official and perfectly usual camouflage to run the unnecessary risk of unloading the arms in Paris and of a dangerous transport from this city to the Pyrenean frontier? This version will not stand one minute's examination. . . .

The 2,300 sub-machine guns bought in Germany have been paid for and delivered in Paris. It is there that Marchal was going to receive them, because it is there that he was supposed to deliver them. It is sufficient to remind that Marchal is now in prison under a similar charge. And that he is—the police know this as well as we do—the official supplier of the *Cagoulards*. We can even point out that it was his arrest which led the sûreté to take matters in hand energetically.

Unless we have proof to the contrary, we maintain that the 2,300 sub-machine guns—arms much more convenient for a revolt than for a war like the one being fought in Spain—were intended for the para-military extreme right organizations, to whose contraband armaments and threatening preparations we have long been calling attention.

—Jean-Maurice Herrmann in *Le Populaire*, November 8.

Masked Imperialism

Pertinax, to whom we should be grateful for keeping his independence in the *Echo de Paris*, which is entirely subservient to Musso[illegible]is, by no means the dupe of th[illegible]r-Mussolinian anti-communism, that screen behind which so many things are happening. "More than ever, to cover up their most dangerous designs, those who rule in Berlin and Rome will exploit the Communist pretext. All the obstacles in their way will be attributed to the Comintern. So that we may not let ourselves be deceived by these manoeuvres, we should not forget that in May, 1933, Adolf Hitler did not hesitate to renew the German-Russian treaty of 1926 and that on September 2, 1933, Mussolini concluded a non-aggression and friendship pact with Moscow. To these two dictators Russia then appeared as a precious reservoir of raw materials. In December, 1933, Mussolini received Mr. Litvinoff in Rome and tried to entice him into his revisionist projects. The change in the German attitude toward Russia dates from the negotiation concerning the pact of mutual assistance, initiated by M. Bartou in May, 1934. The changed attitude of Italy occurred much later."

Le Populaire, Paris, November 7.



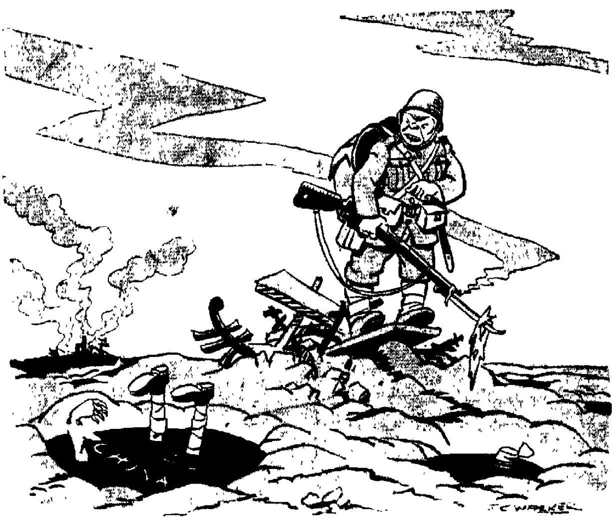
Glasgow Record

Marianne seems to be having more than her share of trouble these days

ROME TO BERLIN AND BACK

After writing on the strategical background of the occupation of the Balearics, the importance of Minorca and the true meaning of the continued sending of Italian troops to Libia, the Deutsche Informationen" goes on to quote passages revealing the spirit of the army literature of the Third Reich by describing Hitler's and Mussolini's plans of conquest in Tunis.

The geo-political situation is too compelling for Italy ever to renounce Tunisia. The concessions which Mussolini made to Laval in January, 1935, during their discussions in Rome concerning the status of the Italians in Tunisia, can only be considered as a tactical expediency of transitory character.



South Wales Echo, Cardiff

HUMOR FROM TOKIO

Japan Another funny move in self-defence from you, and I'm going to DECLARE WAR (To-day Tokio informed the world that the Japanese Government is seriously thinking of declaring war on China owing to the latter persisting in waging hostilities.)

"Tunis, together with Biserta, represents a very valuable possession for France, but for Italy it is an ever-alluring objective.

"From a purely geographical point of view, Tunisia would round out the Italian empire most ideally, as it is situated closely to the south of the shores of Sicily. Italy made a great mistake in delaying so long with the occupation of Tunis that France had time to get there first in 1881."

—Himmel Siewert, Der Mittelmeerraum, published by von General Haushofer, Heidelberg-Berlin 1936, S. 68, 75 und 84

"Sardinia looks in three directions, to the north, inviting and menacing, toward its sister island Corsica; to the south, longingly, toward Tunis; and to the west it threatens the French communication with North Africa, this life-line of the French empire.

"Not much of the friendly spirit of the Mussolini-Laval accord, concluded in January, 1935, has remained since the Abyssinian incident. Both parties know that the question of Tunis is not solved. Here in Tunis the Italians really have a moral right, if difficult pioneer work in the wilderness gives a claim to possession."

—Margret Boveri (Editor of *Berliner Tageblatt*) Das Weltgeschehen am Mittelmeer, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937, S. 11 und 275.

Italian Women Protest

We received on October 30th the following information from La Spezia.

During the month of October the embarcation of Italian troops for Franco and the sending of war material continued. The material which the war consumes is enormous and the factories are busy day and night replacing them.

The "volunteers" arrive in the town during the night in trucks and are assigned to the barracks. A few days ago a number of women demonstrated in front of one of these barracks to prevent the soldiers from leaving for the ships. Following this demonstration, the authorities decided that the Embarcation shall not take place from the port of Spezia but from Sevonto.

Several deserters have been arrested and brought to the ships handcuffed.

Some time ago many contingents of German volunteers passed through this city. They are concentrated in Parma,



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DRAGON'S JAWS

Naples and La Spezia before embarking.

—*Justicia e Libertad*, Italian anti-fascist paper in Paris, November 5

The German-Italian Pact

The supplementary Protocol provides that a permanent commission be formed looking toward defense measures, the purpose of which would be to combat the destructive activities of the Communist International. This may mean the creation of machinery for political and military cooperation. The problem is no longer to exchange police information and coordinate it in the various countries toward the repression of the activities of Communism. Apparently a kind of alliance has been created. The purpose has not been established very clearly. It may serve for everything. The text is so flexible that the most varied outcomes may ensue. Undoubtedly events and men will decide this. This much, however, can be said: Soviet Russia is not aimed at so much as is Great Britain. The three powers which signed this agreement would not be able to go to war against Russia, but any one of them can attack England or its dependencies. Germany can send its air fleet against London; Italy can menace Egypt and Japan can threaten Hong Kong and Singapore. The same situation applies to France.

—Pertinax in *Echo de Paris* November 8.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Nov. 10 - Dec. 4

DOMESTIC

NOVEMBER 10—Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr asserts that the Roosevelt Administration will make determined efforts to balance the Federal budget through reduction of relief, farm and public works expenditures. He asks the cooperation of the business world and says that the Government will encourage business through revising taxes found to be inequitable.

The constitutional and dictatorial moves of President Getulio Vargas of Brazil in establishing a Corporate State seriously concerns Government leaders. Present reports indicate the formation of a Fascist Government in this hemisphere.

NOVEMBER 11—Senator Harrison, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee demands revision of controversial tax on undistributed profits. Prospects are believed excellent for tax changes relating to corporations as a way to spur business recovery. Further steps will be taken to stimulate a large-scale housing drive, and to promulgate regulations intended to encourage building of rental and sale properties by private limited dividend corporations.

Unofficial opinion in Washington indicates, despite Brazilian developments, a continuation of the hands-off policy in regard to South America and a strengthening of the good neighbor doctrine reaffirmed at the Buenos Aires conference.

NOVEMBER 13—United States Army experimental division completes mechanized tests without precedent in American military history. An "army on wheels" comprising 9,700 men, 1,108 vehicles and more than 1,000 tons of equipment and supplies, covered 326 miles in 12 hours and 55 minutes. It was a final test of the mobility and efficiency of the "P I D" (proposed infantry division) and proved conclusively the need in modern war of motor-transported troops and equipment.

Congressional leaders indicated that, despite need for tax revision the special session would confine itself to wages and hours legislation, governmental reorganization, agricultural control, and regional planning.

NOVEMBER 14—The United States accepts invitation of President Stenio Vincent of Haiti to join with Mexico and Cuba in mediating the dispute between Haiti and the Dominican Republic over the massacre of Haitians on Dominican soil.

Secretary Wallace in annual report to President Roosevelt emphasizes principles that five years of agricultural and industrial recovery have clarified, and advocates that the industrial equivalent of his ever-normal granary plan in agriculture be put in practice. The Secretary's concept of what the national economic program should be is "to increase balanced production of the things that people really need and want (1) at prices low enough so that consumers can buy, but high enough so producers can keep on producing, (2) with income so distributed that no one is shut off from participation in consumption, except those who refuse to work, (3) with scrupulous regard for conservation of our remaining national resources and, (4) by means characteristic of our national democratic processes."

NOVEMBER 15—President Roosevelt opens the special session of Congress with a message full of recognition of the necessity for activating private capital in the interest of more stable recovery. Congressional leaders were encouraged by the President's words to put business-aid at the top of its own must list.

Mayor La Guardia, president of the United States conference of Mayors, opens the annual conference session by stating emphatically that there had been no definite improvement in the unemployment situation in the cities. Mayor La Guardia predicts that a Federal deficiency appropriation would be necessary if the present downward trend continues.

NOVEMBER 18—James H Rand Jr., president of Remington Rand Inc., and Pearl L. Bergoff, professional strike-breaker, are found not-guilty of violation of the Byrnes law which forbids the transportation of strike-breakers across State lines. Judge Carroll Hincks deliberately criticized the tactics of the prosecutor and assistant attorney general. His charge to the jury considered instrumental in the acquittal of the defendants.

NOVEMBER 19—President Roosevelt orders the Federal Trade Commission to make an immediate investigation of reports that monopolistic practices and other unwholesome methods of competition have contributed to the sharp rise in the cost of living this year.

NOVEMBER 20—Declaring that sit-down strikes will not be tolerated in Ohio, Governor Davey orders 2,000 National Guardsmen to stand by for duty at the Akron plants of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Simultaneously, 600 protesting workers quit plants to avoid violence.

Official Washington reports a nation-wide housing drive is under consideration by the President. Such a program would be designed as a strictly private business enterprise with the usual number of prominent capitalists heading the recovery campaign centered around it.

NOVEMBER 21—Senate Agriculture Committee defies President Roosevelt by refusing to contain the proposed farm benefits program within the financial limits recommended by the White House. A provision for blanket authorization for financing the new farm program is to be written into the bill thus leaving the problem of finding the money in the hands of the House.

NOVEMBER 22—The American Federation of Labor demands that the Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill be sent back to the House Labor Committee for reconsideration. The protest from labor coming through William Green is considered in some quarters as a virtual death blow to the bill in its present form. Mr. Green said that the A. F. of L. would not endorse the bill and would continue to oppose the National Labor Relations Board and would oppose the creation of any similar board.

President Roosevelt intervenes to avoid a runaway session of Congress. He brings pressure to bear forcing the legislators to limit themselves to his program. Tax revision for aiding business recovery postponed until the regular session.

NOVEMBER 23—W. O. Douglas, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission warns the nation's Stock Exchanges they must raise their administrative and functional techniques in the public interest or face sharper regulations. The statement follows a break-down of self regulation in the Exchanges, and is interpreted as the SEC's answer to criticism from business leaders who have been circulating reports that Government regulation has been responsible for the recent market decline.

NOVEMBER 25—Senate Committee on Agriculture recommends to the legislators that Federal compulsory control of the principle crops be incorporated in the general farm bill now taking precedent over all other legislative business in the special session.

Alleged union leaders who are members of the Communist party, or adhere to the (Communist) party line are reported to be urging the United Automobile Workers of America to declare "guerilla warfare" on the General Motors Corporation for the purpose of winning concessions that cannot otherwise be gained.

NOVEMBER 27—Stephen Early, White House secretary warns that President Roosevelt will veto any large appropriation made by Congress for which [compensating] revenue legislation is [not provided].

NOVEMBER 29—As a major stroke for ending the business recession President Roosevelt proposes a private housing drive involving the expenditure of from $12,000,000,000 to $16,000,000,000 within two years. In a message to Congress the President proposed an immediate revision of the Federal Housing Act to reduce the expense of financing construction and to spread benefits of that law to small and large scale housing alike.

NOVEMBER 30—President Roosevelt's message demanding restriction of road funds to the normal $100,000,000 level, stirs Congressional revolt. Sectional interests dormant since 1933, reform independent blocs to fight Federal economy.

DECEMBER 2—William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., meet for the first time in seven months to discuss terms that may settle organized labor's civil war.

Consideration of the Wages and Hours Bill is assured by 218 signatures on petition to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of measure. The Bill has been held by the Rules Committee since the last session of Congress.

DECEMBER 4—The Bureau of Budgets report indicates that President Roosevelt's promise of a balanced budget for the fiscal year 1938–1939 will be advanced through slashes amounting to $800,000,000 below the sums appropriated last year by Congress for Federal expenses.

INTERNATIONAL

NOVEMBER 11—Germany hails new Brazilian constitution; United States not to interfere in Brazil.

NOVEMBER 13—Brussels Nine-Power Conference drafts measure mildly censuring Japan; adoption postponed. Viscount Halifax to visit Berlin. President Vargas bars pacts with European nations.

NOVEMBER 15—Fifteen nations at Brussels conference adopt resolution against Japan; Italy votes against motion, Scandinavian nations abstain.

NOVEMBER 16—Soviet Russia agrees to belligerent rights for Franco on condition of "substantial" withdrawal of volunteers. France forbids movement of men or munitions French Indo-China to China

NOVEMBER 17—Chairman of French Senate Foreign Affairs Committee discloses that ban on shipments from Indo-China was made under threat of Japanese reprisals. Completion of Anglo-American trade pact anticipated.

NOVEMBER 18—Despite President Quezon's suggestion of continued "dominion status," capitol circles insist upon unconditional independence of Philippines

NOVEMBER 20—German Foreign Minister von Neurath invited to London following Hitler-Halifax talks

NOVEMBER 21—Hitler declares that he does not expect to obtain colonies for five or six years.

NOVEMBER 22—All Chinese hopes for international assistance disappear as Brussels conference prepares to disband Red Army organ states that Russia would assist Outer Mongolia, if attacked

NOVEMBER 23—British cabinet disappointed with results of Halifax visit; Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos of France invited to visit London

NOVEMBER 27—United States, Great Britain, and France warn Japan concerning taking over of Shanghai customs.

NOVEMBER 28—Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos find British in favor of making concessions to persuade Germany to cooperate.

NOVEMBER 29—Note to Japan demands that United States be consulted over changes in customs organization in China.

NOVEMBER 30—Washington investigates reports that duties on Japanese goods have been cut at Tienksin; American flag reported torn from launch in Whangpoo River Following visit of Premier Chautemps and Foreign Minister Delbos, Paris and London hold that other nations must join study of colonial problem.

DECEMBER 1—Japanese to recognize rebel regime in Spain. French Foreign Minister sets out to visit to Warsaw, Bucharest, Belgrade, and Prague; will persuade Czechoslovakia to make some concessions to German minority. Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia to visit Mussolini.

DECEMBER 2—Foreign Minister Delbos reported carrying to Poland and Little Entente Anglo-French guarantee that Germany would not be given a free hand in Central Europe.

DECEMBER 4—France to back Polish claim for colonies.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

NOVEMBER 11—Japanese plan land and river attack on Nanking.

NOVEMBER 12—Chinese end resistance in Shanghai area, most troops withdrawing for interment in French Concession.

NOVEMBER 13—Japanese using six mobile columns to hasten Chinese retreat from Shanghai.

NOVEMBER 15—Chinese remove ministries to at least four temporary "capitals" in interior; in North, Japanese drive to within six miles of Tsinan, capital of Shantung.

NOVEMBER 19—Large crowds quit Nanking and troops move to front.

NOVEMBER 20—Body of Sun Yat-Sen to remain in Nanking despite evacuation.

NOVEMBER 21—Japanese threat to Nanking grows after capture of Soochow, key point of Chinese "Hindenburg line."

NOVEMBER 23—Behind-the-scenes peace talks spurred by Japanese successes; Russian planes go into action for first time as part of Chinese air force.

NOVEMBER 24—Two Japanese appointed to Shanghai customs board, replacing European officials

NOVEMBER 28—Japanese thrusts towards Wuhu and Kwangteh threaten to isolate Nanking.

NOVEMBER 30—Japan finds warfare less costly than expected, only 500,000,000 yen of bonds having been issued out of authorized 2,400,000,000.

DECEMBER 2—Nanking troops blow up roads to hinder Japanese advances.

DECEMBER 3—Japanese marchers scattered by bombs during victory parade in Shanghai.

DECEMBER 4—Japanese abandon attempt to seize part of International Settlement after warning by United States Marine Officer.

DECEMBER 5—Nanking to be defended by 300,000; Japanese claim to be only thirty-five miles away.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

NOVEMBER 13—President Azana, in broadcast, defies Anarchists and Communists as well as fascists, declaring that Spain must remain a republic

NOVEMBER 18—Alvarez del Vayo resigns as Commissar-General of loyalist forces, as result of moderates' opposition

NOVEMBER 20—Thirty-five loyalist planes bomb Saragossa, in retaliation for rebel raids on Aragon towns.

NOVEMBER 26—Rebel forces concentrated for drive on Almeria.

NOVEMBER 27—Rebel manifesto demands that loyalists yield by December 5 or face general drive.

Rebel fleet, released from duty in north, uses Majorca as base for blockade of loyalist ports.

NOVEMBER 28—General Franco announces naval blockade of all Spanish ports.

FOREIGN

Brazil

NOVEMBER 10—President Getulio Vargas and cabinet put into effect new constitution, dissolving Federal Congress, State Assemblies and Municipal Councils, and making Brazil a corporate state. U S. fears spread of fascism in Latin America.

NOVEMBER 18—Army, Navy, and Fascists to parade on Flag Day in honor of President Vargas.

NOVEMBER 19—Copies of new Constitution reveal closest approach to complete authoritarian state yet established in Western Hemisphere.

DECEMBER 3—Decree by President Vargas ends all Brazilian political parties.

France

NOVEMBER 18—Secret police raids to break up a secret, armed, military organization uncover substantial arms supplies.

NOVEMBER 19—Premier Chautemps receives 399-160 vote of confidence after disclosures of activities of "Cagoulard" plot against the state.

NOVEMBER 20—Police find more arms caches.

NOVEMBER 21—Count of Paris, pretender to French throne, ordered to leave Switzerland; denies connection with "Cagoulards."

NOVEMBER 23—Minister of Interior Marx Formoy, following search of a Paris bank, reveals "Cagoulards" as Royalist group plotting to restore monarchy.

Germany

NOVEMBER 10—Colonel-General Goering's determination to speed up four-year plan held responsible for conflict with Dr Hjalmar Schacht.

NOVEMBER 23—Hans Kerrl, Church Minister, announces disestablishment of Church as ultimate Nazi aim.

NOVEMBER 24—Walther Funk, Press Chief and State Secretary in Propaganda Ministry appointed to succeed Dr Schacht as Minister of Economics; latter remains president of Reichsbank.

NOVEMBER 27—Hitler announces plans to make Berlin an "eternal" capital. German economy completely under Army rule following Dr. Schacht's retirement.

NOVEMBER 29—General Erich Ludendorff, World War commander, near death in Munich following operation.

DECEMBER 1 Church Minister Hans Kerrl reveals that 8,000 Catholic monks and lay brothers have been charged with various crimes during Nazi regime.

Great Britain

NOVEMBER 11—Long-awaited Coal Bill reveals that all coal will pass into ownership of State on July 1, 1942 Escaped lunatic breaks two-mintue silence before Cenotaph with cry, "Stop all this hypocrisy; you are deliberately preparing for war"

NOVEMBER 14 Anthony Eden reported to have threatened resignation over decision to send Lord Halifax to Berlin, made during his absence at Brussels.

NOVEMBER 22—Duke of Windsor's libel suit against author and publisher of *Coronation Commentary* ends in retraction and apologies.

NOVEMBER 23—Board of Trade figures show business for first 10 months of 1937 21 per cent ahead of same period last year

DECEMBER 1—Premier Chamberlain opens new annex of London *Times*.

DECEMBER 2—War Minister Hore-Belisha's sweeping changes place younger generals in charge of War Council.

Russia

NOVEMBER 12—Acting Premier and Vice-President of White Russia removed from office in new purge.

NOVEMBER 14—Liquor sales restricted; 52 "American" bars closed in Moscow.

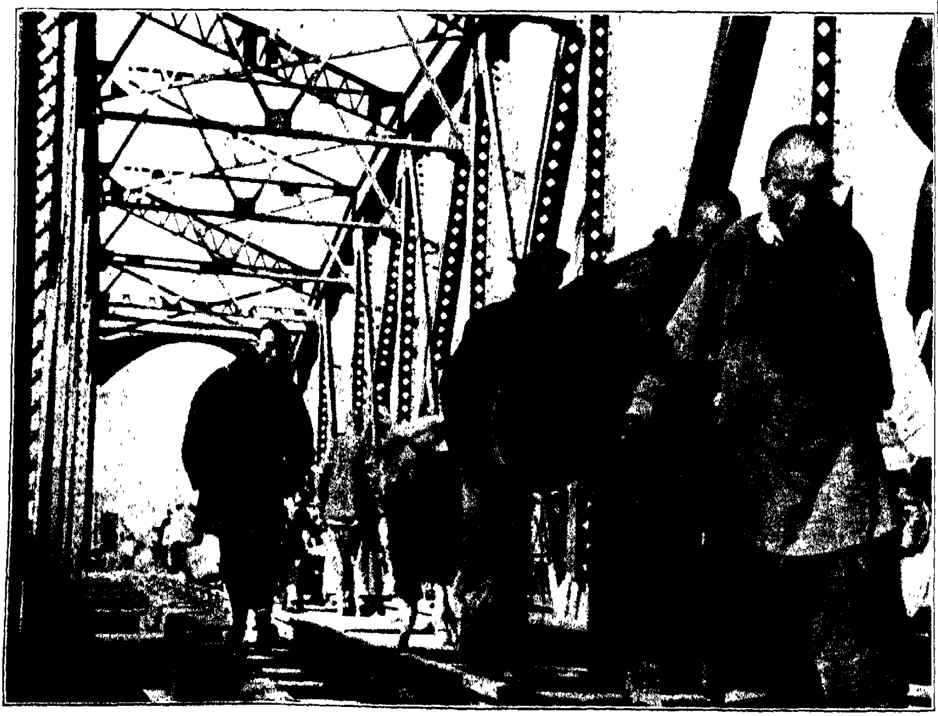
NOVEMBER 28—Foreign Minister Litvinov tells gathering of students that Russia is willing to cooperate with other nations, but will rely chiefly on its own defence forces.

DECEMBER 3—Stakhanovist drive put on to bring up Five-Year Plan schedule.

CHINA'S REFUGEES



THE role of the refugee is familiar to millions of Chinese. Flood, famine, epidemic have rearranged China's population centers—particularly in the small towns and villages of the interior—every few years. Unusual, however, has been the mass exodus from the larger cities, such as Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping. (Shanghai had a severe but brief taste of war six years ago with the punitive expedition of Japan but not many civilians left the city.) Fleeing today before the military might of Nippon are untold numbers of homeless Chinese, from city and village alike, few of them with any specific destination. Estimates of the total number of refugees range from 1,500,000 to more than 10,000,000. In the Shanghai area alone, hundreds of thousands sought comparative safety from Japanese bombs at the International Settlement, waiting for hours without food outside the barbed-wire gates. Not all were admitted. The three surviving members of a family (top right) which once numbered nine people, are among the thousands of Chapei civilians who fled after the huts went up in smoke as the result of a Japanese air raid, and who are massed outside the International Settlement. Only remaining avenue of escape over the Soochow creek was a railroad bridge. For days thousands trekked across the bridge in single file, walking the ties. One of them insisted on taking his cow along (center of photo) and took ten minutes to cross the bridge. Several hours after the refugees were photographed on the Soochow railroad bridge, two Japanese planes, it was reported, swooped low, strafed civilians waiting to cross creek with machine-gun fire, leaving 30 dead, many more (*cont. on next page*)





(*cont. from preceding page*) wounded. One of the planes flew too low, crashed into the creek. Most effective relief work is being done by foreign missionaries, which have set up refugee camps, fed and sheltered thousands, lost many of their own workers. American-trained Chinese boy scouts have helped the missionaries by organizing food lines, acting as messengers, taking care of small children. The American mission-fostered University of Nanking, valued at $1,000,000 and the mission-owned Ginling College for Women, valued at $500,000, are refugee centers and have made provisions to supervise care of 200,000 civilians, a fraction of Nanking's population. (Students and classes have been transferred to Hankow; later the University will move to Chengtu in Szechwan Province.) One million pounds of rice have been moved to the university buildings. A China-born American, George A. Fitch, Soochow Y.M.C.A. executive, is director of the Nanking safety zone. Dr. Robert Brown, American medical missionary, is head of relief safety committee at Wuhu. Eleven Americans, three of them women, continue to stay on at Nanking to staff mission hospitals and direct refugee relief. The Ameri- (*cont. on next page*)







(*cont. from preceding page*) can embassy staff, headed by J. Hall Paxton, has moved aboard the *Panay*. China has promised Americans and other foreigners remaining in Nanking 100,000 Chinese dollars (approximately $29,750) to maintain the safety zone in that city, has already paid one-fifth. China's war orphans, in the Shanghai-Nanking area alone, already number thousands. The smaller ones are being sheltered at missions and convents, thrive on a regular diet, but do not all realize that they have lost their parents. Found near Canton in a half-dazed condition was an injured Chinese carrying his one-year-old grandchild. The 14 other members of the family all perished in a night air raid. Although most of China's villages are almost completely deserted in and near the war area, many farmers and gardeners hang on, working in their fields even when bombs are dropping within a thousand yards. Shanghai hails them as her heroes, for thus far their food products have kept the city from mass starvation. Contempt, not fear, for the black war eagles overhead is in the hearts and minds of these hardy children of China as they bend their backs to the Good Earth. (*Photographs Copyright, 1938, Universal Newsreel, from Soibelman Syndicate.*)



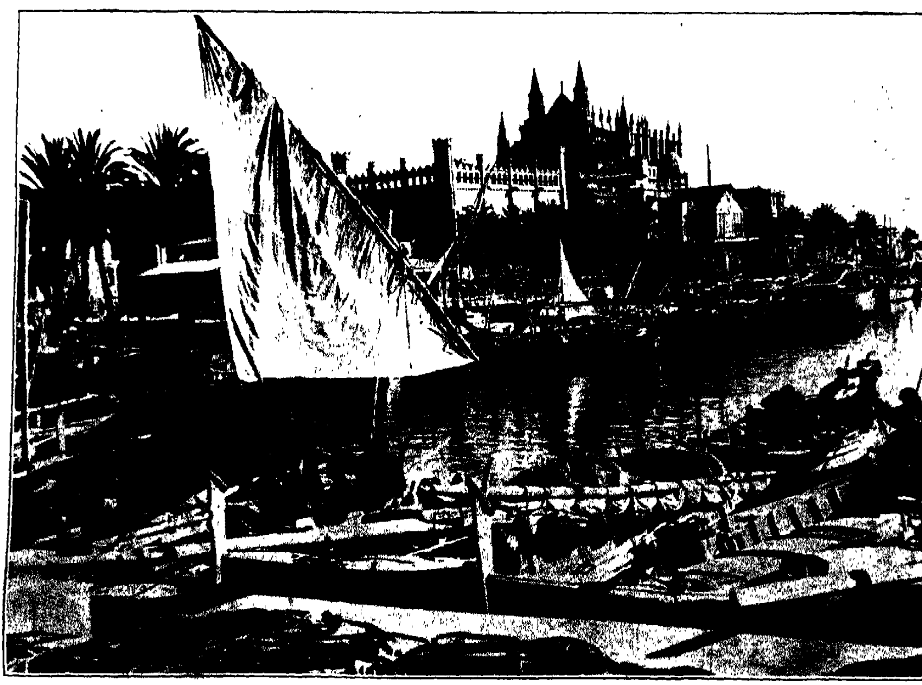


THE BALEARICS

TODAY, Italy dominates the Balearic islands of Majorca, Iviza, and Formentera. Under pretext of aiding the Spanish rebels, Italian (and to a lesser degree the German) military and naval forces have seized strategic Majorcan positions. The Majorcan airdromes at Alcudia and Palma are occupied by an Italian and German aviation personnel of approximately 500 men, with 100 planes of all types. At Pollensa and Soller is based an heterogeneous fleet of submarines reputedly belonging to the Spanish rebels. Minorca, a scant 30 miles away, fears this threat. It is now controlled by the Spanish loyalists, but its main port, Mahon, is permanently under British domination. Here are Vickers cannon, (*cont. on next page*)



(*cont. from preceding page*) anti-aircraft guns, and a naval base. The Spanish Balearic Islands not only overlook the British route to the Far East, but they also lie athwart the Mediterranean life-line between France and France's North African possessions. In time of war the French army is incomplete without the half-million black auxiliaries conscripted in Africa. These African troops must be ferried from Oran in French Morocco and from Algiers in Algeria to Marseilles across the Mediterranean through the waters of the Balearics. Britain and France are not ignorant of the danger attendant upon fascist occupation of the Balearics. In September they inaugurated the Nyon "pirate" patrol in the Mediterranean. The naval and air arm of both nations received a thorough testing in mutual cooperation under the guise of sinking "pirate" submarines of Italian origin. The island of Majorca is well known to many Americans. Following the market crash in 1929, stock brokers and jittery confidence men fled to the Balearics to nurse their bruised nerves and deflated pocketbooks. However, today, Palma, the capital of the Balearics, is inhospitable to curious visitors. The Italian and German military have quarantined those parts of Majorca considered of military importance. In October, Bruno Mussolini, leading an Italian bombing squadron, raided the island of Minorca and the Spanish mainland, from the Majorcan airdrome at Palma. Not far from the airdrome is the famous Palma cathedral (below) near the quaint harbor. (***Photos from Pix, Times, Wide World.***)





GENERAL FRANCO'S NEXT MOVE

What Will He Do to Break the Present Stalemate in the Spanish Civil War

AS CAN be seen on the map, General Franco's armies made little progress during the second year of war, and after reaching the gates of Madrid, on No-mber 7, 1936, their advance became extremely slow. His sire to save prestige, by defending all the seized territor-, and to be strong everywhere, resulted in the degenera-n of a swift campaign into a war of position with its vitable stalemate. The only important and real victory ently won by Franco was the capture of Gijon on Oc-er 21, 1937, which marked the end of loyalist resistance the entire North, and released some 75,000 rebel troops d all rebel warships from the Bay of Biscay. The rebel vy was then shifted to the Mediterranean to tighten the ckade of loyalist ports (*see* pages 71, 72).

The newly released troops are reported concentrating on Aragon front, where, by utilizing the short, interior lat-l railway (Huesca-Saragossa-Calatayud) General Franco menace the loyalists alternatively on the Guadalajara and Aragon sectors, compelling the enemy to shift his troops over a three-times longer route (Lerida-Valencia-Madrid). The loyalists can not know until the last minute from which point their enemy will attack. Some predict that the decisive blow will be struck toward Lerida and along Ebro valley to the sea (arrow 1) which would separate Catalonia from the rest of Loyalist Spain. Others think that a thrust from Teruel salient to Valencia will be the next move (arrow 2).

The third possibility is a rapid advance from Toledo along the Aranjuez-Cuenca railroad toward Teruel (arrow 3) which, if successful, and if supported by pressure and diversions all along the Madrid-Guadalajara pocket, would enable Franco to fill that pocket quickly with rebel troops, thus eliminating the danger of being exposed on two sides. This action, successfully carried through, would force the surrender of Madrid, and would shorten and straighten the fantastically curved front.

MR. HITLER



DER Fuehrer has a four-day working week. The other three days he spends at the Obersalzberg, an alpine chalet retreat called his "Magic Mountain" in the extreme southeastern corner of Bavaria. Here, as in the days before his rise to power, nazi strategy is planned. It was here that Adolph Hitler (father's name was Hiedler) wrote *Mein Kampf*, which has sold more than 2,250,000 copies, netted its author an estimated $900,000. He receives no salary from the state. Hitler is fond of the Obersalzberg, in marked contrast to his strong dislike of Berlin and Munich. General Goering, a native Bavarian, and most frequent week-ender at the chalet, persuaded him to buy the retreat, it is said, because of the easy access to the Austrian border. Der Fuehrer is able to relax completely at the chalet, greets neighbors, has long chats with Goering, spends hours in his study thumbing through papers and magazines. He seldom reads books, once said his favorites were the Red Indian novels of Karl May Contrary to popular belief, Hitler has no pronounced dislike of social affairs and formal attire, is seen frequently at private and state functions in the company of Frau and Herr Goebbels. The trio were photographed at Herr Goebbels' home on the occasion of a visit by Der Fuehrer to help celebrate the former's birthday. (Goebbels is 40, Hitler 47.) Goebbels goes to great lengths to emulate his superior aping him in the smallest detail. (Note identical style of tuxedoes, turn-down collar, similarity in position of hands hunched shoulders.) The Propaganda Minister never (*cont. on next page*)









(*cont. from preceding page*) smiles nor laughs without awaiting a cue from Der Fuehrer, then he guffaws uproariously, as may be observed in the photograph. Hitler is 25 pounds heavier today than when he took office in 1933. He is seen below as he appeared a few months ago, in contrast to appearance in 1933. Hitler has made great improvement as a radio speaker. At first, he would not come within several feet of the microphone, was nervous, almost frightened (lower right). Today, Hitler is oblivious to presence of microphone, speaks out with as much vigor and emotion as he does at private meetings. His favorite diversions are music and the cinema, frequently seeing three movies a day in a special room of the State Building. (*Photographs by International.*)





Travel

COME TO THE FAIR

THE first World's Fair was held by King Ahasuerus, in the third year of his reign and the 483rd before Christ. It lasted 180 days, and you can read about it in the Book of Esther.

Ahasuerus, who "reigned from India even unto Ethiopia," saw to it that there was plenty to drink, installed gay decorations, colored the pavements, and placed his empire's rare and costly objects on exhibition. In general, he set the style for World's Fairs ever since, even asking his Queen to be a sort of Sally Rand. This she would not be, so he put her away.

King Ahasuerus took the virgin Esther to wife, and there were no more World's Fairs for a long time. In the Middle Ages there were market fairs and carnivals, but the truly international exposition—which is both a market fair and a carnival—was not born until 1851, when the Exposition of the Industry of All Nations was held in London, in the Crystal Palace. This Fair lasted 144 days, had 14,000 exhibitors, and displayed the first sewing machine, a Colt's pistol, and the Koh-i-noor. It was a great success.

America followed England's example in 1853 with another World's Fair, in New York. Since then, World's Fairs have been held in every corner of the land, and, in 1939, there will be two at once, one in New York and another in San Francisco.

Once upon a time the genesis of World's Fairs was not hard to trace, because they generally were designed to celebrate something or other. San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 celebrated the completion of the Panama Canal, and it was a brilliant triumph. Philadelphia's Sesquicentennial in 1926 observed the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. It was a dismal failure, but in neither case did the declared *motif* have anything at all apparent to do with the result.

In the most recent cycle of World's Fairs, the necessity for a timely and justifying theme seems none too evident. San Diego was the frankest, and announced no reason at all for its 1935-36 Fair. Texas celebrated the centennial of the Alamo. A Century of Progress celebrated a century of progress. In 1939, New York's Fair will be another sesquicentennial, marking the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration. San Francisco started out to celebrate the new bridges, but the idea has developed a great deal farther than that.

Nearly every World's Fair in our time has been a parade of industrial progress. Chicago was a colossal example of this tendency, and, from advance plans, the New York Fair intends to do Chicago all over again on a vaster scale. This is precisely where the San Francisco Fair starts off on a brand new road with a brand new idea. The Golden Gate International Exposition will be, above all things else, a travel Fair, a tourist show. San Francisco will celebrate its great new bridges, but, in celebrating them, it will mark them as symbols of travel, the West's greatest business.

To make this a travel Fair rather than a display of industry and science, the creators of the Golden Gate Exposition undertook another job that has never been attempted before by any World's Fair: they enlisted eleven states (California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Montana and Colorado) into a sort of tourist federation, with the Fair as the coordinating agency. They said to these eleven western states: "Here, we are going to have a World's Fair, but, to make it a real success, we must stimulate a general westward travel movement. That will help our Exposition, but it will also be the greatest thing that ever happened to you." By this maneuver, the Golden Gate Exposition becomes the first World's Fair in history that belongs to a group of sovereign states rather than to one city.

The idea was hatched by Clyde M. Vandeburg, who is a young veteran of both San Diego and the Texas Fairs, and consequently knows what the business is all about. When he took the job of promoting and publicizing the Fair he thought that the country might be a little weary of



CALIFORNIAN PYRAMIDS: *Architect's sketch of the pyramid-like main gates to be built at the entrance to the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition.*

World's Fairs; he saw also that he was up against the competition of New York, with its millions of dollars and people. Century of Progress, San Diego and Dallas were all identical. They stressed industrial products—the assembly line—and they were successful because they came in the middle of a Depression when people still looked longingly at machines and hoped they would run full-speed again. After 1933, prosperity began to return, and interest in machines considerably lessened. People saw them as the cause of many evils, and they sought to escape into a broader life, a life of more leisure and abundance, unbounded by cogs and bearings.

There had always existed a fascination in the West, and when the desire to escape machines became an important factor, this fascination increased. People wanted room, they wanted recreation and the outdoors, and they became determined to have them. When they thought of these things, they thought of the West, and thousands needed only the slightest inducement to pick up and go.

Eleven western states were eager to tie their wagons to Mr. Vandeburg's star. Railroads, bus lines and air lines clamored to spend some of their money to advertise the West in the East. The carriers were quick to see the advantage of the long haul, and so, in 1938 you are likely to be subjected to a promotional campaign costing more than $3,000,000, the object of which will be to get you on a train, bus or plane (or even into your own automobile), moving westward, in 1939. If you don't get any farther than Colorado, that's all right, but San Francisco is pinning its hopes on the hunch that, once you're on the move, you'll want to go whole hog and see his Fair.

The result of all this is that 1939 may witness the greatest westward travel movement of the twentieth century. A recent survey by a national magazine showed that at least people's minds are sympathetic to the idea. Of persons scattered over the United States, the question was asked: "If you had to move, where would you want to go?" The answers indicated that 25.3 per cent of those willing to move at all would move to the Pacific Coast. The greatest percentage of those who didn't want to move—31.8 per cent—*already lived there*. The magazine concluded that this indicated pressure toward a major trend in population, which is just what the Fair would like to see in 1939.

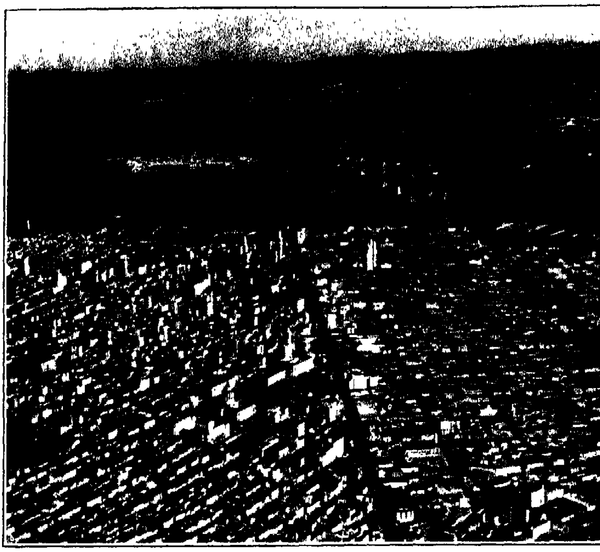
The eleven western states have agreed to throw in together in a single exhibit building the story of recreation and leisure in the West. The Hall of the Western States promises to be one of the most unusual exhibits ever attempted at any Fair. As an example of what you may expect, the Oregon exhibit will show salmon climbing fish ladders over a miniature Bonneville Dam, wild antelope herded by Indians, and the like. There will be pageantry of this kind everywhere; and nowhere, say the Fair planners, will there be the prize-peach-in-a-jar type of exhibit.

This note of drama and vitality is being used as the key of the whole Exposition. Even the industrial exhibitors are expected to interpret the machine age in terms of the increased leisure and happiness it has made possible for mankind. Electrical exhibits will show how the harnessing of water power has meant more time and more fun for you and me. Railroads, instead of showing you their latest rolling stock, will tell you the story of the places the rolling stock rolls to. Even the architecture has avoided machine-age modernism, and has emphasized the fanciful and the romantic. The main gates have a mystical majesty steeped in Oriental memories.

In its strong travel *motif*, the San Francisco Fair goes even farther afield than the eleven western states. Although these states are the heart and soul of the Fair, the entire Pacific community of nations is accented in the Exposition's subtitle, "A Pageant of the Pacific." There are various reasons why this is so, one of the chief being that today is, for the entire world, a dawn-day of interest in Pacific relations. San Francisco is America's open door to the Orient, to the Antipodes, to the South Seas, and to much of Latin America. The city's history is inextricably entangled with the romance of the western sea.

Successful scheduling of transpacific air service gave point to this idea, and, as it broadened in scope, the Golden Gate International Exposition became a World's Fair emphasizing travel not only for the eleven western states, but for the entire Pacific Basin.

Pacific nations were as quick to see the value of a Pacific Fair as the western states were keen for a Western Fair. For instance, Japan was one of the first nations aboard, enthusiastically planning to show its cultural and recreational features in a colorful exhibit. China is hard-pressed for cash, so the San Francisco colony of Chinese



TREASURE ISLAND: *The small strip in the center of San Francisco Bay is the site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition. The island is a man-made creation, army engineers having dredged it up over a period of a year and a half.*

—largest Chinatown outside China, San Franciscans boast—patriotically took up the yellow man's burden and will reply to Japan with a $1,200,000 Chinese Village, designed to illuminate the grace and charm of a great people. There are even some persons who suggest that China and Japan could save a lot of money by saying it with exhibits instead of with bullets.

Incidentally, many San Franciscans recall that one of the reasons for the success of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition was the fact that Europe was at war, and the belligerents were anxious to use the Fair to curry American favor and also to store their art treasures until the big guns should become less critical. History may repeat itself in 1939 with two great fairs running concurrently.

A World's Fair at its worst is an overgrown carnival with a sales floor attached, but at its best it is a microcosm, a mirror of at least one view of terrestrial activity. The particular view that the San Francisco Fair plans to reflect is, briefly, the More Abundant Life, as made possible by the machine age. Whether the More Abundant Life is here now or is just around the corner is an idea which the Fair people have not opened to debate, but it is, at any rate, a fresh approach toward the whole World's Fair business, and it will be interesting to watch how the westbound travelers take it, if and when they start rolling across plains and mountains in 1939.

They will find one thing at least: in its rôle as microcosm the Golden Gate Exposition is uniquely situated. It has none of the rest of the world rubbing its shoulder; it is, in fact, on an island in the middle of the bay, connected to reality only by the highly unreal steel spans of the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge. This is the longest bridge in the world, and the island is said to be the largest ever made by man. It was completed in the Fall of 1937 by Army Engineers who dredged it up, every speck of it, over a period of a year and a half, digging 20,000,000 cubic yards of sand to make it. It is no tide-flat reclamation, either. It stands out where the water used to be as deep as 30 feet, where the currents were swift and vicious, and it ranks with the bridges themselves for sheer engineering daring. After the Exposition has sent its last customer home, tired but happy, the island will be transformed into an airport, one of the few ever constructed in the geographical center of a population of 2,000,000. From the site (which is called Treasure Island) to either San Francisco or Oakland is a mere 10 minute ride, a great improvement over most airport situations. Both the new bridges are in full view of the island and so is the famous San Francisco skyline. So are the blue Berkeley hills, the University of California's Campanile, and stark but lovely Mount Tamalpais.

A great part of the $18,000,000 construction program is either completed or under way. Two of the world's largest hangars, which will be used as exhibit palaces during the Fair, are completed. An airport terminal, to serve as the Exposition's administration building, is also finished. Framework on all the main exhibit halls (which will be torn down after the show is over) has been erected. Ferry slips are complete. A 400-foot central tower, tentatively called the Spire to the Sun, is being built. The Exposition engineers report themselves far ahead of their schedule, and there is no doubt about opening on opening day—February 18, 1939.

Well, it's a long while since King Ahasuerus held his World's Fair. Times have changed and the only sure thing that the San Francisco Fair will have that he had is color on the sidewalks. However, the Golden Gate Exposition probably will have no Esther or even a Sally Rand (although you never can tell about things like that), but, on the other hand, King Ahasuerus didn't have the More Abundant Life.

HERE AND THERE

A new fashion in naming children is sweeping Yugoslav Macedonia. Kitchen Range, Philadelphia, Gentlemen, Chicago, Subway—these and many other names of places and things familiar to Americans are in favor among parents who are faced with the problem of naming their progeny. The style developed when native citizens visited America and other European centers and returned with enlarged vocabularies.

A promise given by Edward III in 1328 has just been fulfilled. According to the terms of a treaty between England and Scotland, historic documents were borrowed by Britain and were to be returned the same year. The documents include the marriage contract between Eric, king of Norway, and Margaret, daughter of Alexander III, king of Scotland; and the charter of King Edward I, dated 1189, restoring the liberties of Scotland. The errant documents will be put on public display at the Register House in Edinburgh.

Oath given by clerk in Darwin Supreme Court, Australia, to aborigines who are called to testify in court:

"Now listen. Want you talka true feller and tella big feller boss on top. Talk loud altogether men in court want hear you. Talk true all-a-time, not what other black boy bin tellum you. Talk what you savvy clear alonga your own eye, not what been hear alonga your own ear."

The person referred to as "big feller boss on top" is the judge. The oath has come into general use, it is explained, after many experiments and experiences revealed that it was the one most likely to be understood and respected.

What is believed to be the first passport ever issued has recently been auctioned off in London. The historic document was granted in 1629 to a gentleman secretary traveling from Northern Europe to Vienna. It "asks that his passage should not be held up at frontiers and customs barriers," and was given by Reingold Count of Collalto, a foreign secretary of Ferdinand II, emperor of Germany. The parchment was handed down from generation to generation in an old Viennese family, finally coming into the hands of a young Englishman, who put it up at auction.

The good citizens of Chalfont St. Giles, near London, used to think that the lack of rain caused the frequent disappearance of their favorite river, the Misbourne. But the river bed would remain dry for years at a time, regardless of the rainfall, and its unpredictability was highly puzzling. Last March, the Misbourne reappeared after its bed had been dry for three years. It vanished again just outside the town and for the distance of two miles the bed was again dry. Experts claim that the river is the innocent victim of thousands of rabbit holes appearing in the locality. It is thought that the water flows into the holes and percolates into the chalky ground. A local legend has it that the reappearance of the river portends a prosperous year.

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 6

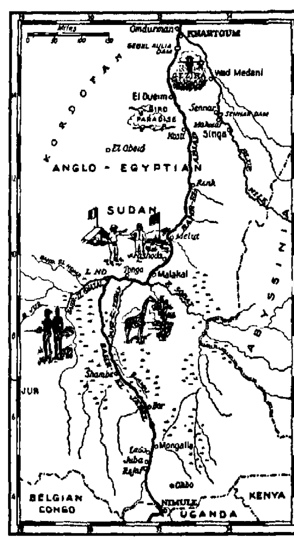
1. A strike that is conducted by union men without the authority of their superiors.
2. Federal Housing Administrator.
3. Brazil.
4. Argentina
5. Brazil is now a corporate state under Dictator Vargas.
6. Lawrence W. Cramer.
7. Cotton is the chief export commodity of the U S.
8. John Nance Garner
9. Victor Emanuel 3rd He has ruled since 1900.
10. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia.
11. Treasury Department.
12. Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt.
13. A system devised to care for the unemployed. It is being used extensively in England.
14. Belgium.
15. The embargo was lifted in June 1936
16. Exactly the opposite happened
17. China's ambassador to the U S. is Dr. Chenting T. Wang.
18. Simon Bolivar
19. Woodrow Wilson crossed the Atlantic to help draft a peace treaty with Germany.
20. He was the President of the A. F of L.
21. Herbert Clark Hoover, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, George Herman Ruth, Charles Augustus Lindbergh and Thomas Alva Edison.
22. He was elected President of the United Mine Workers Union of America
23. 695,000,000.

NON-FICTION OF 1937

(Continued from page 7)

members of the Supreme Court that has blocked the way toward fundamental economic reform.

But Mr. Ernst, unlike many other critics of the "nine old men," does not propose to enlarge, reduce, or dissolve altogether, the Court. Nor does he favor a number of other suggestions which would invalidate all but five-to-four decisions, or which would take away the right of the Court to hear appeals. Mr. Ernst would simplify things. He believes that democracy's needs can best be served by maintaining a higher judiciary providing the *ultimate power* remains with the people —specifically, by Congress. Congress has the right to override a veto of the President by a two-thirds vote. Why should it not exercise a similar democratic use of power over the Supreme Court?



From *The Nile*, by Emil Ludwig

THE NILE: *This is a river which, in its age, "traverses the land that has seen the longest of human histories."*

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CURRENT HISTORY



Japan's smashing victories in her crusade against mmunism have had one ironical result: they have rown much of the power in what is left of China to the hands of the most uncompromisingly anti-panese element—the Chinese communists. But ese "reds" are not all the bearded villains of the pular imagination, as a glance at this month's ver (International picture) will assure you. We n't know her name, but we like her face; and she the belle of General Ho-lung's Second Front Red my If you want some information about her ends and fellow-communists, you will find it in ina's *Communists*—a section of this month's cture section, *The Camera's Story of History-in-Making*. If there is more power for the Chinese mmunists, there is also *More Power to You*—the her section of the picture supplement. It portrays e gigantic power projects undertaken by the New eal

In *Land of Plenty* **Rexford G. Tugwell** describes e course of the struggle through the centuries to hieve an adequate, let alone an abundant, supply food Now that the physical problem has been lved he outlines the new problems and prospects ead and points the way to a better civilization rough a better food supply. Mr. Tugwell, one of e most controversial figures in recent political e, has retired to private business, but he is far om abandoning his lively interest in public policy.

Randall Gould, a welcome newcomer to *Current istory*, contributes a lively, amusing, and penetrat-g account of the diplomatic courtship between hina and Soviet Russia which takes on special melinesss at the present moment The Author of *he Colors Change in China* is a former U P and esent *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent as ell as editor of an English publication in Shanghai

Now that Messrs Jackson and Ickes have ounded off against the monopolies, here is a matter r their attention. *Food for the Trust-Busters*, ased upon a dynamite packed report of the Federal rade Commission which Congressman Culkin harges was suppressed, describes the food trusts hat have conspired to keep up the price of break st, lunch, and dinner The story was disinterred om its quiet burial-place by **Norman Cousins,** ssociate editor of *Current History*

Behind the headlines, beneath the deliberations legislatures and the acts of dictators, is the con-inuing activity of various groups of political onspirators which comprise *Underground Europe* he followers of this hazardous calling and their aried political objectives are fascinatingly and uthoritatively revealed by **Max Nomad,** the author f *Rebels and Renegades* and other works, who is ow in Europe on a Guggenheim Fellowship study-ng the subject of this article.

Some six years ago **Claud Cockburn** was one of he London *Times*' most brilliant correspondents, tationed in the United States. He decided, how-ver, to run his own paper The result was *The Week*, one of the most challenging and revealing ublications of modern journalism, it called the thiopian war, the Spanish revolt, and was far head of its English contemporaries on the 1936 bdication crisis If you have wondered why ngland lets Mussolini and Hitler get away with murder, and why, for instance, Lord Halifax was ent to Germany, you will find a convincing explana-ion in *Britain's "Cliveden Set"* You will also find ome entirely new information about a powerful ut little known group which has become known as the second Foreign Office"—and of which, in-identally, the social center is an American woman.

Recent events in Poland and Rumania lend a ital significance to *The Anti-Semitic Twins*, by Emil **Lengyel** and **Herbert Seligmann.** Mr engyel has contributed frequently to *Current History* and is well-known as an authority on outheastern Europe. Mr. Seligmann, a close tudent of the position of the Jews today who has ust returned from Rumania, is a contributor o *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and other publi-ations

Maurice Halperin, who is now preparing a book n Mexico, contributes a colorful picture of life on cooperative farm in that country—*Model Farms in Mexico*

Nina Belmonte, a woman war correspondent with he rebel forces in Spain, writes *Spanish War Profiles*—a series of vivid sidelights on the civil war rom a rebel angle.

The housing program, designed to bring back rosperity, lends timely importance to the sixth of Herbert **Harris'** series on labor in America, *Building and the Unions.*

CURRENT HISTORY

FEBRUARY 1938

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ARTICLES

FEATURES

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The World Today in Books

EVEN if you are fed up by now with all this messy war business and would like to shut the gates on anything more having to do with stories about bullets and bombs, it will be worth your while to look over three new books before clamping down. Each one concerns the present war in China and each one is written—not 5,000 or more miles away in a warm parlor but on the scene of the shooting. The books are *Red Star Over China*, by Edgar Snow, *First Act in China*, by James M. Bertram; and *I Speak for the Chinese*, by Carl Crow.

What about duplication? Yes, there is duplication, but what of it? The central theme concerns China and the reasons for the current outbreak, and in that sense there is bound to be some duplication. Each author develops his topic along such widely separated lines and brings in so many individual observations that you will be glad that you read all three. If there is any single picture to be drawn from the three books, it is that China's future is hinged heavily on a new and growing force within itself—the communists, who already control the lives of 20,000,000 Chinese.

It is only recently that reports have filtered out of the Orient confirming the actual existence of a large and powerful communist "nation" in the Northwest Chinese provinces. Japan had been crying "Red!" for ten years and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had reportedly sent army after army after the revolutionaries or "bandits" determined to exterminate them entirely, but whether the communists were more of a myth than an actuality was a question whose answer was known by few Westerners. The scarcity of information until recent months was largely due to a news blockade, Edgar Snow says, which the Chinese Government set up around the communist districts.

The communists today have been given their political freedom by the Kuomintang but when Mr. Snow was engaged in the process of collecting material for *Red Star Over China*, there were few of them who did not have prices on their heads. The penalty of communist affiliation was death and the author's problem was to break the blockade somehow, get through to the leaders, and then slip through the blockade again to a place where the story could be sent out of the country. He had no illusions about the supposed safety of a news correspondent regardless of the locale of the assignment. He knew that his life could be snuffed out simply and quietly, without even the benefit of a notice to the outside world.

But he was anxious, Snow writes, to once and for all learn the truth about the communists. What was there to the legend of Mao Tse-tung? What about the report that the Red Army numbered half a million armed men? What kind of arms did they have and where did they come from? What were they aiming to do and when did they propose to start? There was no end to these questions and when Snow learned that there was a weak spot in one link of the blockade he set out to break it at that point.

Snow managed to penetrate the blockade and *Red Star Over China* is the result. It is an interesting book and often an amazing one. It is written in the form of an adventure—there is no other word to describe the wandering of a reporter in the remote interior of China on a mission that could very easily result in his death. But the book is also an important historical record. It has taken most of the guess work out of our information about the communists of China. Mr. Snow's actual photographs of the people, the army, the leaders, the life in the Communist Northwest reinforce the fact that the communists not only exist but have made a very effective job of it.

A number of popular fallacies are bound to be exploded not only by Mr. Snow but by the authors of *First Act in China* and *I Speak for the Chinese* on what the communists actually stand for and how they go about achieving their objectives. The first idea to be scotched, according to these books, is that the Chinese communists are directed from Moscow. This puppet-on-a-string notion is all wrong and the authors say that Chinese communism has taken its inspiration and its objectives from the needs of the Chinese people. The communists have regarded Japan—even long before the current war—as the chief threat not only to Chinese sovereignty but to the people. They were opposed, too, to the brazen cruelty of the Chinese war lords, the high taxes upon the lands, the inhumane treatment of the landlords

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Red Star Over China	Edgar Snow	Random House	$3.00
First Act in China	James M. Bertram	Viking Press	3.00
I Speak for the Chinese	Carl Crow	Harpers	1.00
The Tyranny of Words	Stuart Chase	Harcourt, Brace	2.50
Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe	M. W. Fodor	Houghton, Mifflin	3.50
Transgressor in the Tropics	Negley Farson	Harcourt, Brace	2.50
This Troubled World	Eleanor Roosevelt	H. C. Kinsey	1.00
The Family of Nations	Nicholas Murray Butler	Scribners	3.00

Against all this they banded together and attracted to them millions of supporters, few of whom would fit in with the popular conception of communists. Those who joined the ranks of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh did so not because they were following the chimera of a more abundant life but because they realized that it was the only way in which China could become a nation worthy of the respect not only of its own people but of the outside world. They were in a certain sense, the patriots or nationalists of China.

Why were they harried by Chiang Kai-shek? Why were they forced to break up their homes in southeastern Hunan and flee across the length and breadth of China on a march of many thousands of miles if their purposes were "noble?" There are two answers. The first is to be found in the ties which bound Chiang to the conservative elements of the Kuomintang. The second may be traced to agreements—most of them secret—with Japan, to wipe out communism in China.

The hegira of the communists to the Shensi province—easily the most remarkable performance of its kind in recent history—does not fit in with the scare-stories of "communists on the march." Mr. Snow and Mr. Bertram tell of relief, not ransacking or ruin, brought to impoverished and ill peasants along the route. They tell, too, of public health services, such as compulsory inoculation and dietary correction; of the beginning made in the reduction of illiteracy; of the distribution of food and clothing. Where did the money come from? Confiscation, contribution, and the wealth of the land. Confiscation meant to the communists the "taxation" of surplus cash and goods of the landlords and other "irresponsible rich." No looting was tolerated but the moneyed people were required to report every item to the Finance Commission, to be used as the basis of "taxation." The contributions came from all classes. Chu Teh, the commander, gave his personal fortune, which was very great. Income was also derived from State trade, from their own industries, from the cooperatives, and surprising enough, from bank loans.

Several years ago the Chinese communists decided that Japan presented too much of an increasing menace to a divided China and sought terms of peace with Chiang Kai-shek. Whether this decision was inspired by the "popular front" ideology of the Third International is unimportant. The essential fact was that they were willing to renounce a substantial portion of their communist philosophy and unite with the government to drive out Nippon.

It was not until Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped late in 1936, however, that anything concrete was done by the government toward uniting forces. The kidnapping, as Mr. Bertram says in the title of his book, was the "first act in China." Then and there the present war had its roots. While he was a "hostage" to the Young Marshal and the communist forces, Chiang made a number of agreements, the most important of which was that China would no longer submit to Japanese oppression. A key to the other agreements may be found in the recent government decree giving amnesty to all political prisoners and in the termination of the fight against the communists.

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 77

1 Is Honolulu on the island of Hawaii?
2 A recent headline reads: "Japanese Reach Nanking; Sun's Tomb Surrounded." What is meant by Sun's Tomb?
3 When was the Chinese Republic founded?
4 Is Nanking the largest city in China?
5 Is Shanghai larger or smaller than Chicago?
6 Who was Dr Sun Yat Sen?
7 Is the following statement true?—Soviet Russia occupies one-twelfth of the world's habitable land.
8 What is the Tennessee Basin?
9 What great dam has recently been built in the upper Tennessee Basin?
10 What is the largest dam now under construction by the Government of the United States?
11 Where is the Grand Coulee Dam?
12. Who has recently resigned as Ambassador to Germany?
13 Who has been appointed to take his place?
14. What position did the new Ambassador hold just immediately before he was appointed to this post?
15. What governor of what state recently ordered a collective bargaining election in defiance of the N.L.R.B.?
16. What industry was affected by this bargaining election?
17. What federal office did the late Andrew Mellon hold?
18. Under what president was Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury?
19. In what century was George Washington president?
20. What was the purpose of the McNary Farm Bill Amendment?
21. The Senate voted on the McNary Amendment on December 7th. Was it adopted?
22. By what authority is the price paid for silver by the United States fixed?

The kidnapping, its circumstances and its consequences, are told in Mr. Bertram's *First Act in China,* the most complete record available anywhere of the incident. Like Mr. Snow, Mr. Bertram is not an historian but a reporter, yet his book, and Mr. Snow's, too, will be used as the basis for future histories. Good reporters often rush in and come out with valuable stories where historians fear to tread.

The outcome of the present war with Japan rests in a large measure with the communists, but Mr. Crow points out in his *I Speak for the Chinese* that China will have to achieve a greater degree of unity among its various other factions. No part or portion of China can be greater than the whole of China. Cantonese last year thought that the war did not affect them, that Japan's military operations were confined to the Shanghai area, and they received a Japanese battleship in their harbor with the usual show of indifference and even slight friendliness. They have since regretted their mistake. Recent bombings of Canton emphasize that Japan is not disposed to exercise discrimination among the Chinese, in the aerial discharge of her bombs.

Japan, according to Mr. Crow, who worked on the *Japan Advertiser* for a number of years, sincerely believes that it has a mission. Nippon has definite ideas as to what the civilization of the world shall be and would like to see those ideas tried out. She is convinced that Japan's culture and civilization is superior and can see no reason why she should not extend the various benefits of that culture to the rest of the world. This is no fantastic yellow scare but the actual sentiment among high Japanese officials.

I Speak for the Chinese is short, colorful, and to the point. Mr. Crow has something to say and says it without wasting words in a book that will take about an hour of your time.

Words to Explain Words

THE most unique and original book published in a long time is Stuart Chase's *Tyranny of Words.* Mr. Chase has done what he thought at first might be impossible; he has explained words with words. If the subject sounds somewhat innocuous and nothing over which to get excited, this department is willing to issue a challenge: what is actually meant when the word "democracy" is used, when people refer to various "isms" with the calm assurance that they know what they are talking about, when we say that this country is "good" and that country is "bad?"

Hundreds of books have been published in the last few years on the relative merits of particular forms of social philosophy and government. Yet only a handful of them use the same words to mean the same things. There are styles in words just as there are styles in fashions and you can always depend upon the propagandists or tacticians to follow or even set the styles. Right now, for example, the word "democracy" is in high favor.

A half-dozen years ago it was very fashionable to be an opponent of democracy, because democracy at that time was supposed to be synonymous with a whole host of capitalist evils. Those who led the propaganda against democracy were the proletarian writers who called the signals for the parade of sympathizers and active supporters of the Russian form of government. If your memory is fair you will remember how the word "liberty" was scorned. "Liberty in a democracy," they used to say, "means liberty to starve and be exploited by the capitalists."

But at that time the Soviet was not threatened by the existence of what is now a fascist bloc. It will be recalled, in fact, that the leading democratic nations—and the word democratic is used to mean Great Britain, France, and the United States—were not too anxious to court the friendship of the Soviet. And Russia, in her turn, espoused the theory of world revolution and openly scorned the democratic or "capitalist" countries.

Then fascism, spawned by Il Duce, spread to Germany where it was taken up and tailored to fit nazi ideology. Part of the fascist credo—in addition to its formula of suppression, regimentation, and oppression—involved denunciation of anything even faintly pink. Italy and Germany drained the blood of their people in turning out armaments and there was no question in the minds of Russian government officials as to what country those armaments would be used against when the war did start.

Presto! Change of tactics and strategy. Democracy suddenly became desirable. Democratic nations were good. Democratic nations would unite with democratic Russia against the fascists. United front. Down with war and fascism! Fight for peace and democracy! A number of professed "pacifists" who didn't want to fight for democracy in 1928 are beating the war drums in 1938. It wasn't that they were pacifists It was just that they didn't have a cause for war to their liking at that time. Now they have and they want to fight.

Stuart Chase poses this question:

> As an American, do I love the people of Russia enough to urge the killing of tens of thousands of my people in a war against Germany, Italy, or Japan? The answer is no. I desire to see the people of Russia given a chance to work out one of the most significant economic experiments ever undertaken, but I am not prepared, as an American, to protect that experiment by force of arms. I remember too vividly the last time Americans ventured forth to make the world safe for democracy.

Mr. Chase is right. There is a tyranny of words. What you say may be perfectly true, yet if its net effect may be unfavorable, say, to the cause of the Soviet, you are labeled as a red-baiter or a reactionary. And conversely, if you hit out hard against the economic barons of this country; if you support and stand for the legal right of organization by unions; if you support the labor movement; if you favor wages and hours legislation, social security,

unemployment insurance; if you support anything, in fact, that is part of an enlightened society you will be called red and say, buddy, why don't you go back where you came from?

Absolutes to the right of us, absolutes to the left of us.

Mr. Chase says:

> At times like these I am almost ready to go back to the sign language How would you call a man a pacifist with your hands? . . . Good language alone will not save mankind. But seeing the things behind the names will help us to understand the structure of the world we live in. Good language will help us to communicate with one another about the realities of our environment, where now we speak darkly, in alien tongues.

The publishers of Mr. Chase's book would perform a distinct public service if they distributed *The Tyranny of Words* to those who make a habit of using words about whose definitions they are not too clear, but since that means all of us, we can forgive them if they decline the suggestion.

The New Nobility

IN RECENT years there has come into being a nobility or aristocracy of the Fourth Estate. Its founder was Vincent Sheehan; its High Priest Negley Farson; its Prophet John Gunther; its Sergeant-at-Arms Walter Duranty; its Keeper-of-the-Peace Webb Miller. Into the Grand Council of the Foreign-Correspondents-Who-Write-Memoirs there now comes one M. W. Fodor, Vienna correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. He is nominated by John Gunther, who, in the introduction to Fodor's new book, *Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe*, writes that Fodor educated him about Europe from the cradle. He has the most comprehensive knowledge of Europe, says Gunther, of any journalist he knows.

After reading *Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe*, the reader is inclined to understand why Gunther was so lavish in his praise. M. W. Fodor has been in central Europe a long time

(*Continued on Page 80*)

Daddy Needn't Worry—



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Of Ships

THIS country operates nearly two fifths of all the railroad mileage in the world, drives more than two thirds of all the automobiles, and publishes about half of all the newspapers. It produces approximately one third of all the coal, more than one half of all the cotton, and over two thirds of all the oil. According to the Brazilian Ambassador, it enjoys about one half of all the monetary income.

Such things being so, why is this country so weak with regard to merchant ships in foreign trade or so content to remain weak? Why does it take less pride in ships than in skyscrapers?

The sorry situation with respect to our merchant marine can not be attributed to lack of means or precedent. We have the money, as is shown by our bank statements and our investments in other lines. Also, we have the example, as is recorded in our history books. Eighty or one hundred years ago, Americans boasted that they could not, and would not be outsailed by anyone. They carried American trade to all the seven seas, following uncharted courses and entering uncharted ports. They spread the fame of American enterprise to all quarters of the globe, meeting and beating competition wherever they ran foul of it. They did all this, moreover, without getting their country into war.

We no longer take pride in the glory that once went with our clippers. We no longer urge our marine architects, ship-owners and captains to make America first on the sea. If a tall building is erected abroad, we work and stew until a taller one is built in this country, but we do not even wince when such boats as the *Rex*, the *Normandie*, and the *Queen Mary* take our speed records away.

This country came out of the World War with one of the greatest merchant fleets ever constructed, and then let it rust away for lack of support.

When the *Panay* was sunk the other day, millions of Americans jumped to the conclusion that we would have to take the incident lying down, or go to war. Secretary Hull, by his able handling of the case, proved that a third and far better course was open.

It simply isn't true that men and nations must waive legitimate rights or risk bloodshed. If it were, this world would face a hopeless future.

Neither is it true that we must give up the idea of expanding trade and building American ships on a large scale in order to keep out of foreign entanglements. We have a right to be strong upon the sea—just as good a right as any other country, and we must assume that the exercise of that right can be peacefully enjoyed.

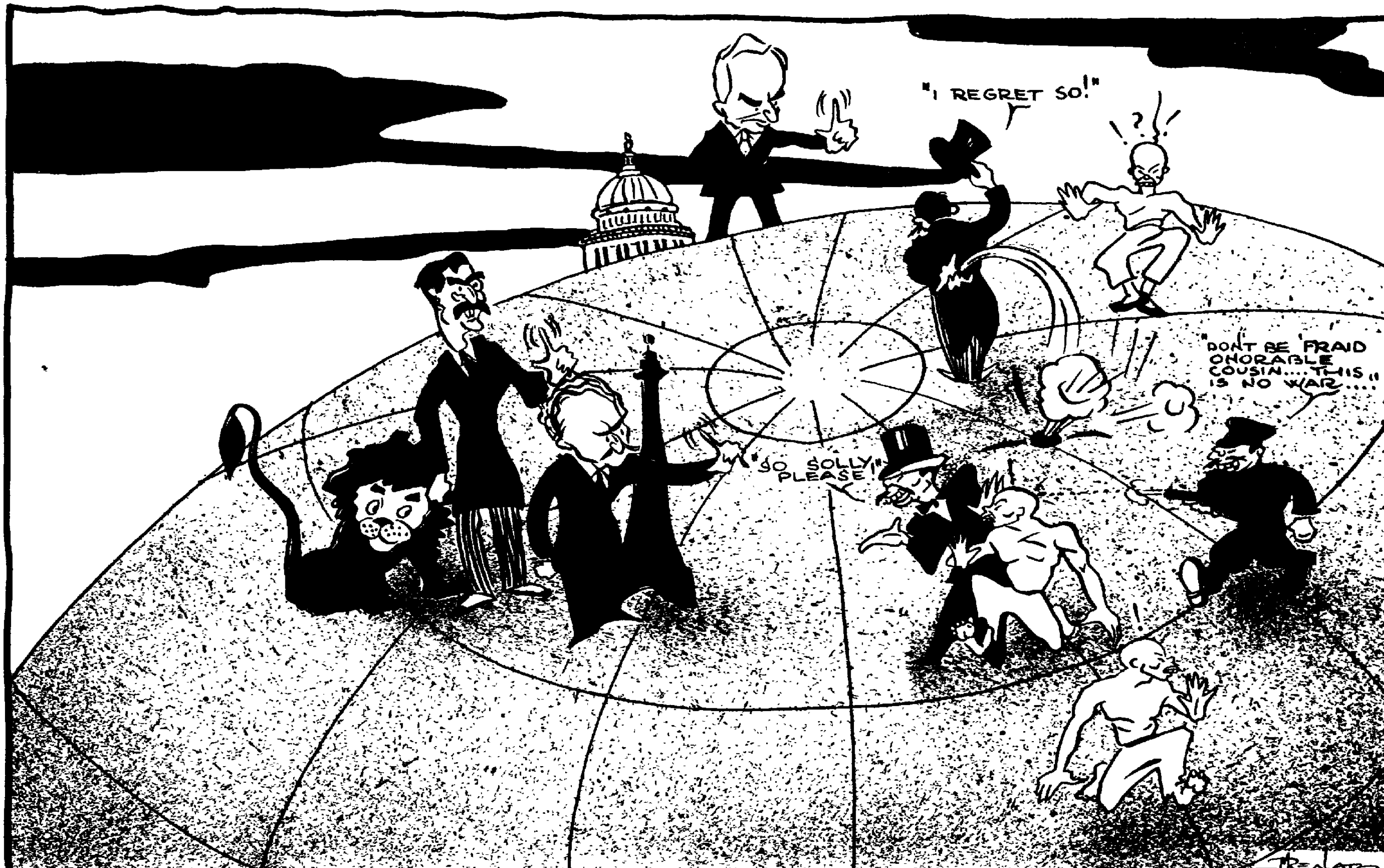
Great foreign ships are entering our ports every day. If their governments are not afraid, why should we be? But we are afraid. There is no other explanation for our peculiar attitude toward ships and shipping. Many of us have come to associate foreign trade—especially as carried on by American ships—with trouble. News of the bombing of the *Panay* was quickly followed by a demand that our ships be withdrawn from Chinese waters, lest their presence create a situation that might lead to war.

We are afraid not only of getting into trouble if we send our ships abroad, but of the cost competition involves. We insist that our sailors be better paid, better fed, and better housed than those of other nations, and it is proper that we should. Sailors are entitled to share in our general prosperity. They have a right to equally as good wages and equally as good working conditions as people on land. But if we insist on this, as we have by writing it into law, why not pay the price? As things now stand, we are merely driving American ships off the sea by creating such conditions as make it impossible for them to pay their way in competition with foreign ships. That being so, we should do no less than assume such part of the burden as we have imposed upon them unless, indeed, we are ready to abandon our rights on the sea.

We have no choice but to subsidize our foreign shipping as, if, and when we make rules which put it to a disadvantage, and the Roosevelt Administration is to be congratulated for recognizing and acting on this obvious necessity. Something more than that is necessary, however. If this government is to protect merchant sailors in their right to share the general prosperity, and is to dig into the public treasury for the difference in cost, then it is justified in demanding obedience and good order on their part.

And, finally, comes the contribution of those citizens who trade and travel abroad. No matter what else is done, the American merchant marine cannot be a success without their patronage and support. It is not so much a matter of patriotism as it is of good common sense for Americans to make use of American ships in every possible way. It is even more essential for the country's general welfare than it is to buy American-made goods. We need ships as we need nothing else right now. Lack of them weakens this country's efforts to expand its foreign trade, increase its foreign markets, and thus make room for greater production of those goods and materials of which it has an abundance. Also, lack of them weakens our naval strength. A well-equipped merchant marine is just as essential to a navy as are well-equipped industries to an army. No country can be strong on the sea in time of trouble without the help of such a merchant marine. Look at all we had to do in the World War to get the required number of ships for the transportation of troops and material, and look at what it cost.

M E Tracy


"I REGRET SO!"
"DON'T BE FRAID ONORABLE COUSIN.... THIS IS NO WAR...."
"SO SOLLY PLEASE!"

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

More Power to the People

IN TWO unanimous decisions the Supreme Court repudiated legal attacks by the Alabama Power Company and the Duke interests upon the government policy of grants and loans to municipalities for the construction of power plants in competition with private interests. These decisions were a welcome impetus to the New Deal at the very beginning of 1938. And they revealed clearly a new vista of national development destined to influence the whole national economy.

The very unanimity of the decision makes possible the pursuit to conclusion of some 61 public projects held in litigation these past three years. Involved is some $146,000,000 now awaiting final clearance from injunctive action. PWA reports show that some $99,000,000 has been allotted for public plants by that organization. Of this total some $61,000,000 constitutes loans and some $38,000,000 is in grants. And this was the large amount of liquid capital held in sterility for three years by private corporations illegally challenging the right of the people to receive moneys which the plaintiffs contended came to defendants from illegal sources. That three years of crucial time in the nation's life should be frittered away in the lower courts in deciding a legal question that even the conservative Justice McReynolds characterized as amazing, goes a long way, not only to the discredit of the legal profession, but to prove President Roosevelt's contention that the nation needs speedier court action.

Such prolonged litigation is not only uselessly antagonistic to the people and to their interests but it is costly to the stockholders of private power companies.

And it is strange that now with the people's legal victory the same private power companies and their subsidized press should speak so freely of the moral obligation implicit in public ownership. Certainly an obligation exists; but it is not moral. In the future an inevitable comparison will be made between the rates and efficiency of publicly owned plants and privately owned systems. For that reason, and no other, accounting of the public projects should be made uniform.

Government loans should be amortized, proper reserves prepared for replacement of obsolescent machinery, and for the sake of accuracy, although it creates an absurd situation, full equivalent taxes of all kinds should be paid the municipality by the municipality. These are the outstanding obligations that should be strictly observed. For in the Government power projects lies, not only a yardstick, but a testing ground for public ownership of utilities. In such a crucial struggle politicians must be curbed; and corruptness must be ruthlessly liquidated.

Seven Billions for the Budget

IMMEDIATELY following President Roosevelt's message to Congress the press of the nation was pleased to characterize it as reassuring. Since then, it has been discovered that the message was not so reassuring as discreet. The President stated without ill temper the very objectives to which business as a whole has been so opposed. But even more surprising than this was the calm way in which he informed the nation that it would be impossible to cut the government's outlay "much below seven billion dollars a year without destroying essential functions or letting people starve."

In short, the President envisages a budget permanently stabilized at approximately seven billion dollars. This, in the face of the fact that never in history has the government's income equaled that amount. Only once did it rise to six billion, and in just three other years did the government's income touch five billion. And it must be remembered that these were rare occasions, indeed,—boom years. Such a staggering sum is eighteen times the budget figures balanced in 1890 when the country's population was at least one-half of what it is today.



The Minnesota Leader

Still, the President justifies his budget prophecy with a well known thesis borrowed from the business men themselves. In the past it has been pointed out that under the capitalist system a one hundred billion dollar national income is not an illusory goal. It can be obtained with the proper juggling of wages and prices. Once attained a permanent national budget of seven billion dollars will be proportionately the same as the post-war budget of four billion dollars was to the seventy billion dollar national income.

However the problem of economy cannot rest upon anticipation of future prosperity. More than any other, President Roosevelt is conversant with the insurmountable difficulties of effecting economies in the face of strong pressure groups. Services once considered temporary have become per-

manent through usage. Thus, day by day, legitimate local expenses are pawned off on the government. Gigantic, and unwieldy centralization has resulted. Now, and in the future, the question of budget balance is firmly linked with the liquidation of this great power and responsibility concentrated in our national government. Not until that fact is faced can anything of lasting value be accomplished towards the solution of the budget problem.

America Enters the Arms Race

THE *Panay* incident is closed. The Ludlow Amendment, placing the power to declare war in the hands of the people, has been pigeon-holed by the Congress. Still, the poor misguided citizens are obstinately determined to remain aloof from the quarrels in Europe and in Asia.



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WE HOPE!

However, in the face of the peoples' will to peace, President Roosevelt and the professional diplomats are pursuing an aggressive, provocative course of action. And there are two reasons for this contradictory situation—one illusory and one practical.

As for the illusion, it embodies every piece of sentimental trash long accumulating in the numerous political clubs and international banking houses where hands across-the-sea to Britain is a professional and lucrative pose. In brief, now that Britain is in danger of losing some of her Empire the American public are being prepared as a rescue party. Corn-fed boys in the Middle West and garbage-fed boys in the cities are being conditioned to save the world for Britain. And this under the guise of saving democracies from the dictatorships. But is Britain a true democracy? Is France a true democracy? Canvas the subject races enthralled in the chains of these two imperialistic nations. The negative replies from the masses in India and French Morocco will suffice to refute the claim. Not, of course, that we here in America can waltz before the tribunal of international morality with clean hands. But that is unimportant at the present time with the immediate threat of war with its attendant economic and human loss. We must certainly look to ourselves, and to our defenses.

And that brings us to the second reason for the aggressive foreign policy burgeoning from our State Department—the practical reason. First let it be said at once that the strategical plans of our military and naval organizations do not encompass a foreign engagement. The lessons learned in 1917 of dependence upon British naval power and the covering Allied forces in France have been well learned. Mass troop transport to foreign shores is beyond practical consideration, even with British and French naval aid, because of the present technical efficiency of submarine and airplane warfare.

Nevertheless, we are apparently going to build battleships and auxiliary merchant supply and transport ships under specifications drawn with an eye to foreign warfare. President Roosevelt, has mentioned a billion dollar armament program. It will be expended for heavy armament and will go a long way toward halting the present recession of heavy industry. And further it is presumed that the spectacle of Uncle Sam armed to the teeth standing shoulder to shoulder with Britain will drastically curtail the depredations of the so-called have-not nations. At all odds the recent South American war scare, the *Panay* incident with its attendant war scare will, in the last analysis, become the New Deal's excuse for following Britain's lead in building internal prosperity upon an armament program. And it has been said often that an armed man is usually a frightened, nervous man and for that reason very likely to pull the trigger. Perhaps this condition also exists among armed nations.



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FEELING THE PULL

China Loses Her Unity

TEN years ago, less a month, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek marched into Nanking from the South and launched himself upon the task of converting the sprawling series of semi-independent war-lords' domains that was China into a national unity. He chased the Communists most of the way around China with lead bullets,



Il 420, Florence.

AS RUSSIA BUILDS A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

An Italian view of Soviet elections—New members for the party are reported hard to find

brought rival war lords into line with "silver bullets," he built roads, promoted education, and fought the corrupt official "squeeze" with his New Life Movement.

A little over a year ago he was "kidnapped" by Chang Hsueh-liang in a now historic incident. Instead of an immediate rush of greedy rivals to fill his boots, the upshot was a spontaneous national protest against the captor. Chiang Kai-shek returned to Nanking in triumph, with his repentant kidnapper following shamefacedly. The Generalissimo could not have received better evidence of his success in knitting the nation together.

But New Year's 1938 told a different story. Chiang Kai-shek had been forced to flee from his capital; he had resigned as Premier of China. In the hands of alien masters were Peiping, the ancient capital of China, and Tientsin; Kalgan, the capital of Chahar; Kweisui and Paotow in Suiyan, and Taiyuan in Shansi; Tsinan, the capital of Kwantung, had fallen, and Tsingtao, that province's seaport was to fall shortly. Shanghai, the source of revenue and supplies—China's New York—was in Japanese hands; so was Nanking, China's Washington and the symbol of national unity. And Hankow, the rich industrial city and the gateway to the Chinese interior, looked like the next victim. Finally, the invaders were preparing a campaign against Canton in the South, the sole remaining important source of supplies from the outside world.

In short all the physical mechanism of Chinese nationalism has been destroyed. Government has been dispersed. Commerce has been destroyed. And armed resistance has been decentralized; the only strategy now available for the Chinese is that of luring the Japanese into the interior and conducting sporadic guerrilla attacks in an aimless war of attrition.

But Chiang Kai-shek can console himself that the spirit of unity has not yet been vanquished. It remains to hold his retreating troops to their efforts. It remains to balk Japanese attempts to set up pro-Japanese regimes: only the Peiping "Provisional Government of the Republic of China" has so far been established, and it is composed, not of Chinese leaders, but of notorious pro-Japanese puppets whose price is low. And the same Chinese spirit is responsible for the systematic destruction of cities about to be captured—as in Tsingtao and Chinkiang, to name two.

China may not become a white elephant to the Japanese but, even if it does not, it will prove to be an animal whose taming and upkeep will be extremely costly.

M. Delbos' Grand Tour

THE smaller powers of central and eastern Europe are in the unhappy position of being ground between the monolith states, fascist and communist. They enjoy, as compensation, the privilege of holding the balance of power between the democrats and fascists. So the grand tour of M. Yvon Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia provided a useful re-



Arizona Republic

BET THAT'D SCARE 'IM

port on the European scene; his purpose was to discover the extent of their affection for the Rome-Berlin axis, to reassure them of French designs, and to try to gain additional guarantees of aid in case of war with Germany.

Here is what he discovered:

Poland: More pro-French than expected, despite its authoritarian regime and close relations with Germany. It has no desire to appease Germany's ambitions regarding the Polish Corridor and Danzig; but it would like some colonies itself, a demand which may become a significant pawn in the game of bidding for Polish support. However, the Polish Government would thank the French for keeping out of its private quarrel with Ignace Jan Paderewski over internal matters, and it still regards the pact between France and the hated Soviets with deep suspicion.

Czechoslovakia: Here M. Delbos met his warmest welcome and came away reassured as to the permanence of the friendship between the two countries. Like the French, the Czechs have a mutual-assistance pact with Soviet Russia; but just now they are relying more upon their own military forces to check a possible attack by Germany. Their chief trouble continues to be the problem of the Sudeten German minority; a solution of it would go far to quiet Europe.

Rumania: This visit was less reassuring, the country being under the personal rule of the pro-German King Carol. As a footnote to M. Delbos' visit, the King appointed as Premier the violently pro-German and anti-Semitic Octavian Goga, whose National Christian party only obtained ten per cent of the votes in the December election. Against this, M. Delbos could observe that the French tie was favored by the people at large, that Rumania was not likely to take any steps that might let Germany at her oilfields, that she was still strongly opposed to Hungarian revisionist claims, and that Rumanian-Russian relations were cool, but not hostile. Rumania would, however, rather not have any French interference in her domestic affairs, particularly as regards the return of the strongly anti-fascist and brilliant M. Titulescu.

Yugoslavia: M. Delbos arrived just after Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch returned from Italy, with whom his government has been carrying on an active flirtation. It is also reported that M. Delbos had to invite himself to Yugoslavia—the present obstacle to the conclusion of a French-Little Entente mutual defense pact. The French Foreign Minister could, however, find consolation in the facts that he appeared to be much more popular in Yugoslavia than M. Stoyadinovitch and that the formation of the Agrarian-Democratic Party last October, uniting the Serb and Croat oppositionists, promised to give the Government a good fight.

M. Delbos could draw the following general conclusions about his trip: French friendship is more valued by the populaces than by their governments, and German economic and political penetration has proceeded apace. Consequently he was unable to get guarantees of action against Germany. He found, too, that the powers concerned had lost all faith in the League of Nations, but they did insist that Great Britain and France should not give the Reich a free hand to the East. On the credit side, he found that the more conservative, pro English France had gained prestige.

Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

MEXICAN OIL TRUCE: When the first encounter between the Mexican Government and American oil interests seemed imminent, a truce, at this writing, has come to put off the clash for the time being, and perhaps to slow up the pace of the Mexican nationalization campaign. In a series of successive steps that pointed to a climax, between November 1937 and the beginning of this year, Mexico, bringing to life the famous Article XXVII that had been placed in cold storage by Calles and Morrow, nationalized 350,000 acres of oil lands leased to the Richmond Petroleum Company, a Standard Oil subsidiary, took steps toward placing the entire foreign controlled petroleum industry on a royalty-paying basis, and ordered an increase in the wages of Mexican petroleum workers. Richmond Petroleum filed suits asking for injunctions against nationalization, and in answer to the wage increase ordered by the Mexican Federal Labor Board, the American and British oil companies, controlling about 95 per cent of production, refused to comply with the order, openly defying the Mexican Government. It was up to the Mexican Government, but . . .

Mexico was facing serious fiscal and monetary uncertainties. The rise in Mexican export values, a result of the war boom, had brought a period of "prosperity" early in the year—a very relative prosperity as the wages in many industries were miserably lagging behind prices. And the land division and public works programs had heavily taxed the treasury. The metallic coverage in the Bank of Mexico had gone down from about 62 per cent at the beginning of August to about 44 per cent in the first week of December.

THE DEAL: Another factor in this prosperity was the United States silver purchases, which are said to have aggregated more than $30,000,000 in 1937.

Soon after the nationalization campaign started, the oil interests made use of a threat. If Mexico persisted in pressing them, the United States could discontinue its purchases of Mexican silver. American correspondents urged this step as a means of bringing Cárdenas to terms, and painted a somber picture of what would happen to the Mexican economy without this source of revenue. A change in the Washington silver policy was expected at the beginning of this year, and when the oil interests' threat became a black cloud to Mexican eyes, Eduardo Suarez, the Mexican Finance Minister, hastened to Washington to look for the silver lining.

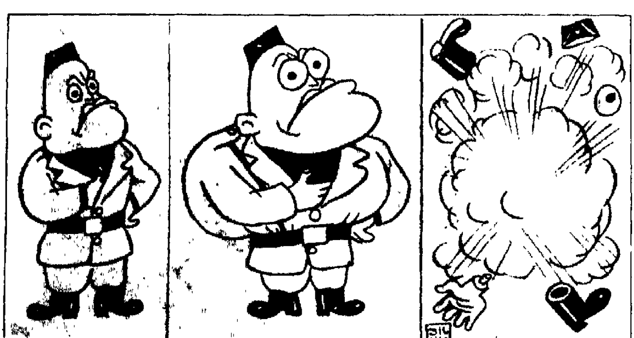
As a result of his negotiations with American public officials there during the latter part of December, the United States Government announced that it would continue to buy Mexican silver during January on the same terms as before. About the same time, at Mexico City, the Federal Labor Board suspended its decision ordering a wage increase for all the workers until the Mexican Supreme Court makes a ruling on the Companys' request for an injunction.

For the second time in the past year, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau has come to the rescue of the State Department to solve a Latin-American puzzle. The first time was when he fired a $60,000,000 broadside of American gold against German trade in Brazil last July. This time he is using silver in what looks like a retarding strategy. The joint statement issued on December 31st, 1937, by Secretary Morgenthau and the Mexican Finance Minister Suarez announcing "a mutually satisfactory understanding" on silver, also said that arrangements had been made looking to the continued stability of the peso-dollar exchange.

FOREIGN INTERESTS VS. 16,000,000 MEXICANS: No doubt the Mexicans have availed themselves of the liberal Rooseveltian interlude in Latin-American policy in order to push their plan for the Mexicanization of their economy. Besides, the world situation in the past year offered a favorable juncture for the resumption of that plan.

But, after all, Mexico is fighting the same entrenched interests that today are obstructing progressive Rooseveltian reform in the United States. Secretary Ickes, the other day, in a Demosthenic tirade against those interests here, said that the issue was whether "America's sixty families or America's 120,000,000 people" would prevail. Well, the issue in Mexico is whether a handful of foreign capitalists controlling most of Mexican exportable wealth or 16,000,000 Mexicans will prevail. If such a system is not desirable in the United States, neither is it in Mexico.

There isn't in President Roosevelt's present course the slightest indication that he will pick up the Damocles sword that the United States swayed over Mexico's head from Wilson to Hoover. While he is in power, we don't think there is reason to expect another



Selecta

A South American view of Benito Mussolini's policy of indefinite expansion . . .



St Louis *Post-Dispatch*

. . . which, however, Uncle Sam distrusts

Veracruz landing. Rather, and whether deliberately or not, the present administration's metal-purchasing policy—as was recently acknowledged by President Cárdenas—has supported the Mexican social program.

But this program is yet in its initial stages. Developments in the near future will tell whether pressure by the interests will turn the American silver-buying policy, that so far has been beneficial to Mexico, into a means of persuading Cárdenas to become an amenable *buen vecino* to American entrepreneurs.

Foreign capital in Mexico has been too stubborn in the past for anyone to imagine it can be uprooted in a short time or without much labor. The Mexican revolution will probably move very slowly for generations through open battles, defeats, gains and compromise, before it achieves its final economic aims.

Meanwhile, a policy that, taking the larger view, would let the Mexican Revolution—the biggest stride toward a new order in modern Latin-American history—take its gradual course would be, even from a strictly selfish American viewpoint, a wiser policy than that of throwing against Mexican destiny the might of the United States. For, in the long run, a strong, wealthy, enlightened and ambitious Mexican people, owning and controlling the resources of its own soil, would have far more to give and to take in its economic intercourse with the American people than a perpetually disowned and vacilant nation.

THEY FIGHT FOR OIL: Oil caused it and oil settled it. Ever since Bolivians and Paraguayans stopped killing each other officially, the Chaco War has had an epilogue known in Pan-American parlance as the Chaco Peace, and nearly as long as the war itself. As the real causes of this conflict had not been removed, the Chaco Peace lingered indefinitely as an unfinished affair.

But now a move by Argentina brings it to a close in an unexpected way. Final peace has not been signed at La Paz or Asuncion. It has been decreed at Buenos Aires by giving landlocked Bolivia an outlet for her oil through Argentina. It was Buenos Aires that about six years ago blocked the Bolivian or rather the Standard Oil's plans when they sought the Argentine land route as an outlet for the newly found Bolivian oil, and later it was also Argentine and allied Paraguayan and British interests that made a stand at the Chaco to prevent the much-feared Standard Oil from gaining a foothold on the banks of the Paraguay River and possibly wrest from them control of that strategic waterway that leads to the Atlantic.

The Guarani warriors of Paraguay checked the invasion of the Aymara hosts from the Bolivian high plateau, and when the fighting was over, Standard did not know what to do with its Bolivian oil. Production was cut down to a minimum, and many wells closed. After protracted and vain peace negotiations, La Paz learned that no other solution was possible than that of accepting the Buenos Aires dictum. The first requirement was to get rid of Standard Oil, and the vast concessions held by the American company there were cancelled by the Bolivian Government last March.

This cleared the way for the reopening of the Argentine land route, which was granted by the Buenos Aires Government a few weeks ago in an accord with Bolivia, and which now comes to remove the main cause of the war—a bit too late. Had some arrangement of the sort been made back in 1932, the 100,000 lives of Bolivians and Paraguayans who were slaughtered in the mud and reek of the jungle might have been spared, and Bolivia and Paraguay would not be bankrupt today. But then the Argentine and British interests in the Chaco might have been in danger; South-American, particularly Argentine, rulers and diplomats would have missed a very exciting game, and the munitions makers and financiers would not have pocketed tens of millions of dollars.

Incidentally, this Argentine move extends to Bolivia the growing Argentine sphere of diplomatic influence.

LATIN-AMERICAN LABOR: The Latin-American Labor Congress that is soon to gather in Mexico City at the invitation of the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) will be the first opportunity offered the Latin-American masses for real action within and without Latin-America in the present world emergency. They will have a chance there—if they know how to avail themselves of it—to close ranks and make their weight felt in the world situation. What is more important, they will have a chance to accomplish what their governments have not been able to accomplish in a hundred years—the setting-up of a Latin-American common front in world problems.

Three tasks await representatives of Latin-American labor in Mexico City: to organize their dislocated and inarticulate anti-fascist elements into a compact fighting unit throughout the territory; to establish a bi-continental Latin-American Labor Federation strong and alert enough to match organized foreign capital and its allies in Latin-American public offices; and to set up a body that will make it its business to expose the deeds of Latin-American dictators and work for their overthrow.



Selecta

A gloomy view of Christmas, including . . .



El Machete

. . . a Mexican fascist threat, to be met by . . .



Todo

. . . Vicente Lombardo Toledano and his CTM.

Letters to

A representative collection of letters from the President's mail, showing what the people are thinking, must necessarily include messages from various parts of the country and from various walks of life—from the barely literate as well as the educated.

There appeared in the White House mail bag the transcript of a rather clever travesty depicting a scene in a local Relief office in a small town. Throughout the scene, "Mr. Poorman," trying to get a little relief for his wife and 13 children, is sent from one desk to another, until he has made the rounds several times. As he finally gives up in despair and starts to leave, the postman enters with the mail. All but "Mr. Poorman" rush to meet him. The interlocution from that point goes like this:

Local Administrator: It's our weekly salaries. Hooray! Hooray! (He takes the fat envelope from the mail, opens it.) $75 for Jack, $125 for me, $85 for Bill, $100 for George, $90 for Martha; $55 for you; and seventeen other $55 checks for each of the rest of you And guess what?

All Others, in chorus: What, Charley?

Local Administrator: That leaves exactly $3.79 to spend on relief.

(Curtain)

From one letter to the President it is learned that several members of the Board of Education of a prominent state interested themselves in the question of aliens on our relief rolls. It seems that they made a rather thorough study of the subject, investigating individual cases. A report, which accompanied the letter, recited many case histories. Some interesting things are discovered. For example, most of the destitute aliens would be glad to be returned to their native countries.

Said the letter:

President of the United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.
Honorable Sir:

The enclosed report speaks for itself. We trust it will receive your attention.

We have personally examined the cases of hundreds of destitute aliens. These men do not have much to look forward to except privation or charity (in this country). They are not citizens of the United States, and most of them have property to which they could return in their native countries. They are unable to make the trip because they are without funds. Many of them have wives and near relatives in Europe who are pleading with them to return where economic independence awaits them.

As a nation we are confronted with the serious problem of finding work for those able to work, and most of these men will be a burden upon their various communities for the rest of their lives. If by the expenditure of a hundred dollars, we could make each of them happy, and, at the same time, save several hundred dollars a year, it would seem from an economic standpoint that it would be a desirable procedure.

Sincerely yours,

———.

A business man gets something off his chest:

Dear President Roosevelt:

It becomes plain to me that the Government is giving me a run around regarding its purchase of materials in this state I have talked to the state officials and they claim that they are under orders from Washington; Washington claims that the state has full authority. Now I wish to know just where and how I can arrive at my correct destination.

For years I have paid taxes and have cooperated with Government officials at all times, just to be made a fool of at a time like this. Where does the money come from to carry on the emergency functions? From the taxpayers. The livelihood of the Government comes principally from the people in the same financial shape as myself. The Government has bled us until we are broke, and are now rubbing it in by forgetting us.

My family and I have always voted the Democratic ticket, but now that the purchases of material show the lack of efficiency of the leaders of the party, I believe that I will change my political affiliations.

All my men but one have had to apply for relief, and I probably will be an applicant for charity before the winter is over. Of course, all the Government officials should be commended for this method of depriving a business man of his fair and just living.

Very truly yours,

———.

From Florida comes a complaint about relief policies:

My dear President:

Your private secretary's letter was received, and I was deeply disappointed. Apparently she did not discuss with you my previous letter. Nor did she discuss my letter with any one else.

A grant of my two petitions—an immediate increase in compensation for unskilled labor under the WPA here to $10.00 a week, and a loan and grant of sufficient funds to construct our three missing highway bridges—would have been a wonderful Christmas present to this stranded community.

I presume, though, that it is useless to plead further for a living wage for the unskilled laborers here employed on Works Progress projects. Perhaps it means nothing to the highly paid administrative personnel in Washington that some 7,000 to 8,000 people here are being murdered by slow starvation. But it is possible that their pleading cries may be heard throughout the nation before the next election.

A loan for the building of our missing highway bridges would furnish all the unemployment relief this community needs, and the completed bridges would serve as a rehabilitation measure. Why is this practical solution of our problem denied while money continues to be wasted here on useless and non-essential projects?

Sincerely yours,

———

An amazing statement is made about the management of the government-sponsored rural communities:

My dear President:

I think you ought to know something about the ——— Community, started and run by the FERA from Washing-

SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BY BEN WHITEHURST

the President

ion Whoever thought of this may have had high ideals, but the Washington bunch who are running it apparently have different ideas.

I got a look at a copy of the official balance sheet, and was so surprised that I copied it so that I could report it to you. This is just a small community with just a few people, as you know, —but, from the balance sheet, one would think it is a millionaire business. Who the people are who get the listed salaries is a mystery which somebody who can be trusted ought to look into.

ADMINISTRATIVE SALARIES

Executive	$ 4,605 57
Sub-executive	5,381.00
Engineer	7,042 26
Architect	5,483 66
Surveyor	6,899 83
Accountant	8,441 78
Timekeeper	1,605 70
Personnel	1,729.58
Attorney	925.00
Social Service	3,450.26
Purchasing Agent	404.16
Other	228 00
Total	$46,196 80

Looks like ghosts on the pay roll. The people getting this $46,196.80 are not in ———, and the Washington boys who come around occasionally are getting big salaries on the Washington FERA pay roll. So who gets the $46,-196.80?

But that is not all. Traveling expenses on the same balance sheet totaled $8,989.15. No one connected in any way with ——— could be doing that much traveling. $8,989.15 would do a lot of traveling.

And still that is not all. An official in Washington, one who passed upon the amounts to be set aside for ———, asked the community corporation to put him on the pay roll as general counsel at $6,000.00 per year. If he gets away with this from all five rural communities under FERA, that makes him $30,000.00 per year besides his big Washington salary.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that this ought to be looked into.

Respectfully yours,

———.

Just a little of the good earth:

President Roosevelt, Sir:

I want to tell you that I have written to the Farm Administration, and I think if they will help us to get the items I mentioned that will take care of us. We can work and take care of ourselves on our little farm, if the Government will loan us two or three hundred dollars for about 3 years. We sure will feel so much better to feel we are taking care of ourselves. I hope you will see as we wish you to, and know, for it is so hard to have to take charity when you have always been self-supporting, and rated so. I beg to remain

Sincerely yours,

———.



St Louis *Post-Dispatch*

"DEAR MR PRESIDENT ——"

A helpful citizen looks forward to the time when Federal Relief is no more:

Dear President Roosevelt:

We successfully worked a plan here in this city which took care of needy families by using up all surplus farm products. During the year and a half we operated, we gave 75,000 meals to needy persons. Then the Federal government took over Relief.

When the Federal government is through with Relief and returns it to the localities, I have a plan that will enable every city government to save thousands of dollars every year in relief funds.

I would like to take this plan up with you in the near future. I will bring a letter from our mayor and secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, stating what I have done here to help things along in these distressing times.

Hoping to have a favorable reply, I remain

Respectfully yours,

———.

He is working now:

My Dear friend Roosevelt:

I am riting you a few lines to let you no that I am working now. Sense I rote to you I have went to work and I can make my way all rite now without any loan. Thank you very so kind.

Your frind,

———.

Droll:

Since my mother's death, my little brother is left without a leg.

Appreciation:

Dear Mr. President Roosevelt:

My husband has been given 2 days per week work since my previous letter. Last week the supervisor of the project was here—a charming person—and she is expecting to get me some light work as she thinks eventually my husband will get back in the ——— Shop. May God only grant that this comes true.

I do not know if Our dear President has anything to do with my troubles but I have been helped quite some, especially today. I received a blanket, nightie, 8 towels (different kinds), and for my 13 yrs. old girl I got pajamas, panties, and a slip. Believe me when I say I did not know what it was to have such nice warm things and whoever sent them I hope and pray that God may Bless them a thousand fold. Last week a poor old man who just lost his wife brought me her nice warm coat. Now don't you think I have a great deal to be thankful for?

Now maybe if things keep up, in due time I may be able to make a trip to N. Y. with my daughter to visit the cemetery.

I have or had a brother about 44-45 yrs. old who was in the last war, I believe as an aviator. I have not seen or heard from this boy since the day he returned home from across sea. His name is ——— ———. Could you in any possible way get me his address if he is alive. If he is dead, which I hope not, would I be able to get his bonus. When our parents died we all drifted apart, and oh how I would love to hear from him.

I thank Our dear President, Wife, and also Mr. McIntyre for all your kindness and beg you for a most welcome answer. Thank You and God Bless You All.

I am,

———

LAND OF PLENTY

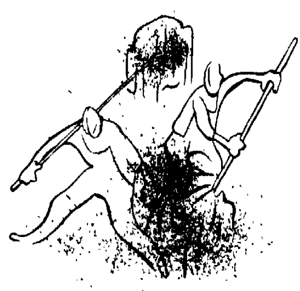
This business of eating regularly has had its complications as far back as time itself

By REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

THE classical empires seem to have violated the axiom that activities other than agriculture cannot be developed until there is a surplus of food. Farming then had advanced so little over its earliest primitive methods that adequate sustenance could be insured only by systems of exaction. The rural population, impoverished and often enslaved, frequently revolted; and even in periods of comparative quiet, there existed no such stable peasantry as later nations had. Only in the last few centuries have workers in the fields and vineyards gradually become free; and only in present years have they attained any considerable economic dignity.

In this, the people of primitive times were probably better off than were those in what we like to call the "civilizations" of Egypt or Greece. For primitive people can hardly have suffered more than did the early slaves; or, for that matter, than the medieval serfs, or even the peasants of the seventeenth century. Anthropologists used to be fond of correlating types of culture, such as "patriarchal," "matriarchal," and the like, with contemporary systems of land cultivation. Later writers are more sceptical of these grand generalizations; but there is an obvious connection between a nomadic, or even a pastoral, agriculture and the development of such a patriarchy as existed among the Hebrew tribes, just as there is a similar show of reason for matriarchy among the settled, village-living Indians of the southwestern United States. And an impoverished and servile food-producing class goes far to explain the ultimate weaknesses of Greece and Rome.

Even if caution seems advisable in generalizing, there are certain other obvious influences of the food supply on primitive customs and tabus as well as on later more civilized. social behavior: flesh, fish, milk, eggs, fowl, and many other kinds of food have been forbidden among some peoples; and where groups have survived, their dietary laws have also persisted along with other ceremonial observances. That certain natives in the French Congo abhor milk, that Tuaregs reject fish and eggs, that Tasmanians will eat no flesh—these customs have had no continuing importance. But the Hebrew rejection of pork, the Mohammedan avoidance of spirits, and the Roman Catholic rejection of flesh on days of abstinence are instances which



reveal the connection between primitive cultural development and the food supply as well as the persistence of customs relating to the diet. Farmers are conservative folk when it comes to changes in technique or in kinds of crops; but the peculiarly slow evolution of agriculture owes something, also, to the conservatism of consumers.

As the peoples around the Mediterranean gathered themselves, in successive eras, into powerful states whose literary and artistic remains we regard as so precious, there lay at their basis changes in food production which at once made them possible and furnished their greatest dangers. In Egypt the annually renewed Nile soils were so rich that the single crop grown there in classical times—wheat—could not exhaust them; and production was great enough so that part of it could be extorted from the peasants for the support of city artisans and a leisure class. Yet, in spite of an elaborate system of royal granaries, famines were frequent in years when the floods failed. Ultimately, however, they went some distance toward the prevention of famine.

The evolution of Hellenic culture was accompanied by remarkable dietary changes. Meat was the chief food in the archaic period when pastures were plenty, towns small, and population not too crowded. Homer's heroes were great meat-eaters; their descendants ate cereals and fish instead of meat. A Greek humorist could have made a good deal of the accompanying change in attitude. For flesh, which was once despised, came into repute as it grew so scarce as to be available only to the rich.

The Greek pastures were overworked, probably, and, in consequence, eroded. What was more serious was the limited amount of arable land which caused the city states, as population grew, to look for their grain abroad. The insuring of supplies and fair prices for them came to be a considerable governmental problem. There was a gradual evolution from the encouragement of free trade and the suppression of monopoly to the actual taking over of the supply-function—a practice which some modern nations may have to repeat if they continue the pursuit of self-sufficiency. Athens, for instance, turned from the close supervision of free merchants to sending out procurers, provided with funds, into distant corn markets. No city, from the third century on, kept to the old system; all had official importers. At Samos the food supply was bought with a fund provided by extraordinary taxation. In Sicily there were three bodies of officials: buyers, receivers, and wardens. These last were the state's distributing agents. Under the Greco-Egyptian monarchy, there was the still further development possible in a country which produced its own grain: the state organized the storage and sale of produce; it provided the means of transport; and, by managing the expert monopoly, it kept prices at a profitable level for farmers.

The Romans had a better agrarian policy. Small peasant proprietorships were their ideal; and, under their administration, these began to spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. They also discovered rotation, an idea which did not advance far in Roman

times, but lay dormant in such far-away places as Flanders and Britain for a thousand years before its logic was finally worked out and fallows were abandoned in favor of roots and legumes. The great difficulty in later Roman times was the exhaustion of the capitals' own immediate hinterland and consequent dependence on imported supplies. Characteristically the great grain regions closest at hand were conquered and enslaved. The conflict with Carthage was a grain war for the mastery of Sicily. And the extent to which Rome came to depend on Egypt is indicated by Tacitus: "Whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strongholds which by sea and land were the keys to the whole province, might with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and blocking up the plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine." Literally, this was true.

Feudal Deficiencies

The barbarians who swept down on Rome had only the crudest notions of husbandry; their victory brought with it a decline in the rural arts which the succeeding ten centuries scarcely sufficed to make good. For the Roman system of peasant proprietorships, which was, of course, mostly an ideal, but which, with excellent administration, was spreading slowly, broke down everywhere, and what followed was something less good: feudalism, a local coalescing which had more to do with physical protection than with an adequate supply of food.

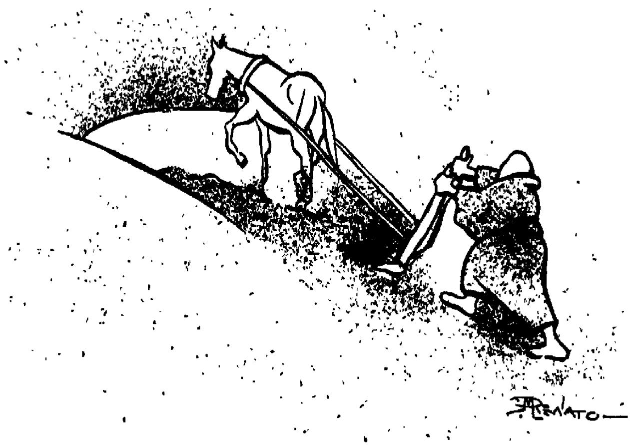
The feudal ideal was self-sufficiency --such sufficiency as there was. The manorial organization has been described too often to need repetition. But it may be recalled, particularly, that open-fields were the rule from Southern England to Alsace. The cultivated lands were divided usually into two, rarely into three, parts. Some cereal, usually wheat, rye or barley, was planted in these fields alternately; in the odd year they lay idle. The list of crops grown was very short: the three cereals together with peas and beans and a few green vegetables, to be eaten in their season.

Medieval towns were small. Only a few were so large as to draw supplies from more than a day's mule-ride away. They fitted nicely behind their walls, and outside there were, instead of suburbs, artisans' gardens. The diet was necessarily scanty for town or country dweller, especially in winter when only dried or salted foods were available.

Meals were eaten at most twice a day until Elizabeth's time; and it would not be far wrong to guess that most common wooden bowls were filled with puddings and stews to be eaten with bread and beer. But there were, as has been noted, differences in agricultural practice here and there which, when the Renaissance swept out of the South and East of Europe into the North and West, were to communicate themselves gradually and to have startling cumulative results. The difference it made to the English that, in the seventeenth century, turnips, clovers and cabbages found their way first into gardens and then into the fields, is measured, perhaps, by what we call the industrial revolution which the agricultural revolution made possible. For by the middle of the eighteenth century the enclosures, the new arable techniques, and the abandonment of fallows had transformed rural England. And, besides, the potato had now made its way from Indian culture in the Andes to Spain, to Germany and to England. And within fifty years the sugar-beet was to make a further transformation of the diet possible. Taken together, the new variety of crops and their increased yields began to banish the famines which until then had frequently decimated populations—though this victory was not to be complete until the age of steam; Malthus, in the nineteenth century, still counted them an important population factor.

Food and the Industrial Revolution

When England was merry its people were known as beef-eaters; but that was only after the turnip and the clovers had crossed the channel. For not



till then could animal husbandry reall become important. The great lack, i medieval times, was a succulent winte food for both men and animals. Th great scourges, the scurvies, and th fevers which periodically decimate the populations of Europe were onl partly caused by insanitation; anothe cause was malnutrition. But, give cabbage for kraut, the Germans coul live through the winter and multiply and given fresh meat, milk, and tur nips, the English could revolutioniz their industry, build cities, and estab lish a world-wide empire.

The greatest food gift to the worl was perhaps wheat; but one coul easily argue for the potato; and still better case could be made for maiz Both these last had to wait for Ameri ca's discovery. But from the firs settlements Americans had maize, an the potato came to North America i the Pilgrim's cargoes. The new worl had all of Europe's experience to dra on; but she also had new land—an maize. Nevertheless, any further trans formation in farming methods was im possible until the age of chemistry an machines, of quick communication, an of the revelation of the hidden hunge which starve men with full bellies. I is out of these basic conditions tha the new agricultural revolution is de veloping.

Clapham, writing just after the Grea War, observed that the nineteenth wa a century of accelerating change. H was writing of France but the reason he gave are applicable everywhere the accumulating effect of the revolu tions which removed customary an legal hindrances to change; the in creased vitality of a race lifted out o misery; and improvements in com

munication. The tempo of change has accelerated now, until there are far fewer places where a medieval peasant would feel at home. Indeed, the insistent theme of rural philosophers that farming is less a business than a way of life, begins to have a homesick undertone. For the self-sufficiency and isolation of the rural community have everywhere been weakened if not destroyed. The farm is becoming an adjunct of the factory, merely one source of raw materials; and the organization of agriculture has, for the first time in history, to be regarded not as a great given principle of society but as something which is instrumental to more important social aims, and therefore subject to scrutiny. The rural arts are no longer sacred, except to backward-looking politicians. The farms are required to produce what we want; we no longer merely take what they prefer to give us. In the Western world, city populations are now greater than rural ones, and city standards are, in consequence, supplanting the older traditional ones of country life. This urban dominance is rapidly working out its political consequences. Farmers get less and less support for the protection of their privilege to be inefficient just because they have a traditional way of life. They are required to adjust themselves to the going prevalence of science and machines; and great, of course, is the anguish, and many are the crises which accompany this reversal.



Self-Sufficiency Is Costly

The modern problem of the food supply has to be stated in terms which are wholly irrelevant to locality. Self-sufficiency, even though it serves as an ideal for certain nations, is suspected even there because of its sheer cost. It is clung to tenaciously, and protected with the apparatus of diplomacy and tariffs; it is also backed by the full technical resource of science and industry. But measured in diet and levels of living it is still costly. The discovery that an urban and sedentary people ought to consume less meat, alcohol, and wheat took no account of dictators' wishes—nor of farmers' either, for that matter. The increased uses of dairy products, tropical fruits, beverage-berries, and oils, the expanded consumption of sugar and preserved or fresh vegetables were determined by adjustments among the masses of consumers, who were gradually enlightened concerning their own needs. But the new diet is one which cannot be supplied in any one region; the whole world must cooperate to supply every individual's daily needs if he is to be kept in that health and vigor which we seem to have determined to create and preserve even if human activity comes to no further end. The irreducible necessity involved in this purpose is access to the world's food resources; quick and unhindered transport to local markets; and an ability among consumers to share in the diet thus provided. This is an undertaking of such magnitude as to make it seem not at all strange if a long time should be required to approximate it. It denies so many old privileges, reduces so many customs and rights to absurdity, and conflicts with so many faiths—religious, political and economic—that no one should be surprised at determined opposition in many places, accompanied by national upsets, even wars, before even a good measure of the achievement is accomplished. Yet no one, even those who throw up the barriers, and provide the occasions of conflict, is so hardy as to set himself in theoretical opposition to the general purpose.

Farmers Caught in "The Scissors"

Throughout the era of industrialism and political democracy, governments have been faced insistently with the problem of reconciling the interests of the rural population with those of city people. Until the nineteenth century in Britain and the twentieth century in the United States, France, and Germany, the farmers still outnumbered all other classes. They consequently had a political strength which is gradually being lost today. Indeed, in no country now, with a few exceptions such as Denmark, and temporarily the United States, because of the peculiar organization of our Senate, are farmers apt to prevail in the numerous crises of this long struggle. The economist's new measuring tools have made clearer how acute these differences are, and how weak the farmers have become. The problem, in market terms, is defined as "the scissors," which means the relative power of farmers in the exchange of their produce for the goods of others, and the serious decline, over a long period, of their purchasing power. In the attempt to satisfy both groups of claimants on the national income, most governments have been forced, in recent years, to some measures of relief. In the United States various surplus-control measures have been vigorously pushed on the theory that price disadvantages arose from over-supply. Opponents have argued as vigorously that what is needed is lower costs so that farmers may prosper even with lower prices. In other countries similar proposals have been met with more or less the same answer.

The Great War precipitated the more modern phase of this struggle by interrupting trade, depopulating the farms, and setting up clamorous demands for cheap food. Controls were set up everywhere of which a good type was the United States Food Administration, which fixed minimum farm prices, set up maximum differentials in marketing, and enforced transport preferences. Farmers prospered moderately and expanded their production; but at the end of the War, with the world's enhanced productive capacity again flooding its markets, and with a period of deflation setting in, agriculture entered a serious and prolonged period of depression. It was made worse by the cumulative results of increased productive efficiency, most of which was fostered by governments and universities. Various sciences of plant and animal breeding, pathology, chemistry, and the like had increased production in various ways; perhaps as important as any was the new technique of dry-farming. There are numerous areas in the world, most of

them in the lee of rain-catching mountains such as the Caucasus and the Rockies, which had been agriculturally worthless, or nearly so, because of semi-aridity. At present all these regions are producing food—at a terrific expense of wasted soil, it is true, but nevertheless producing it. The consequence of expanded areas and increased yields for the time, at least, has been great surpluses of staple foods—and that too when vast numbers of consumers are turning away from the old staples and adopting the reduced diets suitable to sedentary life. Agricultural production, for instance, in the United States, was 14 per cent greater in the period 1922-26 than in the period 1917-27—an increase 50 per cent more rapid than that of population—and this on a declining area of crop land, with fewer farmers, and with grain consumption diminished by the substitution of tractors for horses. The same phenomenon, sometimes to a greater, and sometimes to a less, degree has been evident in other regions, but especially, of course, in Russia, in Africa, and in South America.

The Conquest of Hunger

There is something both magnificent and tragic in this campaign against man's most ancient and pressing enemy—hunger. The conquest is not yet consolidated, of course, but the techniques of the agricultural arts and of quick transport already run faster than the multiplication of mouths to be fed. What remains to be done is the most difficult task of all and will consequently be the last achievement in the general evolution toward universal plenty. We have not yet learned how to make new food supplies available to all. No country, not even the United States, can assume the ultimate pride of having abolished starvation. What remains to be done lies in the field of social management. The Greeks and Romans had the world to themselves—they could draw for food on vast areas of primitive farming without much organized resistance. Today the exploitation of backward areas is a matter of bargaining and compromise among many claimants. Because of dietary and technical changes, self-sufficiency, however, is just as impossible now as it was then. Markets not only for salt, spices, and luxury goods, but for many bulky staples, are international. Governments are necessarily faced with increasingly complex problems of adjustment; their nationals have not only to sell but also to buy. It is no wonder that almost first among the problems of statesmanship are these which have to do with this commerce: how shall tariffs be adjusted? how shall credits be arranged? how far can nationals be protected in selling, buying or collecting debts? No less a problem of statesmanship is involved in internal policy-making: Shall farmers be protected from price-competition? How far ought governments to go in specific encouragement of special cultures? Ought production or marketing to be controlled? Shall more



or less vigorous standards of quality be set up and enforced? All these and many more are persistently pressing.

Modern problems are in a way different and in a way similar to those which always existed. Populations are denser and more urban; diets are more varied and depend on further sources; customs of producing, of distributing, even of consuming have changed radically. Nearly every country in the western world has for the moment solved the crude problem of the food supply: no fear is felt in times of peace that there may be famine. But nationalist aims have been allowed to shape policy so that diets have been inadequate; and standards of living have been kept down by an apportionment of income which has kept whole classes in poverty. In the United States a really good diet would require a doubling, as well as a rearranging of crop production, a situation which is as true of other countries. But these are difficulties with the social system rather than with ways of producing. If we run short of food it will be because consumers are unable to buy what the farmer has to sell, not because our land, our people or our distributive mechanisms have failed us.

Diet and Civilization

We may expect, once present objectives are shaped into administrative mechanisms, that interest will shift to dietary control. It will look to an enlarged use of animal and dairy products, a decrease in the consumption of cereals, and a more varied supply of green fruits and vegetables. It will also set up warnings against over-processed food materials which attract the eye and the taste but undermine the health through a shortage of natural minerals, organic chemical compounds, vitamins, and bacteria. Out of nutrition laboratories there will come the determining facts for future policy.

Before the word "vitamin" was invented the economist Patten was accustomed to speak of "nutrins." He had always been interested in the sequence which ran from secure food supplies to better nutrition and from there on to what he called the "creative economy." It seemed to him an understandable development. He borrowed from psychologists and physicians; but he generalized as an economist, showing how the pulse of better blood fed nerve and gland and how the perfectly grown and nourished body-structure set the conditions for harmonious adjustment to the world—and for changing it as well. What civilization might become if it were shaped by a well-fed generation he did not attempt to predict: but it was clear to him that it would be strange to us—and inevitably better.

An adequate supply of nutrins does not involve merely full stomachs, it means stomachs filled with stuffs which yield good blood. Much of our action is internally determined. We do not always react in stereotyped ways to exterior stimuli; many times we actually act rather than react. The sum of these actions and reactions we call institutions and our institutions are us—not any one of us but all of us. Thus society runs its life-lines back to its supply of food and requires of its farmers, its organizing services, its governmental policy, the guardianship of its nutrins. This is the first duty of statesmanship in industry and government. And if the terms have changed and raised the tests of sufficiency, there is still the fundamental duty to the race which all of us must face. We seem to forget it in many of the exigencies of profit-making or of struggles for place. And we have neglected to set the proper safeguards of public policy about it. But those are perhaps only the lags between knowledge and accomplishment with which we are familiar in many fields. Our policy will catch up and require conformance.

COLORS CHANGE IN CHINA

By RANDALL GOULD

CHINA'S action in signing a treaty of mutual non-aggression with Soviet Russia one week after the beginning of Sino-Japanese hostilities at Shanghai is a belated, grudging, and negative admission of past error. Yet nevertheless it represents the start of another curve in the erratic graph of relationships between China and the U.S.S.R., and as an initiation of policy bound to have vital bearing in the Far East for years to come, it deserves thoughtful consideration.

Again China is set on the line established with signature of the Koo-Karakhan treaty of mutual recognition at Peking in 1924. Correspondingly the thoroughly capitalistic, essentially conservative National Government of China is pointed away from the cool-to-hostile policies which have prevailed with reference to Russia since General Chiang Kai-shek established this government at Nanking in 1927 and overthrew the strongly pro-Soviet policies of the Canton and Hankow (or "Wuhan") governments immediately preceding it.

Yet this is far from saying that Nanking has fallen into Soviet arms, or that Russia has wholeheartedly thrown itself into a position of supporting China actively against Japan as a common foe. Both parties are obviously of the opinion that they are embarked on a liaison of convenience rather than an affair of the heart, and neither is in the least inclined to let uncurbed emotions of friendship carry it into incautious commitments. China, in fact, has promptly gone to such lengths as to make special disclaimer of the existence of any "secret clauses" which would put teeth into a document saying, on the face of it, virtually nothing. For all that the new treaty does is pledge each not to engage in any aggressive acts against the other, and since neither had any apparent remotest intention of engaging in such acts, the sole effect of the treaty must be confined to the moral sphere which is an exceedingly nebulous sphere indeed where international relations are concerned.

The Chinese have even, in the purity of their hearts, gone so far as to communicate to the Japanese Government their complete readiness to sign with Japan an identical non-aggression treaty. Since at the very moment of this offer, Chinese troops were hailing shells and machine-gun bullets into the forces of the Naval Landing Party in Hongkew, and Japanese airplanes off warships in the Whangpoo were dumping tons of high-explosive on every Chinese strategic point in the Shanghai vicinity, this is not devoid of its humorous aspect, providing one has that sort of a sense of humor. But no war had been declared nor had diplomatic relations between Japan and China been severed, although through the withdrawal of diplomatic officials these relations had ceased to exist—a nice point, but one which can be detected after some searching. Moreover, anything that the Chinese were doing in a military way was avowed to be in defense against Japanese aggression, whereas the Japanese were most specific that their own military enterprises were strictly in the way of "self-defense"; so, neither being in any way pressing a campaign against the other, it would seem that a treaty of mutual non-aggression might at any time have been signed by China and Japan without in the least impairing the earnestness of the military hostilities since the diplomatic *entente* was not being jeopardized, to begin with!

On the Russian side, the Soviet Union has for years sought to conclude a non-aggression treaty with Japan, only to meet with repeated though unexplained rebuffs. Presumably the Russian offer holds as good today as it has in years past, and if the Japanese attitude should soften, Russia would be in the odd position of having signed treaties with both belligerents at a time when they were engaged in active warfare and when Russia, as the third chief Far East Power, might well be expected to choose sides rather than to smoke a pipe of peace with both. It is not at all an impossible situation. But, though China would have herself alone to thank for it, just as Japan has herself alone to thank for whatever measure of get-together has been achieved between China and Russia, it is certain the Chinese would not greatly relish such a development for they crave help from somebody, anybody, to the very depths of their being, and they are already considerably annoyed that the United States and others have not taken forceful action to give them some sort of leg-up out of the swamp into which their quarrel with Japan has pushed them. They are willing to fight, doggedly and for an indefinite time, but they are still dazed at the notion that no one is helping them actively. Russia's action in signing the non-aggression treaty was seized upon as at least one sign of friendship from abroad, though it is reported in circles ordinarily well-informed that the treaty was thrust upon China by Russia as a minimum first step to display Chinese good intent before any sort of other assistance could possibly be expected out of the U.S.S.R.—and this accompanied by no pledge that such assistance would be forthcoming, in any event.

Early Negotiations

It is interesting to trace the graph of Sino-Soviet relationship. Declarations by the then young U.S.S.R. in 1919 and 1920 had sought the establishment of diplomatic entente and authorizing control by Chinese of all Russian rights and interests in China. But the Chinese Government took an extremely literal view of the 1919 Declaration of Renunciation, mutual suspicion developed, it appeared that L. M. Karakhan might leave Peking after fruitless negotiations without coming to any agreement, and Dr. C. T. Wang went to Japan in late 1923 on a mission ostensibly to inquire into the killing of Chinese after the great Tokyo-Yokohama earthquake disaster but actually, it was rumored, to put pressure on Mr. Karakhan and to reach an understanding between China and Japan on Russian matters. This object was not attained but an embarrassing dispute arose when in November of 1923 the heads of eight principal Chinese educational institutions wrote to Mr. Karakhan about the renounced Russian Boxer Indemnity, which they

indicated was to be used by the Chinese Government for payment of its diplomatic and consular officials abroad. Mr. Karakhan accepted the request of the educators that the money should be used for educational purposes and seized the opportunity to point out that while the indemnity had been renounced by the 1919 Declaration, the Chinese Government had not only ignored this note but continued to participate in military intervention against Russia.

Finally on March 14, 1924, Mr. Karakhan and Dr. Wang signed a preliminary agreement providing for re-establishment of normal diplomatic and consular relations, including the handing over to Soviet authorities of the ex-czarist legation and consular buildings, and for opening a conference for detailed arrangements. Through April and May there were rumors that negotiations had been resumed between the Waichiaopu (Foreign Office) and the Soviet Mission, but after emphatic denials there was a Waichiaopu communiqué announcing that on May 31 Dr. Wellington Koo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Karakhan had signed a treaty of mutual recognition embodying various declarations referring to such matters as the renunciation of extraterritorial privilege for Russians in China and joint operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria.

Mr. Karakhan became the first Soviet Ambassador to China, and in fact the first ambassador to China of any description—a matter of immediate and somewhat ludicrous interest to the diplomatic corps in Peking, up to that time consisting exclusively of ministers who suddenly found themselves outranked by the suave and handsome black-bearded new occupant in Legation Quarter.



THE FAR EAST

Each man represents 20 million people

From Coolness to Hostility

But as government followed government in Peking through an era of obvious decadence and disintegration of what Eugene Chen has called the "northern mandarinate," warlords such as General Wu Pei-fu, Marshal Tuan Chi-jui (for a time accorded dubious *de facto* recognition as "provisional chief executive"), and finally Marshal Chang Tso-lin of Mukden, all manifested an attitude toward the Soviet authorities verging from cool to hostile. Finally, a short time after Mr. Karakhan had decided to return to Moscow for a stay of indefinite duration, Marshal Chang—recently moved from Manchuria into Peking and hailed by the relieved foreign diplomats as a strong man perhaps due to bring real rule to China—obtained secret consent of the ministers to conduct a raid on the western portion of the Soviet Embassy—the so-called "military compound," living quarters and club—in the spring of 1927, just three years after the establishment of formalized relations. Nineteen of Chang's political enemies were found as refugees, taken away and strangled, while large quantities of documents of debatable value were seized. Some of these, published afterward, seemed clearly to be White Russian forgeries, since they employed obsolete letters no longer used in the Soviet alphabet; on the other hand it is entirely possible that some things disclosed Soviet activities in China. At any rate, the Soviet chargé d'affaires was promptly recalled. Meanwhile, Michael Borodin, as high adviser to the Canton revolutionary government, as well as General Galen (Blucher) as chief military adviser and a host of other Russian experts had been helping the southerners to stage a victorious drive to the Yangtze; but with the establishment of a Nanking government under General Chiang Kai-shek, supported by Shanghai business interests, and the overthrow of the "Wuhan government" at Hankow, the Soviet influence was definitely broken, while at the same time the Chinese Kuomintang or Nationalist Party expelled its Communist elements. The final break between the new Nationalist Government and Soviet Russia so far as diplomatic matters were concerned came in December of 1927, ostensibly as a result of communist riots in Canton. Soviet representatives together with some businessmen were expelled from the country, yet although North China had been the scene of earlier difficulties, Soviet consular officials nevertheless continued to function there while Chinese consular officials kept on in Soviet Russia. This was typical of the rather crabwise fashion in which all Sino-Russia affairs seem traditionally to have progressed.

Selling the C. E. R.

Russia's sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, or, more accurately, of her own rights in that railway, constitutes the next important step. Article VI of the May 31, 1924 agreement had stated that China and Russia "mutually

pledge themselves not to permit, within their respective territories, the existence and/or activities of any organization or activities of any organization or groups whose aim is to struggle by acts of violence against the Government of either Contracting Party." Both parties subsequently complained of violations by the other. A raid was staged by the Chinese in 1929 upon the Soviet Consulate at Harbin. China professed to have gained evidence that the Third International was operating through the railway and consulate, and on July 11, 1929, the Chinese dismissed the Soviet general manager and assistant manager and took charge of the entire line as an "emergency measure."

Russia was not slow to reply, retaliating with a 72-hour ultimatum and the concentration of large military forces on the border, thereby forcing a unilateral settlement despite Chinese importunities for a mixed commission of inquiry. Russia reestablished control, but there was to be a conference for general settlement; but Russia seemed to the Chinese only willing to consider a recognition of the situation then prevailing. The conferences finally broke up in 1931 through the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which resulted in Chinese withdrawal from this whole area at a time when Russia was feeling far from disposed to stand up for Chinese interests in addition to her own. In other words, the Russians were by this time considerably "fed up," concerned with their own relations with Japan, convinced that the Chinese were undependable and evasive, and inclined to feel that the Chinese Eastern Railway—formerly of immense strategic importance through its T-shape straddling over North Manchuria—was more a liability than an asset if Japan were to be left by China to exercise a free hand both in South and in North Manchuria.

Thus early in 1933 it began to be rumored that the U.S.S.R. was willing to sell out to Japan. The Chinese Waichiaopu sent a statement out on May 9, declaring that the only parties concerned in the C.E.R. were China and Russia. This was followed up four days later by a lengthy Nanking protest to Moscow. Realistic Russia manifested no sign of interest whatever, and on March 11, 1935, a transfer agreement between Soviet Russia and the Japan-fostered "state of Manchukuo" was initialed at Tokyo.

China protested to Moscow the same day, saying that "the Chinese Government, which is joint owner of the Chinese Eastern Railway, regards the transaction as illegal and without binding force, and as such the sale cannot affect Chinese rights and interests in whatever manner." Five days later an identical memorandum was sent by Nanking to the American, British, Japanese, French, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian, and Netherlands Governments ("Manchukuo" not being considered because China has no relations with her).

The situation was rather generally understood and China received some



sympathy but nothing more tangible. It was pointed out by commentators that Russia was selling, and could sell, nothing more than her own share in the railway, and it was felt that under the circumstances she could not be blamed for liquidating what had become a bad and troublesome bargain. The Soviet view was that China had pulled out first, leaving her "holding the baby," and that if the Chinese wanted to go up into North Manchuria and assert their right to partnership with "Manchukuo" as with Russia previously, that was the Chinese right. Of course nothing of the sort was done and in fact no Chinese even suggested it, preferring to take the view that the Russians had tried to sell the whole railway and that the entire transaction was therefore subject to being called off at a more favorable time. The Chinese Eastern Railway became the North Manchuria Railway, its gauge was corrected to coincide with that of the Japanese South Manchuria Railway, and nothing more was heard of the matter.

Russia Adopts Outer Mongolia

Formal diplomatic relations between China and the U.S.S.R. had been quietly resumed in December of 1932, Dmetri V. Bogomoloff proceeding to China as the second Soviet ambassador; but as has been seen this did not help matters in the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, while the Chinese were further to be outraged by a protocol between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Mongolian People's Republic on March 12, 1936, at Ulan Bator (Urga) between M. Tairov for Russia and M. Amor, chairman of the Small Khural, and M. Guendun, premier and foreign minister. This was a pact of mutual assistance, clearly enough aimed at Japan and evidently considered by the Mongols as affording a safeguard which China could not give.

What outraged Nanking, of course, was not that Russia would if necessary help repel Japan from Outer Mongolia —something which in itself should have been welcome—but the fact that Russia had signed with Outer Mongolia as an independent nation.

After a series of indignant Chinese notes and bland Russian replies, the matter seems to have been dropped; for the Russians had acted realistically in dealing with the local people in Outer Mongolia and the Chinese knew in their hearts both that the action was realistic and that China had plenty of fish to fry without bothering over such matters where the final result, at any rate, was rather in favor of China than otherwise. The incident at least gives some clue to its own possible settlement now if anyone cares to take the trouble to settle it, for since China and Soviet Russia have now signed their own treaty of mutual non-aggression it would seem possible for Nanking to ratify the Outer Mongolia compact and thereby regularize it just as the Mukden-Soviet Agreement of 1924 was finally regularized as pointed out by the Chinese note just quoted. However, in such stirring times as the present there seems very little need for bothering over hair-splitting of this sort.

We have finally progressed down to the Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact once more and it perhaps deserves a slight additional consideration textually. Signed at Nanking on August 21, 1937, when China was clearly embroiled in the long-anticipated "big show" with Japan as result of resistance first in North China and subsequently in Shanghai starting August 14, it was universally recognized as embodying a belated scramble by Nanking to get Russia at least morally on her side. Yet how little the treaty actually provides may be seen at a glance.

The first article has the two powers

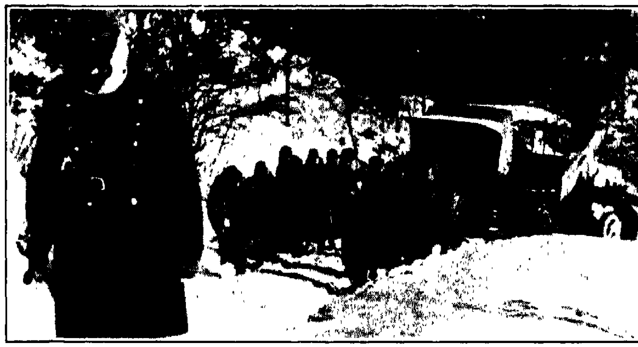
stating that they "solemnly reaffirm that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and that they renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with each other and in pursuance of this pledge they undertake to refrain from any aggression against each other individually or jointly with one or more other Powers."

Then it is declared that "in the event that either of the High Contracting Parties should be subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third Powers, the other High Contracting Party obligates itself not to render assistance of any kind, either directly or indirectly, to such third Power or Powers at any time during the entire conflict and also to refrain from taking any action or entering into any agreement which may be used by the aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the party subjected to aggression." This mild statement, be it observed, was laid down at a time when China had just joined armed forces with a power with which the world press had fancied Russia herself practically at war less than a month previously!—which should give a measure as to how likely Russia was to give Japan any help whether she signed a non-aggression treaty with Russia or not.

The third and fourth articles were the usual diplomatic eyewash, fittingly concluding a treaty which was about as much use to frantic and war-torn China as an extra tail to a cat.

Yet clearly the document cannot be dismissed with the offhand disdain which its actual content deserves. Very likely Russia said to China, as reported: "We have been saying for a long, long time that we want a treaty of mutual non-aggression. Well, if you want something from us, sign that treaty just as we have been asking; it will get you nowhere at the moment, but you won't ever get anywhere until you do it." And without a doubt China was glad to be able to proclaim something to the world indicating a prospect of help from somebody, even though the "something" was to be classed for actual concrete significance with the many unfulfilled loan agreements Dr. H. H. Kung was announcing from Europe just on the verge of hostilities, when it was desired to show how much confidence all nations had in China.

The Japanese, though continuing to trumpet their China campaign as a holy war against bolshevism, have made singularly little capital of the Sino-Russian treaty despite its obvious vulnerability from two points of view—either its complete lack of any immediate concrete meaning, or its indication of warmer sentiments between China and Russia. Elsewhere, in fact, a much more lively reception was reported than in quarters where interest would presumably come to a hot focus; in Berlin, for example, the Japanese-German Association was reported as declaring that "China has thrown herself into bolshevist arms," while German political circles were alleged to have felt that this was only confirmation of their opinion that the Kuomintang had been under Soviet influence for a considerable time—which, incidentally, is completely contrary to fact, for the Kuomintang has not even warmed up to its former members of Communist persuasion, although that is presumably changed now that hostilities have forced the "united front" for which the Reds have long been asking.



MOTORIZED UNIT: *Trucks and engines are now made in Japan, a notable advance in manufacturing since the Jehol campaign four years ago*

Has China Missed the Boat?

Foreign observers on the China scene appear in general to be agreed that China is scrambling after Russia but that she has missed the boat. A year ago, Moscow would gladly have signed a Sino-Russian treaty with teeth in it—and if such a treaty had been signed, and promptly published for the whole world to read, Japan might never have dared risk a joint Sino-Russian stroke against her activities either on the Siberian border or in North China, to say nothing of such a center as Shanghai.

But the Russian view is that China obdurately persisted in forcing Russia to pay the full costs of her insurance against war with Japan, these costs including the maintenance of a huge military establishment in the Far East, and the achievement of a most difficult and hazardous diplomatic balance. China at the same time kept up her own policy independently. Since each maintained its risk independently, by China's choice, the Russians feel that there is no reason why they should now rush in and help pay China's losses.

Naturally the Russians will keep their usual close and canny eye on the position. It seems entirely probable that if China seemed due to break immediately, leaving Japan in full charge of the field at no special cost to herself, the Russians might somehow get into the situation actively. But so long as the Sino-Japanese affray proceeds on any sort of basis representing a continuing occupation and expense to Japan, at no cost to Russia, the Russians have every reason to sit back and let China wear Japan down for their mutual benefit.

The Russians sincerely feel that they have been patient, generous and consistent toward China, so far as this writer can discern their attitude. They have, it is true, acted with hard-boiled realism in such matters as the Chinese Eastern Railway and the treaty with Outer Mongolia, but in each case they did so only after Chinese hesitations, withdrawals and general procrastination forced them to do so, as they see the matter. Underneath the Chinese diplomatic snortings one may perceive an underlying realization of the truth of this, although that does not make Nanking love Red Russia a bit the more. Still, it is any port in a storm, and whatever has happened in the past, Nanking now sees Russia as the only country with anything like the same interest as herself in seeing Japan worn or beaten down and put out of commission as an aggressive force in the Far East. Thus it is to be expected that China will henceforth adopt the new role of courting Russia, to what end no one can forecast. Russia holds the Far East balance and she is well aware of the fact. It is a pleasing role and perhaps not one lightly to be abandoned.

FOOD FOR THE TRUST-BUSTERS

An unpublished report of the FTC says that a few large corporations dominate the main food industries

By NORMAN COUSINS

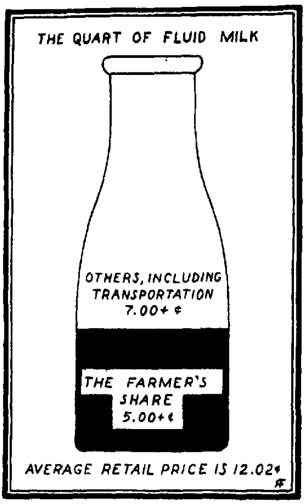
MR. ROOSEVELT has passed out the big sticks and turned his pet trust-busters loose with orders to go out and crack down on the monopolists. They are the villains, he says in effect, of this little bumpy spell everybody is calling the recession. Thus far the trust-busters have swarmed all over the place waving their cudgels but there have been few full swings and even less cracking down.

Just when the real fireworks will start is a guess but there is no lack of potential victims. The Federal Trade Commission has been shouting monopoly for many months and can furnish the Administration with a long list of names of the bad boys of American business who have grown much too large and strong and who need a big dose of reducing pills if they know what is good for the country.

Only recently, the Commission sent Mr. Roosevelt a trunk full of notes on a new food trust that has been spreading itself all over the States in recent years. A few large organizations have taken control of the dairy, livestock, and wheat industries and have entrenched themselves so strongly that they exercise a virtual monopoly. This food trust is no trifling matter, the Commission says, and if the government wants to do something about the plight of the farmer and the high prices of food paid by the consumer it won't lose any time in breaking up some of the big combines.

These are the conclusions in brief of an investigation by the Commission that cost $150,000 to make and almost two years to complete. It all started out harmlessly enough when Congress asked the FTC in the Fall of 1935 to find out why the farmer's income was falling off, and while the Commission was at it, to take a look at the consumer's dollar and see just which parts of it went where. But the farther the Commission dug into the investigation the more amazing became the material which it pried loose from all the sources made available to it by special act of Congress. Little by little a surprising story of food trust began to piece itself together out of the investigation and the Commission discovered that a substantial part of the development of the trust had been in violation of the anti-trust laws.

Carefully, the FTC investigators checked and cross-checked their facts. There was no mistake about it, the Commission said, and wrote in its findings the "belief that the survival of independent farming by farmers who own



FARMER'S COMPLAINT: *Actually, the farmer's average is sometimes as low as three cents because, as the FTC report shows, the companies pay the five-cent price only on milk sold in fluid form, and three cents or less for milk used in cheese, etc.*

their own farms and maintain an American standard of living is in jeopardy." A long, detailed eight-volume typewritten report was drawn up and four copies were made. The Commission kept the original and sent one copy each to the Department of Agriculture, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.

According to past investigations the report would then be printed and made available to the public through the usual channels of distribution. But this report on the food trust was apparently an exception. It has never been printed. There are still only the original and the three copies.

The usual procedure followed in printing a report of the FTC is to have it referred to committee in the Senate and then sent to the Government Printing Office. When the report on the food trust (officially known as the Agricultural Income Inquiry) reached the Senate it was handed over to the Committee on Agriculture. Senator Guy M. Gillette, of Iowa, chairman of the sub-committee, went through the detailed report and said that it was one of the most important placed before Congress in recent years. He got behind the report and his sub-committee recommended that it be printed.

The Committee on Printing, however, said the report would cost too much to publish and sent it back to Senator Gillette. Everything suddenly became surrounded in confusion. Somehow other figures on the cost of printing filled the air. One quote had it that it would cost $127,000 to print the typewritten report. Another estimate was placed at $28,000. Still another estimate, this one with the tabular matter reduced and simplified, and eliminating certain phases of the report, put the bid at $15,000. [Joe L. Baker, assistant to the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, told this writer that the report would cost only $5,000 to print.]

Senator Gillette, moving heaven and earth to get the report printed, shuttled back and forth between the Committee on Agriculture and the Committee on Printing, shaving down the price to where there could be no possible objection. Although he obtained a final estimate that was only ten per cent of the actual cost of making the investigation, he still could get no favorable action.

"It hasn't been printed yet," he told the Senate at the last session. "Why? Because there are interests that don't want it printed!"

The Senator didn't mention any names, but over in the House of Representatives Francis D. Culkin, of New York, took up the fight and singled out the National Dairy Products Corporation and the Borden Company. He said that they acted together and that they maintained lavish suites at the various capitals and "that you can always have the Borden lobbyist pointed out to you. He usually sticks up like a sore thumb.

"It is safe to say," the Congressman added, "that the National Dairy Products Corporation disburses annually for lobbyists and entertainment in State capitals and for political lawyers as high as $5,000,000."

The Representative regarded the report of the Federal Trade Commission as a vindication of a fight he had been waging almost single-handed for many years to protect the dairy farmer in particular from what he charged was "an unrestrained and savage criminal monopoly." He had repeatedly contended that government financial aid to the farmer did very little actual good because most of it was sieved through into the hands of the large corporations. Mr. Culkin had identified this dairy monopoly as composed of a "Big Three" working in collaboration with each other to fix farmers' prices low and consumers' prices high. The "Big Three" consisted of National Dairy, Borden's and the Plymouth Cheese Board of Wisconsin. "While these corporations," he had said, "are paying high dividends on their very much watered stock and millions to their officers and lobbyists in salaries, they give the dairyman starvation prices for his products."

All these years Mr. Culkin had been proclaiming all these things but the wind always seemed to blow in the other direction. He had stumped New York State on non-political tours telling all who would listen that the food setup was rotten to the core; that children who needed milk couldn't get it because prices were scaled out of all proportion to actual costs; that farmers were being condemned to lives of poverty by "racketeering monsters."

"Why in God's name some of these thieves who are caught red-handed are not in jail is more than I can understand," he told an audience when referring to the "Big Three" at the Bonneville, N. Y. Fair several months ago. "If a man steals a loaf of bread for his hungry family, the law is rigorous in its exactions. These gentry seem to be able to steal millions of quarts of milk and escape punishment."

What the FTC has to say about the food trust may be more moderately stated than Mr. Culkin's philippics but the message is substantially the same. Its report, in fact, is not confined to the dairy monopoly alone but discusses grain, flour mills, bakeries, biscuit companies, livestock, meat packing, and chain groceries. And to round out all sources of income for the farmer, the report also includes studies of the cotton and tobacco industries.

This writer inspected the original report at the offices of the Commission in Washington and saw in it unmistakable evidence of monopolistic trends and monopolistic practices in the food industries. The extent of concentration is not so pronounced as the old Standard Oil combine or the American Tobacco Company before their dissolution, nor are any members of the food trust, singly or collectively, as large or powerful. In fairness, too, to the present monopolies, it must be emphasized that the abuses today are not as flagrant as by the old trusts, nor is the influence wielded today as great. But—and about this there can be no misunderstanding—the food trust is no midget, either in size or influence. And in the matter of abuses the old monopoly tradition is not ignored entirely.



NOBLE EXPERIMENT: *Mayor La Guardia, of New York, declared that many children were deprived of milk because of high prices City milk stations were opened selling milk at nine cents.*

That members of the food trust have broken even the present inadequate anti-trust laws is easily apparent in the report. In clear violation of the Clayton act, many of them have bought capital stock and controlling interests in competing firms and have established themselves in so strong a position that they could name their own prices, either to the farmer or to the consumer.

But law violation has not been the biggest sin of the food combines. More serious has been the utter helplessness of both farmer and consumer in driving a reasonable bargain with the trusts. For his share, the farmer is given the low price that the monopolies decide he shall be given. And the consumer has had to tighten his belt or else pay impossible prices for milk, butter, meat and other important items in the daily diet. This stretch between the farmer and consumer is growing wider all the time. How much of it is taken out in profits by the heads of the monopolies is indicated in the Commission's disclosure that even during the depression years many firms paid average salaries of $50,000 or more, excluding bonuses and commissions, to their officers. Profits of ten companies handling milk and milk products averaged $37,428,162 during the lean years of 1929-1934.

What is a monopoly? The term has been loosely applied and may mean almost anything. Actually, a monopoly is a condition that exists when one firm, or several firms working together, are sufficiently large to thumb their noses at competition. A corollary to this would be that the firm or firms embraced by the monopoly have enough power to destroy that competition at will and to tell the farmer what prices he will receive and the public what prices it will pay and know that neither one will be able to do anything about it.

Monopolies are supposed to be divided into classifications of good and bad. When a monopoly is supposed to be good, it provides good service at low prices. And when it is supposed to be bad, it provides good service at high prices. Monopolies never provide poor service and high prices both. The American people may be bled to their last dimes through high prices but they

CHINESE EGGS

ALTHOUGH few of them realize it, Americans consume hundreds of millions of eggs imported from China each year. Chinese eggs are much inferior to those produced here, but the price is so low, even with the tariff, that a number of American dairy firms have found it profitable to establish plants in the Orient for the purpose of freezing eggs, canning them, or drying them and putting them up in powdered form.

A large percentage of Chinese eggs imported in the United States are used in the manufacture of ice cream. An easy way to ascertain whether the eggs in your cream are of low quality is by the concentration in the flavor. The stronger the flavor, the poorer the eggs—generally speaking. Strong flavors are needed to cloak the unpleasant taste of low-grade eggs.

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will go to war before they will tolerate a letdown in efficiency.

Those who contend that there are good and bad monopolies believe that the government should let the good ones alone and punish or break down the bad ones. But just as no distinction between good and bad dictatorships can be drawn, just as the danger in dictatorship is in the complete control it gives the dictator, to be exercised at his discretion, so can there be no actual distinction between monopolies. A monopoly that is "good" but has the power to be "bad" if it so wishes presents much the same problem as if it were "bad" all the time. It is the power to be potentially bad, notwithstanding the power to be potentially good, that offers the serious threat to public welfare.

According to the report of the Federal Trade Commission, various monopolistic groups control not only dairying but beef products, wheat, corn, and cotton. A direct relation is found between the existence and growth of this trust and the increased hardship of the farmer in recent years. Farming is the only major economic activity today, the report says, which is operating with a smaller capital than it did in 1910. The total value of farm land and buildings is two billion dollars less today than it was 28 years ago. An average acre, in other words, of farm land is worth ten dollars less than it was in 1910. This decrease took place, the Commission points out, despite an increase of 9.2 per cent in land devoted to farming since that year.

A few more figures on the bad shape the farmer is in today may be in order. Only one out of every five can afford a bathtub; three out of ten running water; one out of ten electricity. In the period 1930–1936, out of every 1,000 farms, 236 were foreclosed. Today, less than two-thirds of all farmers own their own farms; the number of tenant farmers has been growing at a rapid pace.

Control of Milk

Beginning with the dairy industry, the report finds that the control of the nation's milk supply is rapidly passing into the hands of a few giant distributors and meat packers. Most important of them are the National Dairy Products Corporation, the Borden Company, Swift and Company, and Armour and Company. The last two are nominally meat-packers, but they have spread themselves so widely that they are now a definite power in the milk industry. The increase in capitalization of the large dairies has been 434 per cent in the two decades from 1914 to 1934.

Largest of all is the National Dairy Products Corporation, which owns 358 firms, among them Sheffield Farms, Kraft-Phenix Cheese, Breyer Ice Cream, General Ice Cream, and the Telling-Belle-Vernon Company, together with their subsidiaries, which in the case of Kraft-Phenix, amounted to 50 companies. National Dairy began in 1923, when its issue of 125,000 shares of stock at $33 was underwritten by Lehman Brothers.* At that time it bought out the Rieck-McJunkin Dairy Company of Pittsburgh and the Hydrox Corporation of Chicago. Its total sales in 1923 was $20,000,000 but by 1930 the figure jumped to $375,000,000.

Borden started its rise to power at the turn of the century, buying out the New York Condensed Milk Company. It was not particularly active until National Dairy set the pace in the 'twenties and began to step out in 1937, acquiring 207 companies, among them the Reid Ice Cream, J. M. Horton Ice Cream, Merrell-Soule, Gridley Dairy, Weiland Dairy, Casein Company of America, and its chain, and Central Distributors. In a single year its net sales have amounted to $345,000,000.

It would appear that the mere existence of two such giant organizations, separately owned, selling the same products in much the same areas, would be sufficient proof that there is no monopoly. But when two such giant organizations work together, when competition is at a standstill between the two firms, monopoly exists just as if there were only one organization. The FTC uncovered certain documents in the files of the Borden Company which disclosed that there were numerous instances when Borden refused to compete with other large companies, particularly the National Dairy Products Corporation. Congressman Culkin has charged that National Dairy is in direct collusion not only with Borden's but with Swift and Armour, the "packer kings," and other distributors in fixing the price paid to the producer.

National Dairy has sold in a single year 21.38 per cent of the total quantity of ice cream manufactured in this country. In many states it controls more than forty per cent of all the available milk supply. And when it acquired Breakstone Brothers and Kraft-Phenix Cheese, it was able to control one-third of the entire cheese business in the United States.

The Borden Company, which was organized originally as a condensed milk manufacturer, was reorganized two years ago and became an operating company by taking over the business of all excepting ten of its subsidiaries. Borden's widest distribution is in the New York area under its own name and in the Chicago area under the name of Borden-Weiland, where it sells approximately 21 per cent of the total milk.

Significant is the point made in the report that although these two companies were able to pay salaries as high as $180,000 during depression years, the salaries by cooperative dairymen's associations to their officers were often less than $1000 a year.

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*During the last gubernatorial campaign in New York City, the charge was made that Governor Herbert H. Lehman was at one time affiliated with the National Dairy Products Corporation and was therefore "prejudiced" in adjudicating disputes involving the dairy farmer. *Current History* is pleased to publish a letter from Mr. Lehman in this connection:

> When I assumed office, I completely withdrew from all business connections. I retired from the firm of Lehman Brothers, of which my father was one of the founders and of which I was a partner for many years. I gave up all of my other many business connections so as to be able to devote myself exclusively to the public service. I do not own a single share of stock or a single bond in any milk company operating in this State or elsewhere.
>
> Although I have completely withdrawn from my former business associations and have no knowledge of their affairs, I have ascertained that my former firm of Lehman Brothers and the Lehman Corporation, which is a public company with thousands of stockholders, also do not own any stock in milk companies, nor are they associated with any of them.

[Governor Lehman took public office Nov. 6, 1928, as Lieutenant-Governor. He was elected Governor four years later.—Ed.]

In Plymouth, Wisconsin is the cheese exchange, made up of dairy dealers and processors. The exchange establishes the price of cheese in what is supposed to be a procedure of regular bidding. The FTC report indicates that the dominating influences on the exchange are National Dairies, Borden's, Swift, and Armour. Congressman Culkin has summarized the activities of this bloc in these words:

"The satellites of these outfits meet before the alleged market day and agree on a price of cheese for the following week. The next day a meeting of the board is held and the fiction of bids with no deliveries is gone through with. The price of cheese is thus fixed for the following week by these criminal monopolists. There are 2,500,000 dairymen whose economic life is threatened by this brazen procedure."

A farmer does not receive one price for his milk. If he sells fifty cans, all of which contain the same type of milk, he does not necessarily get the same price for each can. For the cans of milk which the processors tell him have been used as regular fluid milk, he will be paid approximately five cents plus a quart. But for the cans of milk that are used for the by-products of milk, such as cream, butter or cheese, he will receive a much lower price. In some cases this is as low as two cents a quart. Congressman Culkin charges that the monopolies have been paying the farmer at the cheese rate but have actually used the milk for fluid milk purposes.

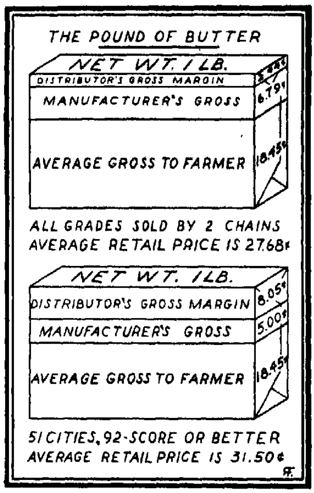
The Federal Trade Commission finds that the farmer has little way of ascertaining whether the milk companies are paying him the right amount. Further, the report charges that the books of the milk companies as to how much milk they actually sell as fluid milk, etc have generally not been properly verified by thorough audits.

Finally, the Commission reports that the milk trust has seldom lowered the price of milk to the consumer when it has decreased the price to the farmer. During some years of the depression, when prices paid dairymen reached a low point, the spread between the dairymen and the consumers was so wide that the trust was able to show a handsome profit.

What Price Meat?

Swift and Armour, who, behind National Dairies and Borden's, are the biggest buyers and processors of milk in the country, are also the dominating companies in the meat industries.

Meat figured very prominently in the news recently when retail merchants in New York City closed their shops because they could find very few customers who could afford to pay for the meat at the sky-high prices that the dealers had to receive in order to show a scant profit. High prices, the dealers contended, were not the fault of the "drouth," as Secretary Wallace had declared, nor were they the fault of the farmer. Fact was, they said, that the farmer could receive a substantial increase for his livestock and the distributing companies could still sell the meat to the retail dealer at a much



lower figure. They put the blame squarely on a "packer's monopoly" and further charged that the packers were falsely grading the meat by substituting low quality supplies for supposed high-grade meat.

The dealers' charges of concentration of power in the hands of a few meat packers have been substantiated in the report of the FTC. Three principal meat packers, it says, bought 41 per cent of all cattle and calves and 25 per cent of all the hogs produced in the country in a recent year. Swift sells 37.2 per cent of all veal; Armour 37 per cent. Swift sells 25 per cent of all beef carcasses; Armour 22 per cent.

Percentages mean very little, however, unless they are translated into terms of what they mean to both farmer and consumer. According to the report, the public paid an average of twelve and a half cents a pound for certain edible beef products in a recent year. Out of that less than four cents went to the farmer. And on the nonedible beef the price was even lower. The farmer's share has been decreasing almost steadily since 1913. At that time, he received eighty cents out of the consumer's dollar for pork. Today he receives just half as much.

The large meat packing companies resorted to "questionable practices," the Commission says, in acquiring competing companies. They sold meat, pork particularly, at cut prices in the sales territories of the independent packers in order to force the independents to sell out. In a number of cases, small packers who lacked branch houses, cold storage facilities, or refrigerator cars, contracted to sell the bulk of their output to members of the Big Four—Swift, Armour, Cudahy and Wilson. By so doing they became dependent on the big packers and were forced to sell out at the pleasure of the packers or lose their markets. Tricks were used to squeeze out smaller companies and through various banking connections, the large packers were able to withdraw credit from the independents and force them to sell.

Among other methods used by the packers in their march to monopoly, the FTC cites short-weighting, extortion of railroad rebates, price-cutting, combinations and pools, lobbying, monopolizing terminal railroads, owning cattle loan banks, controlling market papers, and monopolizing storage. The report indicates that as soon as the packers came into power the prices for farmers went down and those for consumers went up. In fixing prices for the consumer, the report shows that the rule generally followed was to charge as much as the traffic would bear. Washington, D.C., for example, which has an average income per person of $1,006 as compared to $254 for Little Rock, Arkansas, pays more for its meat than any other city in the country. The citizen's of the nation's capital are forced to pay about thirty cents for a pound of veal while those in Little Rock pay fourteen cents.

The difference in price does not mean that the packing companies have taken into consideration the comparative inability of the people of Little Rock to pay as much for their meat as the people of Washington. It means, rather, that Little Rock has the normal price and that Washington prices have been skyrocketed because the packers are aware that food budgets are more ample in that city than anywhere else.

A number of other interesting comparisons in food prices paid by various cities is disclosed in the report. Portland pays sixteen cents for a pound of beef as compared to twenty-eight cents paid by New Haven. Louisville pays

a low of eighteen cents for pork while San Francisco is charged twenty-three cents.

The reason for such wide variance in prices is not to be found, as is popularly thought, in the added cost involved in transporting meat to cities far removed from the stockyards. If this were so, Chicago would have the lowest meat prices in the nation. But it does not. The same line of monopoly reasoning that fastened high prices on Washington has also fastened high prices on Chicago. For Chicago, as cities go, is among the most prosperous and if the meat trade there can carry a high price and get away with it the packers have achieved their objective. So high meat prices are the results not of any natural economic forces but of shrewd calculation designed to exact as high a price as possible without openly creating a public scandal.

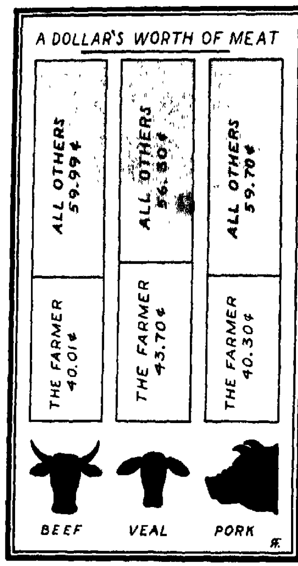
The monopoly situation changes very little when the report leaves meat and turns to wheat. Little Rock, we mentioned before, pays the lowest price in the country for its meat. But Little Rock also pays the highest for its bread. Here again it is a case of charging what the traffic will bear. The people of Little Rock cannot afford to eat much meat but they cannot do without bread—food's first essential. Dieticians will tell you that the people who eat the least meat usually consume the most bread. The bread trust has taken advantage of this knowledge to impose the highest bread prices in the country on the city which can least afford to pay.

The Millers Open the Files

The Federal Trade Commission had to wage a seven years' court fight before it could get the Millers' National Federation to furnish any information about its members. The results of this investigation were included in the general food report of the FTC.

The startling disclosures made by the Commission in this study of wheat help to explain why the Millers' Federation was so reluctant to open its files to the government. Definite violations of the anti-trust laws were found, particularly in the case of General Mills, the largest milling company in the world. This firm, according to the report, has controlled trade organizations, blacklisted customers, fixed prices, imposed uniform carrying charges on forward sales of flour, and put through its own price differentials on flour sold in different kinds and sizes of packages. An indication of its size can be gained when it is realized that together with Pillsbury Flour Mills, it bought one-third of the total commercial wheat crop in a recent year.

In and out of depression, the large mills have kept piling up sizeable profits. During the pit of the lean years their net profits averaged almost twelve million dollars. In the last few years, in fact, their margin of profit on a loaf of bread has been increased 56 per cent. The gross income of farmers in 1934 from their wheat crop amounted to $298,155,000 while the gross income



from flour sales alone by only twelve companies totaled $335,879,000.

Concentration of control in the bread industry in violation of anti-trust laws has been going on for 30 years. The large corporations grew larger by buying up or merging with competing companies, rather than by constructing new plants. The four largest bakeries, General Baking Company, Continental Baking Company, Ward Baking Company, and Purity Bakeries Corporation, have never offered serious threats of competition to each other, the report discloses, but have all pyramided without getting in each other's way.

The price of bread in recent months has been at its highest in seven years. The consumers' food bill has soared $50,000,000 a year through these prices alone. But if the bread bill has soared, then the profits of the bread industries have skyrocketed. Net profits of Continental Baking for 39 weeks ending September 25, 1937, showed more than a 100 per cent increase over a similar period in 1935. And General Baking's net profits hit the bull's eye with an increase of 1,100 per cent in profits between the 1935 and the 1937 fiscal years.

The farmer's share of a loaf of bread is suitable for a microscopic slide. He receives one cent. The retailer gets a few tenths of a cent more. The baking monopolies account for most of the rest.

Section after section in the food industries tell the same story. The FTC sums up its entire report when it says,

"The progressive enlargement of a few predominant enterprises has gone so far that, in financial strength and in numbers of persons subject to their control, the largest concerns exceed some State governments."

The food trust is not something that existed years ago; it is not a memory like the old Standard Oil, to be conjured up in recollections of the "old, rampant monopoly days." Nor is it an exaggeration or a political scare. The food trust is something that has happened within our own brief memories. It is happening today. A government agency, as far removed from politics as any commission in Washington, has pointed to that conclusion in a report in which careful research based on facts was the basis of the investigation. The report is no wild-eyed extravagant concoction but a calm, mature, competent examination.

As to whether the existence of monopoly in the food industries is an indication of the existence of monopolies in other industries is a question which additional investigation alone can reveal. What the food report does show however, is that the present anti-trust laws have not been rigidly enforced or are ambiguous, and that the conditions are rife for monopoly control in other industries.

As far as the food trust is concerned no great problem should confront the Administration. The report says that the anti-trust laws have been violated when and by whom. In those cases where the present laws do not adequately protect against monopoly, the report recommends ways in which the law should be strengthened. If, with so much abundant evidence and material before it, the Administration should neglect or fail to take adequate steps to protect the farmer and consumer against the food monopoly, the record of the New Deal on this issue at least, will be that its bark was much worse than its bite and that its big stick was only a thin splint.

BRITAIN'S "CLIVEDEN SET"

An informal, but powerful, pro-German group constitutes a second British Foreign Office

By CLAUD COCKBURN

IN THE summer, the British chargé d'affaires in Republican Spain—a Mr. Leche—created a minor scandal by saying to a member of the British House of Lords, who repeated it, that "Myself, I would rather see England run by Germans who were Monarchists than by Englishmen who were Communists." Published in England, this indiscreet expression of Mr. Leche's political views raised a lot of eyebrows. In actual fact, he had only said in a somewhat crudely oversimplified formulation what quite a lot of persons in high places in London who deplored the indiscretion, themselves instinctively feel.

Hardly anyone would put it that way, very few would formulate it in that way even to themselves. Yet the instinctive political direction it represents is one of the fundamental facts of Anglo-German relations, and in particular of the internal British struggle over British policy towards Germany, which reached a temporary deadlock at the turn of the year.

Every concession which the Weimar Republic secured from the western powers in general and the City of London in particular it got, in the last analysis, by virtue of the belief prevalent in London that if "Germany is pressed too hard" Germany would "go Bolshevik."

It is the central triumph of Herr Hitler and Dr. Goebbels that they have extended the conception of "going Bolshevik"—and hence the range of the fears which such a conception inspires in the hearts of City gentlemen—to practically every possible manifestation of democratic advance, or the progress and widening of popular rule.

That Hitler is thought of by wide circles of the British Conservative Party as the "bulwark against Bolshevism in Europe" is one of his strongest cards in the Anglo-German political game. But in London as in Berlin "Bulwark against Bolshevism" has come and is increasingly coming to mean what Hitler and Dr. Goebbels, obeying the necessities of German imperialism, choose that it shall mean.

It means bulwark against the anti-feudal Republicanism of the Spanish Government (called "red" in the London *Observer* no less than in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*); bulwark against the "red" peril supposedly implicit in the strength of the liberal Government of Czechoslovakia; bulwark against the "red" tide descried rising in France under the leadership of such heavily disguised "extremists" as MM. Chautemps, Delbos, and Léon Blum; it means bulwark against the dangerously Bolshevik tendencies of Comrades Roosevelt and Hull.

It may sound absurd, but it is a fact, and anyone who goes around much in Conservative circles in England can verify it, that the German Government's policy of securing allies or at least paralyzing opposition in foreign countries by startling people literally out of their wits with the assertion that every government or party which stands in the way of Germany's aggressive foreign policy is either Bolshevist or "slipping into Bolshevism," has succeeded in England to a degree which makes of it a first-class political factor.

It is true for instance that there are German guns at Tarifa, placed in a spot prohibited by treaty, dominating not only the Straits of Gibraltar but the harbor of Gibraltar itself. A British Admiral (Sir Roger Keyes) has admitted in the House of Commons that now the British fleet would need smoke-screens or fog to get through the Straits of Gibraltar safely in the event of war.

But, reply the British Conservatives who have drunk so deeply of the subtly mixed potions produced by Dr. Goebbels, what is the alternative? The alternative is to support the Spanish Government and help turn the Germans out of Tarifa as quickly as possible. But the Spanish Government is "red" (Dr. Goebbels and his British friends have told us so). So we will let the German guns stay at Tarifa and we will let the German mine-owners divert all the iron ore of Bilbao to the factories of Krupp instead of to the factories of Vickers.

All of which process of "reasoning"—to be heard in any Conservative Club in London—is not very far from the indiscretion of Mr. Leche. The "Anti-



CLIVEDEN'S HOSTESS: *Lady Astor, formerly Nancy Langhorne of Virginia, is the social center of the influential set which spends pleasant weekends at her country estate giving British foreign policy a pro-German slant.*

comintern Pact"—and all that it implies—is only an extension of the same policy of induced paralysis.

It is difficult to convey to anyone unfamiliar with the atmosphere of Conservative London the extent to which this sort of thing plays a dominant role. It is a pity of course about British sailors being killed by the Japanese: but are not the Japanese saving China from Bolshevism? It is a pity that Mussolini should be able to cock snooks at the British Navy all over the Mediterranean, but would not the alternative to Mussolini be a "red" Italy? And so on and so on and so on *ad absurdum* and *infinitum*.



De Groene Amsterdammer

The Anti-Marx Brothers play a soothing lullaby which has an unfailing appeal for . . .

That is the true background of Anglo-German relations. That is the final key to the paradox of Anglo-German affairs.

For instance: The British are frightened by German rearmament. Yet it was one of the leading figures in the British steel industry (Sir Arthur Balfour) who a few years ago—in 1933—told an audience of British steel men that Germany would have to rearm and the British steel industry would have to assist her to do it.

A year or so later when the British were beginning to consider how on earth to raise the money to pay for armaments against possible German attack, it was the Bank of England which was engaged in facilitating large credits from the City of London to Germany which, as the *Financial News* pointed out at the time, were proving of major value in the speeding up of the German rearmament program.

During the first year of Nazi aerial rearmament, Lord Londonderry, close friend of General Goering, ardent admirer of Nazism, in the interests of "Anglo-German goodwill" quietly suppressed (even apparently from the rest of the Cabinet) the main facts of it as gathered by the trained agents of the Air Ministry, and it was left to the Chicago *Daily News* to print the news of the menacing location of German aerodromes near Germany's west coast.

On that occasion—even before the news appeared in print—a number of younger men in the Air Ministry, certainly not unconservative politically, themselves collected all the relevant facts, some of them from other friends, some of them from illicit flying weekends over western Germany, and in the end smuggled to the Cabinet an exceedingly startling "expert report."

That the head of the most vital of the British defence departments should, for political "reasons," be pursuing one policy towards Germany while half the officials of his department were coolly pursuing another, is only one characteristic example of a phenomenon which keeps on reproducing itself with increasing sharpness in Anglo-German relations.

The visit of Lord Halifax to Berchtesgaden and everything that went with it is the latest and to date most important manifestation of a tendency which has now developed to the point of a dangerous disease. Within approximately the past eighteen months, the attitude towards Germany exemplified, in the instances I have just given, by the Bank of England and Lord Londonderry, crystallized in what has very recently come to be known as the "Cliveden Set." Two months ago nobody mentioned the Cliveden Set as such. Today they are openly discussed in newspapers, attacked in the House of Commons.

What is the "Cliveden Set"?

Cliveden is the Thames valley country residence of Viscountess (Nancy) Astor, sometime of Virginia and now wife of Viscount Astor, owner of the weekly Sunday newspaper *The Observer*. Her brother-in-law, Major the Honorable John Jacob Astor, owns the controlling interest in the London *Times*. Both are profoundly influenced, directly or indirectly, by the enormously energetic and sprightly Lady Astor.

In a country where so much of the most important politics is played at weekends in large country houses, Cliveden, by reason of the passionate political interest of its hostess, and the enormous power which her family wealth and newspaper connections represent, has been one of the most politically important of British country houses.

Weekend parties at Cliveden were making or marring the careers of politicians long before the Anglo-German issue came to dominate as it does today the whole of the British political scene.

It seems to have been approximately in the spring of 1936 that Cliveden began to be the centre of a policy and an intrigue which have since brought it to the position where it is freely and bitterly referred to by the opponents of that policy in Whitehall as "Britain's second Foreign Office."

Most prominent and active of the personalities associated with Cliveden are: Lady Astor, Lord Astor, Major Astor, Lord Lothian, Lord London-

derry, chief of the Conservative Party organisation, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, editor of *The Times*, Mr. Barrington Ward, one of his principal assistants there and a close protégé of Lady Astor, Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin, Lord Halifax himself, and a whole string of satellites, many of them simply politicians on the make, including several youngish men who owe their careers and their positions on the verge of the Cabinet to Cliveden backing.

The Aga Khan occupies a somewhat eccentric position close to the Cliveden Set

The Cabinet Ministers most closely associated with the set are Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Home Secretary, and Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Active dislike of the French, fear and hatred of all "popular" movements, a consequent admiration for the "defensive" possibilities of Hitlerism, and mixed with that a fear amounting to panic of a possible German attack upon Britain are the principal common characteristics of the members of the set. Their attitude towards the Soviet Union needs no description.



Parade, London

. . . *Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary* . . .

It would be hard to exaggerate the ramifications of the power and influence represented by the Cliveden Set in politics, newspapers and the City. *The Times* alone is a weapon of a power still greater, despite many changes and a circulation of only 197,000, than that wielded by any other single newspaper in Europe.

The policies decided upon at week-end gatherings at Cliveden are by no means doomed to blush unseen or unheard of. They are apt to make themselves as effectively felt, and sometimes much more effectively felt, than the policies more orthodoxly hammered out in the rooms of the Foreign Office.

Arranging the Halifax Trip

It was at Cliveden that the visit of Lord Halifax to Germany was decided —a decision accompanied by an extraordinary correspondence in *The Times*, culminating in a leading article virtually demanding favorable consideration for German imperialist aims in Europe, and demanding that the negotiations to that end should be carried out by the methods of secret diplomacy.

Lord Londonderry and Lord Lothian flew to and fro between London and Berlin, arranging, with the close cooperation of General Goering and the British Ambassador, the preliminaries of the trip.

Mr. Eden had been against the plan from the beginning, and had said so in no uncertain terms. Sir Samuel Hoare was for it, and it was he who was at first deputed to persuade the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister, who had put his political money on the success of a series of personal "approaches" to Mussolini, was at first of the opinion that the sudden opening of negotiations with Herr Hitler would fatally upset his Italian apple-cart.

He was finally persuaded partly on foreign political grounds, but far more on grounds of domestic policy. Sir Kingsley Wood, his principal election adviser, reported to him that in the event of an early General Election becoming a necessity, nothing would go down better with the country than the appearance of an "appeasement" with Germany; the country, he calculated, in its present mood would be prepared to vote for anyone who might be credibly represented for the time being as having done something to remove the brooding fear of another German war which hangs over it like a nightmare.

Mr. Eden was to be away in Brussels when the plot was finally sprung. The Foreign Office, which had already got wind of what was coming, tried hard at the last moment to find some adequate reason for suddenly canceling Mr. Eden's presence at Brussels, but failed.

The impending visit was announced. Mr. Eden, in a furious interview with the Prime Minister, resigned—offering as his reason not the Halifax visit (the real grounds) but instead stating that the feeble progress being made with the British rearmament program gave him insufficient backing to carry out a strong line of foreign policy.

He was persuaded to withdraw his resignation, but the threat of it had already had a considerable effect in



Parade, London

. . . *while Premier Chamberlain lends an ear*

undermining the more dangerous possibilities latent in the Halifax trip.

If they were undermined then, they blew up altogether—for the time being —as a result of a curious leakage to the newspapers which occurred immediately after Lord Halifax' return to London.

Within a few hours after Lord Halifax had made his report, the public was made aware through the medium of two diplomatic correspondents of the precise nature of the "terms" which had been generally discussed between Lord Halifax and Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden. They have since been published all over the world: the temporary truce in the pressing of Germany's colonial claims, the re-entry of Germany into a League of Nations shorn of all power as an instrument for enforcing collective security, the admission of German "absorption" of Austria, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia under the pretext of the establishment of a federal state on Swiss lines, and so on.

Vansittart, the Wrecker

That leakage destroyed for the time being the plans so carefully laid at

Cliveden, and Cliveden, surveying the wreckage, had only one name on its lips as the probable wrecker: the name of Sir Robert Vansittart, head of the permanent staff at the Foreign Office.

It is no secret that Sir Robert Vansittart detests Cliveden and all that it represents with an active personal loathing. He is also afraid of the Cliveden Set, believing that in the end their money and their newspaper power and their social influence in the West End and the country houses will enable them to achieve what Herr von Ribbentrop pursued so strenuously by similar methods in the brief reign of the present Duke of Windsor.

Sir Robert Vansittart's position and policy are a fair specimen, and will serve as a typical summing up, of the opposition to the Cliveden policy as it exists within the ranks of the Government and the Conservative party.

The position of the group which he represents is paradoxical. They regard, correctly, Germany as the greatest potential menace to Britain. They acknowledge, theoretically, that the means to neutralize that menace are ready to hand in the shape of a closer alliance and cooperation between Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

But since they are in fact no less Tory in their social outlook and economic position than the wealthy ladies and gentlemen down at Cliveden, they are in the awkward position of feeling bound to reject for the most part the very defences which offer themselves, since they cannot bear the notion of an association with the Soviet Union or a strengthening of the alliances and pacts of the Soviet Union in central and western Europe.

They fall back therefore on the apparently futile pursuit of other means of enfeebling the menacing power of the Third Reich: notably, the attempt to detach Italy from the famous axis.

In other words, their policy is still based essentially on the ideas which inspired the unfortunate "Stresa Front."

The only result to date has been the successful blackmailing of Britain by Signor Mussolini, who has secured a series of concessions and friendly approaches from the London Government solely on the strength of the idea that these will eventually lure him out of his association with Berlin. In fact each new concession, by raising his value in Berlin and offering to the world an apparent demonstration of his power, has served so far only to strengthen the Berlin-Rome association.

The entry of Japan into the "Anti-Comintern" triangle, and the grave development of affairs in the Far East has served precisely to extend the same system of what is rudely called blackmail and politely called "pressure" beyond the boundaries of Europe.

To the supporters of the Cliveden policy the menace in the Far East is one more reason for an early surrender to Nazi demands. To the opposite wing of the governing party, it is a further sharpening of the awkward contradiction involved in the attempt to defend British interests against the powers of the "Anti-Comintern Pact" without drawing upon the obvious means of so doing—namely an association with the policy of the Soviet Union.



THE WRECKERS: *Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Sir Robert Vansittart, who thwarted Cliveden's plans.*

The tension grows monthly worse as the armed power of imperialist Germany grows, and the ugly dilemma of British conservatism—the dilemma of a right-wing Government which must either surrender British interests to foreign imperialist demands, or join hands with hated left-wing Governments—remains unsolved.

Britain Speeds German Rearmament

Two "theories" of policy towards Germany, one particular, the other general, I have not mentioned. One is the belief, not very far from the beliefs of Cliveden, and certainly often considered by the Prime Minister, that there is still time to involve the financially hard pressed and economically threatened fascist states in a City loan "with strings to it." It has frequently been mooted as the real solution of the Italian menace, and it was certainly very much in the mind of Mr. Runciman on his visit to the United States and of all those Cabinet Ministers who discussed the political situation of Europe with the King of the Belgians on his recent visit to England.

It is in fact a revival of the notions entertained at the Bank of England at the beginning of Nazi rearmament. It was certainly believed then by Mr Montagu Norman, assisted to that belief by the subtle Dr. Schacht, that British credits for Germany meant an easing of the internal tension in Germany and hence—it was quite erroneously supposed—an easing of the German threat to the outside world.

The result was a speeding up of German armament on British money, and a heavy increase in the pressure of the German threat.

The same results in a still more grave form would, it is being pointed out in the City, follow from a repetition of any similar policy today; but it is virtually certain that within the next six months we shall hear more of it and hear it again presented as a "way out" for British Conservatism from its present horrid impasse.

The more general theory, which soothes the nightmares of the political club men, is the belief that, if only things can be kept going for another sixteen or eighteen months, Britain will be so heavily rearmed that she will once again be able to assert herself without having recourse to the present humiliating procedures of questionnaires that remain unanswered, protests treated with contempt, visits which result in nothing but a new batch of arrogant demands.

Unfortunately for Britain, while the rearmament program proceeds along its not very brilliant course, strategic power positions worth millions of pounds of armament have had to be abandoned to the potential enemy: one needs only to think of the Straits of Gibraltar, the Balearic Islands, the Azores, and the Basque country.

With the menace growing, and therefore the increase of mere fear as a political factor, the only thing certain is that within the next few months the adherents of the Cliveden policy, "The Shiver Sisters" as the cartoonist Low has described them, will make a new attempt to realize the aims which they failed to achieve after the return of Lord Halifax from Berchtesgaden.

UNDERGROUND EUROPE

By MAX NOMAD

THE establishment of "authoritarian" regimes has meant the end of the traditional forms of political activity in a large part of Europe. In some of the greatest civilized nations a multiplicity of political parties, free competition for public office, an independent press have all become mere reminiscences of a bygone day.

All these nations are paying tribute to the new principle, proclaimed after the Great War, which runs to the effect that "any number of parties may be in existence, provided that one of them is in power and all the others in prison." Another and ironic tribute to this curious formulation is that its father, the prominent Bolshevik leader, Michael Tomsky, "committed suicide" during the Soviet purge of 1936, the victim of his own lofty principles of government.

This momentous change in the political, economic, and cultural life of those concerned was bound to arouse opposition. The new "ins" are faced by a hostile army of malcontent "outs," irreconcilably hostile to the new masters and to the barbaric intolerance of the new dispensation. With all the other avenues of opposition closed, the nonconformists have no choice but to work secretly: in other words, to "go underground." It was a dangerous undertaking, with the chances of being arrested and dying in prison, or being executed, much greater than the prospects for an early revolution.

The conspirators against the post-War dictatorships constitute what one might call Underground Europe. There are anti-Stalinists in Russia and anti-fascists in Germany and Italy. In Austria, the Socialists have organized the amazing phenomenon of an underground mass movement. The Communists have been driven underground in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria and the countries bordering upon Russia—Rumania, Poland and the Baltic republics. Loyalist Spain has its Anarchist underground. Then there is the spectacle of the secret organizations striving to further their anti-democratic, fascistic ambitions in France, Poland, and the "succession" states of Central and Eastern Europe. Finally, there are the inevitable concomitants of all revolutionary activity—the secret police and spies in the ranks, which constitute another and peculiarly distinctive part of Underground Europe.

Anti-Stalinism in Russia

That system of government which proclaims absolute intolerance of any dissident opinion is usually designated by the generic term of fascism or totali-



MARTYR: *Carlo Rosselli, Italian liberal, who paid for his beliefs with his life.*

tarianism. Yet it must not be forgotten that it was actually inaugurated by Soviet Russia, where the suppression of all opposition embraces all shades of political opinion, from the monarchists at the extreme Right to anarchists and non-conformist communists at the extreme Left.

The Russian "Whites" have practically disappeared as an active group working on Soviet territory in the hope of bringing back the old system. The Leftist groups which refused to bow to the Bolshevik monopoly of power, continued their underground propaganda long after the Whites had given up. They have not been very successful. To approach the working masses the non-conformist Leftists have to talk to them secretly about wages and hours. But strikes are prohibited in Soviet Russia under penalties as severe as in the fascist countries; and any mention of sabotage, such as once was openly advocated by the French syndicalists and the American I. W. W., means merciless "liquidation." Moreover, a persistent propaganda has largely succeeded in filling the younger generation with a spirit of blind submission to the authorities and suspicion towards all critics.

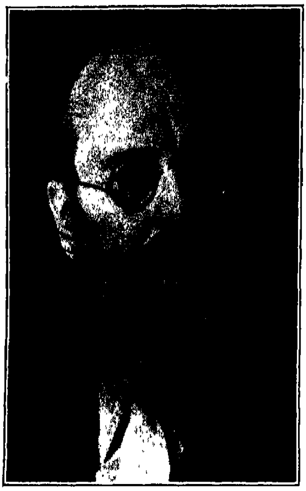
The radical opponents of the Bolsheviks, though decimated by arrests, have never completely disappeared. However, they have been unable to build up a coherent country-wide organization, or even regular underground groups in the classical style of the Tsarist period. They meet informally to exchange their views about current events; and the latest gossip about their immediate or highest superiors imperceptibly trickles from them to others who may not even suspect that the whisperer is not quite orthodox in his views about the government.

A new element was injected into Russian underground activities by the appearance of serious dissensions and rivalries within the Communist Party. Leftist, Rightist, and intermediate groups began to spread their Trotskyist, Zinovievist, Bukharinist, or other heresies among the bulk of the party's rank and file. The growing inequalities in the standard of living, the ever widening gulf between the superiors and inferiors, the increasing number of disappointed office-aspirants, facilitated the task of the dissenters who agreed on one point: the removal of Stalin and of his closest associates, and the establishment of a new government which would continue experimenting on the basis of the economic changes effected by the Revolution, but would substitute certain elements of democracy for the unlimited autocratic powers of a dictator. The methods of mass extermination and accusation of "espionage" applied since 1936 to all old Bolsheviks, have no doubt greatly weakened the opposition. Under-

ground Russia is now a cowed, disorganized, and atomized army.

Italy's United Front

It took the Italian fascists a few years before they completely destroyed all aspects of non-conformist political activity. But once this was achieved all shades of liberal, republican, socialist, syndicalist, communist, and anarchist opinion found themselves in the same underworld of political outlawry.



GIUSEPPE MODIGLIANI: *Leader of the Italian Socialist underground movement*

The hostility which separated the different groups of Italian radicals prior to the march upon Rome, continued for a long time underground as well. The two largest groups, the Socialists and the Communists, hated each other all the more as they had once belonged to the same party. It was not only the old question of tactics and doctrine, of "gradualism" and democracy as against immediate revolution and dictatorship; it was caused also by the Socialists' critical attitude toward Russia's domestic and foreign policy, to which the Communists felt bound body and soul.

However, it so happened that since 1934 Russia began to consider the desirability of western alliances against the German fascist enemy. As a result the Communists intimated that policy of collaboration with the Socialists which usually goes by the name of "united front." The Italian Socialists and Communists began to give out joint statements and appeals on various aspects of Italian policy; and they are now trying to avoid the discussion of issues separating them. A still closer contact between the two parties was effected in 1937 after Russia's relations with Italy had become really strained in connection with the Spanish situation and the Rome-Berlin axis. A sort of common program was adopted by the two parties. In matters of domestic policy they are in favor of a democratic republic "under the hegemony of the working class," as their official vocabulary has it; that is, under a Popular Front Government, French style, with the Socialists and Communists as part of the ruling majority. In matters of foreign policy the two parties advocate the idea of an international peace policy; they engage themselves to fight any attempts at attacking Russia, and demand the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain.

Both Socialists and Communists have their dissenters who have constituted their own independent parties and groups, and who have their own weekly or semi-monthly organs. Their influence is not very considerable. The same is true of various anarchist groups. The latter have no definite program for the near future—except that their hatred of all authority is naturally stronger under a system which bars open expression of their views.

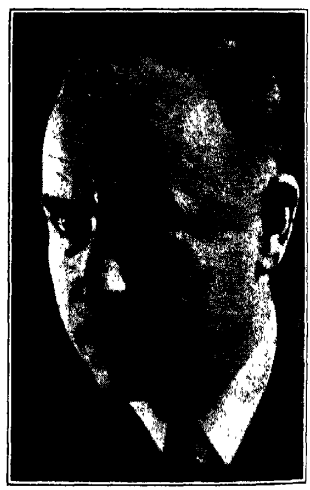
In addition to all these parties and groups using the old sets of radical political terminology, there is to be mentioned a very active and influential group which has no counterpart in the other countries. It is the *Giustizia e Libertà* (Justice and Liberty) group which publishes in Paris a weekly of that name. Its originator was a young Italian intellectual, Carlo Rosselli, the scion of an old and prosperous family which counted among its closest friends Mazzini, the father of modern Italy. His advocacy of a sort of democratic-liberal socialism has won him a large following among the educated & middle classes. *Giustizia e Libertà* which, like the other emigré publications, is being smuggled into Italy, seems to be a thorn in the side of Il Duce. In the summer of 1937, Carlo Rosselli and his brother Nello, a well-known Italian scholar, were found murdered near Paris under circumstances which leave no doubt about the political origin of the crime.

Germany's Political Underworld

Next to Italy Germany shows the greatest variety of underground parties and groups, with the regular Socialist and Communist parties holding first place as far as membership and number of publications are concerned. The other groups represent various shades of left-wing socialism and communism. The most important of them is the Socialist Workers Party (S. A. P.) composed to a large extent of former left-wing Socialists and right-wing Communists. At present they are to the left of the Communist Party as well, because—strange as it may sound to an outsider—the official Communists are *now* at the extreme Right of the international radical movement. (This complete turn-about is explained by the fact that the Soviet Government is anxious to win the good will of the western world in view of possible military alliances against the German-Japanese menace.)

In a class all by itself is the ***Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampf-Bund*** or ISK (International Socialist League of Struggle). In the opinion of the ISK, a certain high standard of ethics is inseparable from the political conduct of a revolutionist—a point of view considered rather "utopian" by the more practical, hard-boiled radicals. Moreover, the ISK is opposed to the "democratic" cant affected by all revolutionary groups, and openly proclaims the aristocratic philosophy of a dictatorship by a benevolent élite.

Last but not least, there is a group of former National-Socialists calling itself the Black Front (*Die Schwarze Front*). They are headed by Dr. Otto Strasser, brother of Gregor Strasser, one of the founders and chief organizers of the Nazi Party, who was liquidated during the purge of June 30, 1934. Otto Strasser lives in Czechoslovakia, where he publishes his semi-monthly *Die Deutsche Revolution*—



GERMAN EXILE: *Otto Strasser, who directs the anti-Hitler Black Guard*

the rallying point of all malcontent National Socialists who have apparently experienced a complete change of heart. Their motto is "Neither Fascism nor Bolshevism"; there is hardly any trace of anti-Semitism in their propaganda, and they advocate a peculiar "German" aspect of democratic socialism. They had a secret broadcasting station in Czechoslovakia, which apparently aroused the anger of the authorities in the Reich. Some time ago the Gestapo succeeded in locating it. The engineer operating it was assassinated by special agents who immediately returned to Germany.

The mutual relations between the various underground organizations are more strained in Germany than they are in Italy. The Communist proposal of a united front has met with little response. Most of the revolutionary groups seem to believe that a victory over Hitler, with the help of the Communists, would soon be followed by their own extermination. The Socialists, in particular, seem to place their hopes largely upon their connections with certain dissatisfied strata among the middle classes and even among the officers of the Reichswehr. The establishment of a more or less "civilized" form of military dictatorship, as distinguished from a party dictatorship of the Nazis, has for a long time appeared to many as the only way out of the present situation.

However divided the various anti-Nazi factions may be with regard to their aims and their slogans, they all use the same technical weapons in the work of underground propaganda. The reports about the many secret printing plants and the secret publications are greatly exaggerated. Various sorts of devices, from the multigraph down to the well-nigh archaic hectograph are used, of course, for local and immediate purposes; but regular revolutionary literature is being smuggled from abroad. The radio is a great help. There are broadcasting stations in Moscow, Strassburg, and elsewhere which send out news in German. Those who have the stronger receiving sets and who know how to handle them when the Gestapo attempts to silence the forbidden waves, can get information about what is going on abroad—and in Germany as well. To a certain extent this thwarts the rigid censorship which suppresses all news that could give encouragement to the "domestic enemy."

Underground Austria

Outside of Russia, Germany, and Italy there are a few smaller countries in which suppression of all political parties has been carried out in a "totalitarian" manner. These include Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Austria. Portugal still has some underground remnants of the once influential anarcho-syndicalist movement, while in Greece the Communists represent what is left of opposition to the military dictatorship. Post-war Turkey—except for some desperate, futile protests on the part of the old-time orthodox elements—has hardly shown any political opposition to the unlimited authority of its westernizing Ghazi.

Austria, among all these "authoritarian" states, occupies a position apart. This country had had for a half a century a well-organized labor movement, German style. Yet the situation there was unlike that in the Reich after the War: there had been no outraged national pride—only bureaucrats and army officers used to be "patriots" in Austria. There had been no split in the labor movement, nor was there a spell-binding Führer to capitalize that effective trinity of anti-Semitism, anti-radicalism, and "anti-capitalism." Moreover, the fascist camp itself has been split into two hostile armies: the Nazis, who are in favor of complete union with Germany, and the Clerico-Fascists or Austro-Fascists, who want an independent Catholic Austria.

As a result, the Socialists were able to maintain their hold upon a large part of their former following and to accomplish something which hitherto has been considered a contradiction in terms—the creation of an *underground mass movement*. The bulk of the formerly organized workers has remained loyal to the old leaders who are either in hiding or in exile. The disappointment caused by the triumph of the Fascists in 1934 drove some of the younger elements into the ranks of the Communists, who hitherto had been practically without any influence.

Outlawed Communists

Some European countries are in the curious position of being neither totalitarian nor democratic. In most cases they represent more or less veiled military dictatorships which maintain certain outward characteristics of political democracy. Some of them show strong fascist tendencies—yet so far they have refrained from suppressing all political opposition. Only the Communists have been outlawed in these countries. They are not allowed to hold meetings, to form societies or to publish newspapers.



Globe

UNCOVERING THE "CAGOULARDS": *French police search an ancient chateau for fascist arms caches.*

In some of these countries this attitude towards the Communist movement is largely a hangover of the revolutionary events of the post-War period and of the early twenties; this refers particularly to Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria where the Communists were once quite influential. Driven underground, and in some cases subjected to a ruthless policy of extermination, they have been reduced to the level of insignificant sects. In those countries which border upon Russia, such as Rumania, Poland, and the Baltic republics, the official ban upon communist activities reflects military rather than political reasons. Any political movement endorsing the Soviet system in territories which, formerly belonging to Russia, either in whole or in part, is bound to be regarded by military authorities as suggesting the possibility of a Red invasion. As a result the Communists are treated not merely as political opponents, but as traitors—all of which, in a world now seething with nationalist passions, has greatly contributed to discredit them with the masses.

One of the peculiarities of the Spanish civil war is the revolutionary under-

ground or near-underground movement directed against the Leftist government of Loyalist Spain. The conspirators in the case are themselves divided into two groups: the extreme-left-wing anarchists, dubbed by their opponents as the "Incontrolados," and the P. O. U. M., *i. e.*, the Workers Party of Marxist Unity. Each of the two groups represents a tendency similar to that of the Bolsheviks during the days of the Kerensky regime, when under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets" they demanded all the power for their own party. Both of these Spanish extreme left groups believe that the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, as supported by the Right wing Socialists, the Communists, and, to a large extent, the official anarcho-syndicalist trade-unions, is mistaken, and that the establishment of a socialized economy alone could arouse in the masses that enthusiasm which would overcome the forces of Franco. The government parties, in turn, and particularly the now very influential Communists, in order to discredit their extreme-left opponents, have accused the latter of being the conscious or unconscious tools of the "Fifth Column," i. e. of the espionage and sabotage sections of the fascists on Loyalist territory. It is these accusations, coupled with the suppression of their papers, mass arrests, and assassinations of their leaders, which have forced these two groups to carry on their activities underground, while at the same time fighting at the front against the common enemy.

Fascist Conspirators

There is another Underground Europe—the world of fascist conspiracies at work in those countries in which the totalitarian system, or their own brand of a "corporate state," has not been established as yet.

The discovery of secret arms deposits effected by the French authorities in November 1937 established the existence of a vast plot aiming at the overthrow of the Popular Front government and at the inauguration of a fascist dictatorship topped by a figurehead king. The first reference to that organization was made in 1936 when the monarchist daily *Action Française* ridiculed and attached the name of *"Cagoulards"* (Hooded Ones) to a group of its own dissenting followers who advocated underground activities and the seizure of power. In the summer of 1937 they were generally credited with a very cunning stratagem: the blowing up of the building of the French National Association of Manufacturers. The conspirators hoped the deed would be charged to extreme-Leftist fanatics and thus arouse public opinion against the Popular Front regime, which is supported by both bourgeois and working class elements. It is believed that the enormous financial contributions which rendered possible the vast purchases of arms began to flow in after the country-wide "sit-down" strikes of 1936 which seriously frightened many representatives of big business.



CAMILLO BERNERI: *Leader of Spanish anarchists, assassinated by the Communists in May, 1937.*

Most influential of all the fascist organizations working underground in the other countries of Europe are the Nazis of Austria who are in favor of complete union with Germany. They are supported by large sections of the urban middle classes—university students, ex-non-commissioned officers, and plain adventurers. They are subsidized, armed and directed by the ruling party of Germany.

Ideologically related to the German and Austrian Nazis, with their all-pervading emphasis upon the Jewish problem, are the underground Fascists of Poland. They are called "National Radicals" and constitute the militant offshoot of the Rightist National Democratic Party—the party of landed aristocrats, business leaders and Catholic clergy.

Underground organizations with fascist tendencies have been carrying on their activities in all the "succession" states of Central and Eastern Europe, whose territories include substantial racial minorities, nourishing their own ambitions towards independence or, at least, autonomy. These have now adopted the terminology of fascism.

Spies, Spies, Spies

Plotting against each other and betrayal to the police are the two "occupational" diseases plaguing every revolutionary movement. In some people the ever present danger of betrayal calls forth a mild form of insanity, the mania of seeing stool-pigeons everywhere—even in one's closest friends and associates. The maniac's suspicion is usually wrong—yet the number of spies in the ranks of the conspirators is appalling.

Faced by the ever improving methods of the various secret services, the modern conspirator has hardly a chance to remain active for a long time. The German Gestapo, the Italian OVRA, the Russian GPU have at their disposal not only unlimited resources with which to buy corrupted or wavering elements among the conspirators but also have in their ranks men who are entirely familiar with all the devices of their quarry, having once themselves been active revolutionists, even terrorists, before the seizure of power had converted the poachers into game-wardens All these services—black, brown and red—have emancipated themselves from the nineteenth century "prejudices" and scruples against the use of the inhuman medieval methods of physical and psychical torture. They also send out murderers to foreign countries to do away with the leaders of the émigré conspirators.

Yet, with all these odds against it, Underground Europe goes on living and hoping for the downfall of its enemies. Aside from specific fascist groups which, like the Austrian Nazis, have the support of a strong neighbor, or, like the "Cagoulards," are backed by influential military and financial spheres, the conspirators do not hope to bring about a revolution by their own efforts. In their opinion a popular uprising that would overthrow a hated regime usually occurs spontaneously, more often than not as a result of a lost war, or at least of initial military reverses. The secret societies play their part in helping to prepare the minds and in organizing the new order after the passing of the old. And then the game starts all over again. For the passions and ambitions aroused by a sudden change of power inevitably result in new conspiracies prompted by the loftiest enthusiasms and the basest appetites.

MODEL FARMS IN MEXICO

By MAURICE HALPERIN

LESS than two hundred and fifty miles from the Texas line, in a region of north central Mexico known as the Laguna, the Mexican Government is conducting an experiment in cooperative farming quite unparalleled in the Americas, or for that matter, anywhere in the world. Some have compared this bold undertaking with the Scandinavian and others with the Russian system of collectivized agriculture, but it has certain distinctive features which make it peculiarly Mexican, as intrinsically native as the *tortilla* and the *tamale*.

As its name implies, the Laguna is an area which periodically becomes a vast swamp covered with stagnant water. Once a year the Nazas River, originating in the nearby mountains of Durango, goes on a rampage. Millions of cubic feet of turgid water race down its dry, rocky bed and spill into a flat, arid valley. Much like the ancient Nile, the Nazas deposits tons of silt where it floods, and this silt, rich in organic matter, turns the Laguna into a fertile plain, a veritable oasis surrounded by parched, forbidding lands and bleak, barren mountains.

Naturally the Laguna territory was always highly coveted, and so from early colonial times on into the present decade this region, most of it staked off into huge latifundia, became the object of furious controversies and often of bloody conflicts. During the last half-century, with the help of an elaborate system of irrigation, the Laguna has become one of the finest and most profitable cotton-growing regions in the world, with wheat as a dependable secondary crop.

According to the census of 1930, practically the entire three and three-quarter million acres (of which about 15 per cent can now be cultivated) in the Laguna belonged to 221 individuals or corporations. This represents an average of 17,000 acres per plantation, though a number of holdings went above 50,000 acres. In addition, there were several hundred farmers who clung to small parcels, some no larger than 15 acres and most of them under 125.

This system of landholding was largely responsible for the fact that the Laguna, especially in recent years, had become a chronic national problem. There were several aspects to this problem, but by far the most serious and urgent was the increasingly bitter and violent feeling between the planters and the peons. The latter were, strictly speaking, agricultural workers rather than peasants, and so they adopted trade union methods to obtain better wages.

The first cotton-workers' organization dates back to 1921. A long series of labor-employer difficulties culminated in the tragic events of June, 1930, when 21 peons were shot to death and 11 wounded during a manifestation in Matamoros. This, however, was only the beginning of more serious disturbances. Wages in 1932 dropped to 33 centavos (less than an American dime) per day. Spurred on by hunger, the Laguneros strengthened their union. Another riot in 1935 claimed several more victims. Finally, in August, 1936, the union called a general strike to secure better pay and collective contracts from the planters.

When the strike went into its third week, endangering the crop and forecasting economic disaster, President Cárdenas called upon the workers to return to the fields, promising to secure them a satisfactory settlement. He kept his word. On October 6, he issued the historic decree ordering the expropriation of nearly one million acres and their distribution among the plantation workers.

The act of expropriation was not, in itself, an unusual occurrence. It is plainly sanctioned by Mexico's constitution and since the beginning of 1935, for example, approximately 24,000,000 acres were cut away from large, feudal estates and turned over to landless peasants in the form of *ejidos* (pronounced á-hée-dough), or inalienable village communal lands. Most of the *ejidos*, however, have been organized on the basis of small, individual lots suitable only for bare subsistence farming. The chief significance of the Laguna land reform lies in the establishment of cooperative *ejidos*, supplied with abundant government



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

DUG-OUT HOMES: *Such were the living quarters of the Laguna peons under the old system. As the name implies, the Laguna periodically becomes a vast swamp*



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

THE NEW ORDER: *Cottages for cooperative farmers are now made of wood and of dobie brick. In contrast to the foul, unsightly shacks and caves these homes have windows and concrete floors.*

credit, and dedicated to large-scale, mechanized agriculture.

Cooperation in Practice

The advantages of the cooperative method in the Laguna region are so obvious that once the land was expropriated, there was no question of any other type of organization. In early December, through the regular legal procedure, nearly 270 *ejidos* were set up (they now number over 280) including altogether some 30,000 expeons who, with their families, make up a total population estimated at 150,000 people. The *ejidos* vary considerably in size and in the number of members, depending chiefly on the original distribution of the population among the plantations and the quality of the land granted. All in all, about 250,000 acres were cultivated this year, 90 per cent of it in cotton.

On the other hand, each cooperative operates on a similar plan. Every *ejido* is thus a self-governing, democratic community whose lands are worked in common for both mutual and individual benefit. Profits are not shared among the communities, so that each *ejido* must stand on its own feet. This makes for healthy intercommunity competition, and there is a noticeable difference in efficiency and earning power among them.

Then, as an incentive for individual ffort, the *ejidatario*, or cooperative armer, is paid primarily for what he imself produces and only for those ays he works. There are standard aily wages ranging from one and a alf pesos for common labor to six sos for mechanics, tractor operators, d other skilled workers (a peso is worth 28 American cents). Then, when the crop is harvested, and all expenses including wages are deducted, the remaining sum or profit is divided up among the *ejidatarios* on the basis of the number of days worked rather than the type of work done.

Thus, while individual effort is rewarded, the community spirit is preserved. The writer witnessed the distribution of wheat profits at several *ejidos*. In one, 7,000 pesos were divided up among 98 farmers, and though a majority of them received in the neighborhood of 80 to 85 pesos, some earned only 35 and others as high as 135 pesos. In another, 66 *ejidatarios* received a total of 53,000 pesos, with the high man getting over 1,400 pesos and the low man 290. However, the first cooperative is expecting a much higher yield for its cotton, while the second produces very little cotton.

Credit Facilities

The initial survival of the Laguna cooperatives depends to a large extent upon credit facilities. According to Mexican law, only the land was expropriated, and funds were needed for machinery, mules, seed, and other necessities, including wages until the crops could be harvested. These funds were supplied by the Federal Government through its National Bank of Ejido Credit. For this first year of operation a total of some thirty million pesos were turned over to the *ejidos*, about two thirds in the form of one-year loans for operating expenses and one third in the form of five-year loans for tractors, trucks, electric water pumps, and other heavy equipment, practically all of it American made. The long-term loan is payable in five equal annual installments, and both loans bear eight per cent interest.

To administer these funds the bank has set up its regional headquarters in Torreón. In addition, it has organized the co-operatives into twenty-four districts, with a "zone chief," employed by the bank, in charge of each. In turn, every *ejido* is at the same time a "credit society" with an elected "delegate" (usually the *ejido* president) to serve as representative of his community in its dealing with the bank.

The National Bank of Ejido Credit, however, is much more than a financial institution. It is also the agency through which the Government supplies much needed technical assistance and social aid. At least half the cooperative farmers are illiterate. They are capable workers, as far as traditional Mexican agricultural methods go, but totally ignorant of modern, scientific soil cultivation. They have lived in unspeakable squalor all their lives, without even the most elementary notions of personal or public hygiene.

Hence, the "zone chief" is more than an administrative official; he is a trained agronomist who lives and works with his *ejidatarios*, training them in the best methods of mechanized farming. The bank also employs engineers, economists, veterinarians and other technicians. It has set up various medical units which have attended to more than 70,000 patients and performed over 5,000 operations. It cooperates with the Federal Department of Education in setting up new schools for both children and adults. It serves as a central purchasing agency of machinery and supplies and together with

the government's treasury department helps market the crops.

Cooperative Complexities

Viewing the Laguna experiment from the inside, as the writer did, one is as much impressed by its closely interwoven complexities as by what it has accomplished or failed to achieve. This year's cotton crop is estimated to reach one hundred thousand bales, 30 per cent below reasonable expectation. This was due principally to a lack of sufficient water, but not all the blame can be laid at nature's door. The change from semi-feudal to cooperative farming involves innumerable social adjustments, many of which interfere with productive efficiency. Besides the obvious mechanical difficulties of reorganizing community work, disputes arise between *ejidos* and officials of the bank, between rival labor groups within the *ejidos*, between the *ejidos* and the former plantation owners, and between the latter and government agrarian authorities.

With the passing of time, many of these controversies have already subsided. Eventually most of them should disappear entirely. Those problems relating to the dispossessed landlords, however, are still troublesome. Each planter was allowed to keep the best 300 acres of his estate, the maximum size for a "small" farm, which, according to Mexican law, cannot be affected by expropriation. Thus the old *hacendados* still remain in the area, and there is bound to be friction between them and their former peons. In some cases the landlords deliberately damaged the irrigation ditches in order to break down the water supply of the *ejidos*.

This, however, is by no means true of all planters or their agents. None, of course, is happy about his situation, but many accept their fate with a good deal of calm. The writer talked at length with one large landholder. He is quite naturally critical of the Laguna situation and feels somewhat bitter about his losses. He has, moreover, failed to apply for the agrarian bonds which the Government offers as compensation for his expropriated acres, because he would receive only enough to cover the declared tax evaluation of his land, which is much less than its real value.

Then again, he could not convert these bonds into cash, though he might exchange them for 40-year government debt bonds which today are accepted at par value only for payment of taxes. Furthermore, he is unable to come to terms with the government on the amount due him for his wells, electric equipment, warehouses, cotton gins, and other improvements for which the Government promises to pay cash. Perhaps he also has hidden hopes that some day his land will be returned to him, and he would rather not jeopardize his title to it by accepting payment.

"Something to Eat Every Day"

At the present time, however, there is scant prospect that he will ever get his vast cotton fields back. The cooperative farmers of the Laguna, for one thing, are determined to keep their newly acquired lands, since their lot has been immeasurably improved under the new system. For a full year now, they have had something to eat every day, and this novel experience has been exceedingly pleasant. Most of them can now purchase a few of the simpler necessities of civilized living; some have even bought sewing machines. In many communities neatly plastered dobie brick houses, small and simple, but with windows and concrete floors, have already begun to replace the foul, unsightly shacks and caves in which they live. There are new schools, basketball courts, and plans for sanitary drinking water.

To consider the Laguna experiment as a total success or total failure, as some have done, is mere wishful thinking. Relatively speaking, however, and in terms of the immediate welfare of the Laguna farmers and the nation as a whole, the setting up of the cooperative system has undoubtedly been justified. On that score, the Federal Government is entirely satisfied. The *ejidos* are paying their debts and a plan is already in operation whereby eventually the government bank will become the property of the cooperatives. As a permanent solution to the problem of water supply, the Government is building a giant earth dam, possibly the largest in the world, at Palmito, 125 miles west of the Laguna proper. When completed (in 1940 according to the plan), it will supply enough water to double the present area under cultivation. Thus it expects cotton production, in a short time, to reach much higher levels than ever before. Finally it has demonstrated its confidence in the Laguna cooperatives by initiating a similar project, on an even larger scale, in the henequin-growing areas of the Yucatan.



Courtesy Mexican National Museum of Industry; photo by Gutman and Pomar

LOADING WATERMELON: *For a full year now, the cooperative farmers at Laguna have had something to eat every day It is a novel experience, exceedingly pleasant. A few have been able to purchase the simpler necessities of civilized living.*

EUROPE'S ANTI-SEMITIC TWINS

I. Rumania

By H. J. SELIGMANN

IT IS one of the ironies and apparent contradictions of the present situation of the Jews in Rumania that a height of agitation and overt action against them has come at a time of relative national prosperity.

I say apparent contradiction, because it is usually the case that anti-Semitism grows and finds fertile soil when economic conditions are excessively bad and a scapegoat is needed. But in this land of fable, of ox-carts winding slowly along white roads; of great heaps of gold-bearing sand in the mountains with extracting plants casually alongside, of corn fields twenty miles wide; of oil wells and of black-eyed peasants in white pantaloons and embroidered vests, contradiction must be expected. So that with the capital city, Bucharest, a scene of such tearing up of streets, of building of new and modern buildings as one might expect in New York, with the boulevards humming with new automobiles, with prices of grain, oil, and lumber rising—there has been nevertheless a tremendous crescendo in anti-Jewish agitation.

For the causes of this agitation one must look to internal political grounds, and to international relations as they affect internal politics in Rumania.

The December elections resulted in a state of complete political chaos. The Tatarescu Government received only 154 out of 387 mandates. The second strongest group, the National Peasant Party, gained 86. The other parties bidding for power, but with less success, were the *Totul Pentru Tzara* (All for the Fatherland) Party, of which the backbone is Codreanu's Iron Guard; the anti-Semitic party of *Vaida Voyevod*, and the National Christian Party of Cuza and Goga, which flaunts the swastika over its headquarters in Bucharest.

It was to this last violently anti-Jewish and pro-German group, which received less than ten per cent of the total votes, that King Carol finally entrusted the task of forming a government.

No minority appeared strong enough to rule, and factional disputes eliminated the possibility of a strong combination of parties. The result of this political bankruptcy would seem inevitably to be a fascist regime based upon the dominant issue on which the whole election campaign was based. It is an issue which has been so thoroughly dinned into the ears and consciousness of the population of Rumania that no party can take an opposition stand on it without imperiling a large portion of its votes.

That issue is anti-Semitism. All roads in the examination of political currents in Rumania lead inevitably to this one issue. A press which for the most part hardly cares to conceal that it is subsidized by funds coming from outside Rumania proclaims the issue day after day. It does so in terms familiar to those acquainted with Streicher's *Stuermer*. In a single issue of one of these papers, *Porunca Vremii*, one might find: a slogan urging Rumanian women to buy not a single pin from the Jews; a leading article purporting to tell how Jews sell their God; a symposium on how to get rid of Jews, with a contribution from a former cabinet minister; a Rumanian catechism pointing out not only that Jews have no equal rights but these rights are mere "constitutional fetichism—a laughable heritage of the nineteenth century."

Press Propaganda

The press of which this kind of journalism is typical is dominant in Rumania. It was so much so that last year it was physically dangerous to be seen buying or reading a liberal or democratic newspaper; and organized gangs of hooligans burned such papers in the streets. This year there are armed sentries guarding the entrance to the liberal paper, *Dimineata*. And on the train, crossing the frontier into Poland, a woman with whom I had been talking and who made no secret of her aversion to exaggerated nationalism, spread out a copy of one of these nationalistic sheets, *Universul*, on her lap, remarking apologetically that it might have a good effect on the officials with whom she would have to deal.

Two semi-fascist states edge nearer to Germany in their racial policies

In Bucharest people point out the large white 12-story building, estimated to have cost 60 million lei ($400,000), recently erected for *Curentul*, one of the leading reactionary newspapers. The circulation of *Curentul* is 40,000. It has few advertisements. Gossip, undenied by the paper, has it that the funds to finance the building came from a foreign country.

Naturally, Germany is most frequently mentioned as the source of funds financing anti-Semitic sheets. It should not be forgotten that, apart from the convenience for Rumanian politicians of anti-Semitism as a political red herring to obscure all other issues, it also represents Germany's chief instrument for political penetration in Eastern Europe. Three or four years ago there was no such thing in Rumania as a dominant anti-Semitic press. Today there are 40 such dailies and probably more than 100 weeklies.

France may still control Rumanian foreign policy and military preparation. General Gamelin may inspect the fortifications in Rumania's Hungarian frontier. But German anti-Semitism now one of the chief export commodities of the Third Reich, reaches groups in the population which diplomacy does not touch. Utilize the channels of the increasingly active trade between Germany and Rumania to promulgate anti-Semitism, and you create a bond of sympathy between the two nations which might be extremely important in war time.

Commercial Exclusion

The cynical brutality with which the campaign of slander against Jews is conducted in the press, has its counterpart in the administrative measures intended to deprive them of citizenship and of the opportunity for earning a livelihood. The National Bank declines to rediscount notes issuing from Jewish businesses. Government-backed cooperatives take over trade in products formerly dealt in by Jews. Despite the failure of the Government to pass a law requiring employment of 75 per cent "native Rumanians," administrative pressure accomplishes the same end; and Jewish employers must either dismiss trusted employees or carry needless help on their payroll.

There may be a shortage of engineers for the building operations that are rapidly transforming Bucharest

into a modern city. But Jews will not be given jobs. There may be only 1400 doctors for the 16 million people who live on the land out of the total population of 18 million. But Jewish doctors are excluded from medical courses in Rumanian universities, only four having been admitted this past year. None of the four could attend the lectures because they were not admitted to the University grounds. The four Jewish attorneys employed by the Bucharest municipality were given plain warning by a group of hooligans that, if they did not "voluntarily" resign, their lives would be in danger. As there is no hesitancy in beating Jewish lawyers and inflicting serious bodily injuries, their positions are hardly secure.

In the field of export and import, owing to currency and other restrictions, permits are required for all operations. Jewish firms find extreme difficulty in obtaining permits, as they do also in meeting the complicated and rigorous tax exactions. One respected Jewish merchant in a town not far from Bucharest hanged himself because the taxes demanded of him had ruined him.

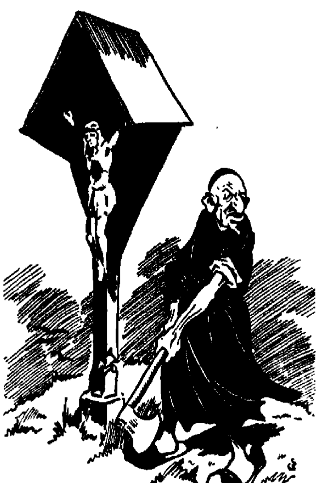
Even in the field of education, the process goes relentlessly forward of inseminating and disseminating the anti-Jewish virus. Pastor Dominic N. Ionescu published in Bucharest this year a history of the Rumanian Orthodox Church. It is intended for official use in the fourth class of the high school (Gymnasium). In the cover design, clearly visible under a magnifying glass, is the swastika. Inside the cover of this official text book are poems in which Christ is portrayed as lamenting the torments inflicted upon him on the cross by the "Jew dogs."

The systematic exclusion of Jews from commerce, the professions, official appointments, and the handicrafts, is producing a rapid pauperization of all groups. A well informed observer estimated that from 60 to 70 per cent of the Jews in Bucharest had no bed of their own—that all but a third of the Jews had to share a bed with others and he said it was not uncommon for from two to five persons to share one bed.

Moreover the Jewish institutional relief, formerly supported as is the work of other religious groups out of taxes, is now being deprived of this aid. Their proportion to the general population as taxpayers entitled the Jewish community institutions to 80 million lei in government subventions annually. That was cut down in 1936 to six million lei and in 1937 to one million which has not yet been paid.

All of this administrative anti-Semitism is a response to the extreme nationalism, financed from outside Rumania and preached by such pure-blooded Rumanians as Codreanu whose father was a Pole and whose mother was a German; Jorga whose mother was Greek; Ioanitescu of Serbian descent, and Myrto Edward of Italian parentage and nationality.

It has its counterpart in the persecution of the other minorities included





Henry C. Wolfe

PROPAGANDA: *European anti-Semitic posters. The top one is inscribed, "From Moscow to Madrid, that's the way they work" The lower one, "The fate of a nation is destruction if it is not racially conscious"*

in the Rumanian borders: the 1,800,000 former Hungarians, and the Russians in the province of Bessarabia. The total number of the national minorities in Rumania is not far short of 4,500,000 or nearly 25 per cent of the entire population. They too are to have a less favored position in the Rumanian nation and are to regard themselves and be regarded as cultural inferiors. Of these minority groups the Jews are the smallest, numbering 800,000 or 4.6 per cent of the population. It is this which makes them especially vulnerable. Not only are they weak in numbers but they lack any protector save the conscience of mankind.

The atmosphere which has been created is such that from the King down, no politician and no party dares to take a stand against anti-Semitism. The King has never officially received any Jewish delegation. Octavian Goga, the new Premier, has stated as his program, "Rumania for Rumanians, based on Christ, King, and Nation." Even Mihalache, leader of the National Peasant Party, announced in September that he was for "solving the Jewish problem in Rumania." So, whatever direction the December elections might take it was certain that they would be preceded and accompanied by a torrent of the most unbridled defamation of Jews. There were, as there have been before, direct incitements to violence. It is clear that for the present the position of the Jewish minority, the whipping boy of Rumanian politics, can only become more difficult.

The new Government's first move, upon its accession to power was the threat of widespread anti-Semitic measures. If these result in depriving Jews of their citizenship, their position will become catastrophic. To be deprived of citizenship in Europe today is to lose the right to work, to earn a living. So that despite the difficulties of the Jewish population in Poland, subjected to economic warfare, boycott and terrorism, the situation in Rumania is potentially more dangerous. The Government is deliberate in its campaign of economic extirpation. And a situation might easily be created calling for deliberation by the League of Nations.

The parties have adopted Hitlerite slogans and methods. The people are being subjected to an unremitting flood of scurrility which can hardly fail, in time, to produce something of its intended effect. That the press campaign and agitation have not produced more violence thus far, is due first to the fact that the printed matter is not taken too seriously; and second to a decency among the people which is illustrated by the remark a peasant made when he was urged to attack a Jew: "He is even poorer than I am," said the peasant. "Why, then, should I beat him?"

II. Poland

By EMIL LENGYEL

THE recent outbreak of virulent anti-Semitism in Poland has aroused international attention. The American Section of the International League for Academic Freedom, associated with 110 universities, appealed to the Polish Ministry of Education to abolish the humiliating "ghetto benches" for Jewish students. A few days afterwards, late in December, the Committee on International Relations of the American Association of University Professors, five Nobel Prize winners, 59 university and college presidents, and 107 deans and professors, all non-Jews, condemned the introduction of "ghetto benches" as "absolutely destructive of gains in human progress." Almost at the same time, the American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities made public a non-sectarian appeal to the Polish Government and nation, on behalf of Polish Jews.

Extreme nationalism in Poland has declared war on moderation. Fascistic ideology is spreading rapidly, partly an importation from the German neighbor, and partly native to the soil. Efforts to set up a totalitarian state have been intensified. The Polish Government has proclaimed its wish to get a part of the Jewish population out of the country. It is taking a deep interest in the solution of the Palestine problem The French Government is reported to have expressed its willingness to study the possibility of opening up Madagascar or New Caledonia to Jewish settlement. Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos of France tried to impress upon the Warsaw authorities the desirability of keeping anti-Semitism under control, when he visited the Polish capital in December.

Anti-Jewish agitation in Poland is being carried on mostly by two extreme reactionary parties, camouflaged as progressives. The National Democratic Party, whose members are briefly referred to as the "Endeks," has a long record of lawlessness covering the last two decades of Polish independence. It is violently anti-everything, including the Germans, Russians, Czechoslovaks, and the non-Endek Poles. The National Radical Party, known as "Nara," is the other semi-terroristic organization. Although it is less than four years old, it has acquired a name as a movement of aggressively anti-Semitic national-bolshevism in a Nazi-fascist shape.

What form has anti-Semitism taken in Poland, and to what extent is the government involved in it? What is the background of the anti-Jewish movement?

The "ghetto benches," which have so aroused American educators, are Jim Crow sections for Jewish students in Polish schools of higher learning. They originated at the University of Wilno, the rector of which authorized professors in February 1937 to assign special benches to Jewish students. The Jews, however, refused to occupy these seats, were forced to leave their classes, but were re-admitted later on the condition that they would share a special section with other so-called non-Poles. In the summer semester the idea spread to other universities.

At Warsaw University Endek and Nara students adopted the policy of stamping students' cards "left side" or "right side," depending upon their religion. In the Polytechnic Institute of Warsaw, according to the Congress Bulletin, Jewish students were assigned seats marked "W" (*Wzajemna Pomoc*), while the Poles were given seats in section "B" (*Bratnia Pomoc*), denoting the initials of their organizations. The Jewish students of this institute remained standing throughout the lectures.

In the universities of Cracow and Lwow, in the formerly Austrian part of Poland, Endek students ordered the Jews to take seats at the left in the classroom. When they refused to comply, many of them were beaten up, but guards and the police, otherwise so eager to interfere, this time refused to stop the scuffle. Some professors sided with the trouble-makers, others remained neutral or took an opposite stand.

Non-Aryan students were refused admission to classes on "Jewless Days" introduced at Warsaw and Wilno universities. "Only a separate university for the Jews will restore order," wrote the newspaper *ABC*, mouthpiece of the Naras. "We must endeavor to have Polish universities closed permanently," Wilno extreme nationalists exhorted their followers on handbills. "In Poland we have too much so-called culture." The *ABC* announced triumphantly: "The introduction of the ghetto in the schools is a great victory for academic youth. We are attaining 'Nara' demands."

Article No. 7 of the Polish Constitution says: "The rights of a citizen to exert influence on public affairs will be measured by the value of his efforts and services for a common good Neither origin, religion, sex or nationality can constitute a cause of limitation of such rights." But, it is charged, Jewish rights to education have been abridged. In the academic year 1924–1925 an unofficial *numerus clausus* was introduced for Jewish students. While total enrolment between 1921 and 1935 increased from 34,266 to 47,161, the number of Jewish students during the same period decreased from 8,426 to 6,207, dropping from 24.6 per cent to 13.2 per cent This is still in excess of the proportion of Poland's Jewish population, which is slightly less than 10 per cent, but Jewish spokesmen assert that the basis of computation should be the proportion of the Jews to the urban population, 25 per cent, if there is to be any limitation of numbers, which, they maintain, is contrary to the law.

The "ghetto bench" is, however, merely one of the problems of Polish Jewry. More than 3,000,000 Jews of Poland are passing through a tragic era. The majority of them are facing slow starvation, and only a thin upper crust of industrialists, bankers, and professionals is self-sustaining. Again Polish Jews are forced to trade among themselves, and endless hours of work and futile waiting are rewarded with pittances that leave them demoralized and undernourished. In the poverty-stricken ghettos, earnings of $10 a month are considered exceptional. In countless ways the Jew's chance of filling his stomach is restricted. A few samples are given in the following

The Polish state enjoys a unique position as the country's largest employer. It owns and controls the railway, postal, telegraph, and telephone systems. It is heavily engaged in mining and foundry enterprises, trading concerns and forest reserves. The government's monopolies include salt, tobacco, spirits, matches, and lotteries Out of the more than million persons employed by the government, less than two per cent are Jews, and their number is decreasing.

One of the grievances of the Jews of Poland is about recent laws governing the crafts. Under the new regulation, young people may be apprenticed only to registered masters, but Jewish artisans are refused these guild certificates, so that only one out of 18 of them has the right to hire help. Thus the Czarist system of forcing Jews into trade is perpetuated.

Jews are run out of business by disproportionate taxes, and the collection

methods are said to be brutal. "Notwithstanding the exorbitant taxation," says a Jewish complaint submitted to the Warsaw government, "the Polish authorities discriminate against the Jews where employment and work projects, credit-grants to cooperative and credit societies, and subventions to Jewish communal institutions are concerned."

We learn that in Warsaw, where Jews comprise 30 per cent of the population, less than 8 per cent of the employed on relief projects are Jews. Village cooperative societies are extended state credit and other forms of assistance for the purpose of eliminating Jewish traders. As a glaring example of anti-Jewish legislation, the law for the mechanization of the bakeries is quoted. This law provides that bakery licenses may be renewed only to owners of modernized bakeries, but, while non-Jews are given credit, Jews are left in the cold.

Unofficial Restrictions

The prevailing anti-Semitic policy has also infiltrated non-government organizations. A short time ago, the Barristers' Union introduced a *numerus clausus* for Jewish lawyers. The Physicians' Union imitated its example, but had to retract. In certain communities "Jewish market-days" are being propagandized. Boycotts of Jewish stores follow the traditional Nazi pattern.

The extreme nationalists have inaugurated a reign of terror. The Prime Minister himself admitted more than 300 attacks on Jews in the Bialystok district alone. In 1936 at least 09 Jews were killed and 800 wounded in pogroms. Jewish property was bombed, synagogues and cemeteries were desecrated. Several Jewish newspapers were confiscated for printing reports about the closing of a Jewish benevolent society in Germany. At the same time, anti-Semitic publications are allowed to go on a rampage.

The Government itself denies its anti-Semitic bias. Professor Ignatz Moscicki, President of the Republic, is said to look upon the persecution of the Jews with displeasure. Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly, who is now being built up synthetically as the country's Fuehrer, was not anti-Jewish in his younger days. But one of the keymen of the cabinet, Foreign Minister Colonel Josef Beck, is violently in love with Nazism. The Camp of National Unity, founded by Colonel Adam Koc under government auspices, accepted anti-Semitism as a keystone of its policy last spring. The "Camp" is cast for the rôle of the all-inclusive movement of a semi-fascistic regime. It seems to be a compromise with the totalitarian principle, dear to the hearts of Hitler and Mussolini.

The Cabinet thus does not seem to be of one mind in regard to this vital issue. Some of its members are trying to remain true to the traditions of young post-War Poland, nurtured into life by the late Marshal Josef Pilsudski. The Marshal was well acquainted with the martyrology of the Jews under the Russian regime. Some of his best fellow-fighters were Jews.

Tradition Plays Its Part

The tragic plight of the Polish Jews is partly due to history and tradition. The crisis is not today's making. Three-fourths of post-War Poland belonged to pre-War Russia. In the Czar's Empire the Jews were restricted to the cities of the Jim Crow section of the country, the Pale, today partly Polish and partly Russian Ukrainian. They could not acquire land or engage in crafts unless their ability to pay was in proportion with the Russian officials' capacity for bribes. Hence they had to become tradesmen and professionals. Today, about 74 per cent of the Polish Jews are tradesmen, mostly on a diminutive scale. Furthermore, they are city people.

The pre-war Poles were largely peasants. They were not encouraged to study. Today a new generation has arrived on the scene, suffering from pre-war traditions and the inability of post-War governments to help. It is looking for a scapegoat, and the Jew was created for that rôle, since he has no ambassadors and battleships to protect him. Poland's air is saturated with Hitlerite obsession. The two countries are too close together and Germany's national individuality is too pronounced. Nationalism in Poland has come with a vengeance, intensified by the reaction to Russian internationalism. The suppressed emotions of a century and a half, when Poland was in bondage, have caused an excess of patrioteering. The lure of the city is strong for the younger generation, and the peasants' sons want to be professionals and tradesmen. Their motto is "Poland for the Poles." Their Slavic temperament sometimes makes them go to extremes. They do not seem to realize that the Jews were at home on this soil for centuries. Nor do they let themselves remember the heroic part Jewish fighters for Polish independence played in their country's history. All they remember is today, and they are impatient to make their mark at the expense of their neighbor. The varnish of patriotism is very superficial. The struggle is on for a piece of bread.



MORE PROPAGANDA: *A German-Polish newspaper shows a cartoon depicting a train with special carriages for dogs and for Jews.*

BUILDING AND THE LABOR UNIONS

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the sixth of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press later this year. The seventh installment will appear in the March issue of Current History.

THE building industry, a congeries of many diverse trades, is less a business than a form of speculation. On the one hand it is balance-wheel and barometer of American prosperity. It is a chief market for steel, stone, brick, paper, paint, glass. New buildings for factory, store, office, home immensely widen the demand for fan-belts, show-cases, filing cabinets and the almost endless array of commodities that come under the heading of household wares. In "good times" it employs about 2,165,000 workers annually. Millions of other wage-earners depend upon its highs, lows, and medians. It is the largest single disburser of wages in the United States. Its leading firms, in their complete service from the architect's first smudgy "rough" to the completed skyscraper challenging the wind's might and the lightnings of the rain, epitomize America's power-age efficiency.

On the other hand, the building industry is a symbol of what happens to men, money, morals, materials, and machines when competition becomes unbridled and gallops away down that road of rapacity which we colloquially and more candidly call racketeering. An unholy alliance between the corrupt and corrupting contractor, the boss in the back-room, and the union business agent still account for hundreds of schools, hospitals, courthouses, along with private structures, that give a new meaning to the word "jerry-built" and that have enriched the underworld's argot with the term "get a contract," used to describe every mode of earning a living as if all Americans were a race of pirates existing on extortion.

Whereas many participants in the building industry remain men of honor and probity, its unsavory practices have for two generations done much to lower our business ethics by the easy expedient of removing their foundation of simple honesty. Hence the unions within that industry reflect a similar departure from the rules of virtue. Nowhere else in fact, is there to be found so cogent a proof of the axiom that unionism in America is merely the other side of capitalism's coin. It is the same coin. It is not a token of any other minting.

In general, four indigenous conditions keep the building industry in a state of turbulence and allow the doctrines of laissez-faire to reach a final ferocity. It is carried on out-of-doors. It resorts to that systemless system known as "contracting." It is mutable as mercury. It endows the union's business agent with the powers of a despot.

It differs from manufacturing, for example, in that the latter is usually conducted within a plant, its location fixed, its labor force relatively stable. A factory, moreover, has ample storage space for materials to meet emergencies, either for shutting down or for quickening operations. But the sheer bulkiness of building materials means that they have to be used promptly, especially in an urban area. They also have to be delivered on the site to "jibe" with the arrival of the thousand and one other ingredients that the modern edifice requires. Weather hazards of rain, sleet, or high-winds can slow down the process of erection to an appreciable extent, often stopping it entirely—a serious risk since most building has to be completed within a specified date on penalty of forfeit. If, for instance, a contractor fails to have an apartment house ready for the renting season, he faces great loss, perhaps bankruptcy.

And as if to confound confusion all the more, the task of putting up a building is only technically in the hands of a single contractor. He is, of course, legally responsible for fulfilling the terms of his accepted bid as to size and the time of completion. Yet he is usually a broker, parceling out portions of the work to a myriad of sub-contracting specialists in structural steel skeletons, in brick-laying, in decoration, and the like. Too often he is merely a shoe-string speculator, animated more by hope and nerve than by knowledge, and properly belonging to the company of the faro-wheel or the roulette table. Moreover, the contractor, as a species, often travels from city to city whenever an old job is finished and a new job is beginning, and his labor force is almost as migratory. Its interests are not tied up with a single employer but with many. In 1921 the Hoover Committee on Waste in Industry found that "one man, in the course of five and one half years, worked for 76 different contractors, and was hired 108 times."

Yet the urgent necessity for maintaining a steady competent labor supply remains the chief cause of the contractor's vexations. He is, after all, always working against a deadline inexorable as fate, and speed is the essence of his effort. The sheer passage of time, the fads and customs of renting and moving, and "doing the house over" seasons all conspire to give the workers a bargaining advantage that they seldom enjoy elsewhere. Refusal to meet the wage and hour demands of his employees may make the contractor lose his shirt, since a strike in his particular industry is not so much a work-stoppage as a calamity. It expunges precious hours and days from a calendar that almost always is too short. If he fails to satisfy his workers, they lay down their tools with decision and dispatch and watch the clock tick their employer into terms. If he tries to hold out against union claims, his only recourse is to hire strike-breakers, who are usually wasteful and inefficient and who are in imminent danger of receiving a sock on the chin from some union-hired thug. In this regard, of course, the contractors have only themselves to blame for the introduction of such strong-arm methods. Around the turn of the century in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, they began to employ toughs and gunmen to beat up recalcitrant labor officials who insisted that union standards, such as the closed shop, be enforced. In retaliation, unionists engaged the services of "gorillas" to slug "scabs" or to dynamite a half-completed structure of a contractor who wouldn't recognize the validity of union rules. Long before prohibition raised gangsterism to its highest glory, employers and unionists

had done more than any other groups in the country to smooth the path for the shake-down artist who provides "protection" on a weekly fee, and for other racketeers.

Power for Labor Officials

Naturally the immense influence wielded by the building trades unions has endowed its labor officials with a power often abused. The exercise of that power centers chiefly in the person of the union's "business agent." Three definite union needs presided over his birth in the early 1880's and his evolution has coincided, step by step, with the development of the industry from a handicraft to a "technologically tenuous" pursuit. In the epoch of bustles and bicycles-built-for-two, every union—as it grew in membership and strength—began to require a full-time official to represent it in its relations with the employer, with other unions, and to guide its internal affairs. Previously this function had been assigned to the traditional "job steward," as old as unionism itself. He examined "union cards," collected dues, kept non-unionists off the premises, saw to it that apprenticeship and other working rules were minded. And so long as the association between worker and employer remained in essentials that of the master journeyman and craftsmen, the "job-steward" sufficed.

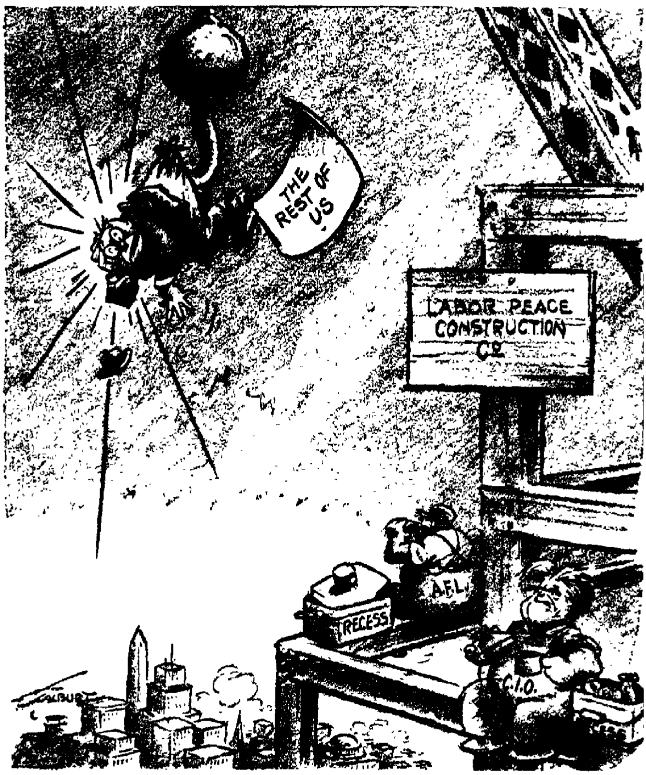
But when, around the late nineteenth century, progress in science and invention changed construction methods from handwork to mechanized processes, and added to the "primary" brick and wood of the mason and carpenter a score of new materials and a score of new crafts, the situation became too complex for the "job steward" to handle and also to perform his own task.

He was, after all, an employee. If he paid more attention to union routine than to his own work, the employer would seek to get even by "riding" him, by giving him more arduous assignments since, as a union-member, he was immune from discharge for "union activity."

With the growth of sub-contracting, moreover, infractions of union regulations were more frequent and the unions had to have someone who could be always on the lookout to safeguard their interests. Hence the "business agent" in taking over the duties of the job steward, and amplifying them, rapidly rose to dominance in the union's affairs. Since he was hired by the union he could talk back to the boss with impunity. Since he could devote his whole day to union problems, he gradually fused into his own hands a manifold array of functions. He visited the job to reconcile any disagreements that might have occurred, to thwart violation of various and sundry union "rights, claims and priorities."

Today he also often serves as employment agent, treasurer, overseer, unions and can lay plans for "sympathetic" walkouts.

But the business agent's ace-in-the-hole is his power to call strikes. The speed with which building construction is conducted makes the reference of disagreements to a union meeting or an "arbitration board" virtually impossible. Disputes have to be settled on the spot, and at once. The business agent, as union leader, is therefore



N. Y. World Telegram

THIS SUSPENSE IS AWFUL

and organizer with all the prerogatives of the grand panjandrum in the Caliph's court. His many offices bring him tremendous influence, and often an even more tremendous revenue. He "gets around a lot." He knows where the "best," i.e. the longer-lasting, jobs are to be found and how they are to be dispensed.

The employer, of course, realizes that the "good will" of the business agent is not only valuable but vital. For the latter appears for the union in arranging wage-scales and working rules and can penalize the contractor for ignoring either or both. The business agent is also his union's spokesman in central labor councils, where he meets his prototypes from other judge, jury, clerk, and court-crier. He decides. And since he usually has "understandings" with the business agents of other unions, he can not only call for a strike for his own members but also often obtain "a sympathetic strike" involving all other workers on the job, enabling him to paralyze the most gigantic project within fifteen or twenty minutes.

Extortion by "Business Agents"

The temptations to exploit all this influence for personal gain are always present, and largely irresistible. The contractor, of every degree and kind, is willing to pay for freedom from strikes, and to pay through the nose. In New York City, for example, from 1919–



A number of New York City's slum sections, such as these, have been torn down and . . .

1922, the notorious "labor czar" Robert Brindle was a sort of "super-business agent" who took all of the city's building trades for his province. He had on his payroll a gang of expert manipulators of Thompson submachine guns. They "persuaded" unionists to strike when Brindle thought they should strike, whether they wanted to or not. Although almost everyone in the business knew his *modus operandi*, his intimate Tammany Hall connections permitted him to exact anywhere from $1000 to $25,000 as a levy for his unique brand of "strike insurance."

As a whole building trade unionists are indifferent or resigned to this apotheosis of shakedown. The business agent controls the political set-up within the union and to dislodge him would entail years of stubborn uphill struggle by rank-and filers who would have no guarantee whatsoever that his successor would display a more honorable deportment. The majority regard the business agent's extortions as a "sideline" and since this money comes from the boss they are not unduly grieved. What they expect the business agent to do, however, is to "deliver the goods." If he has enforced rules, obtained wage-increases, promoted greater "job-security" they are fairly content. The graft, they think, is nothing out of their own pockets.

The contractor, of course, is the man who forks over. Even the heads of famous concerns condone this practice or oppose it only in half-hearted style. Often unless the contractor "comes through" as requested, the support of the business agent is transferred to a competitor who has fewer scruples. And this "support" is significant. If for example a contractor named Phineas Peabody, let us say, refuses to be "swindled by a low-down racketeer" the word goes round that Peabody is a Simon Legree and a chiseler who would cheat the honest son of toil out of his last dime and is always having "labor trouble" and it would be best for all concerned if someone else were awarded the contract for, say, carpentry, or tiling, or plumbing, or electric wiring or whatever.

Frequently, too, the contractor succumbs to this policy of paying graft, since in the long run it may be cheaper to pay it than to live up to union rules. The business agent who receives an extra $100 or $200 or more per week as a token of the contractor's undying esteem and affection often acquires a convenient myopia when non-union materials are used and non-union men are hired. In addition, the business agent is often presented with a "bonus" to prevent rival contractors from "muscling in" on territory pre-empted by the business agent's considerate friends.

The "cost—plus" methods prevailing in building construction make it easy for the contractor to pass on the overhead of tribute to the building owners or investors who, as a rule, prefer to blink at such customs rather than to have the completion of the project, in which they are financially involved, indefinitely postponed. And though many contractors deem it "good business" to buy insurance against labor difficulty from the business agent, the question remains "good business" for whom?

The Jitters of Jurisdiction

Among the 2,165,000 workers engaged in building erection, with their 18 national unions and their 52 crafts, some 696,000 are carpenters, and about 300,000 of them are organized into the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.*

At the moment the Brotherhood is the biggest affiliate of the A. F. of L and has practiced, since its inception, the laissez-faire preachment of "What we can get, that's ours. Otherwise, leave us alone." It has been embroiled in more jurisdictional† rows than any other ten unions combined. It has sought to command allegiance from every construction field group of workers that a flexible imagination could conjure up. For nearly 60 years of unbroken strife, it has battled to win control over timber and saw-mill workers, coopers, machinists, longshoremen, metal "lathers," and many more besides. Its credo of survival, fashioned in 1891, still remains "Once wood, it is always the right of the carpenter to install it no matter what the material now used may happen to be." And this "principle of substitution" by which it lays claim to any new process that has replaced an older one, is less an illustration of subjective logic than a perpetual *cri de guerre*.

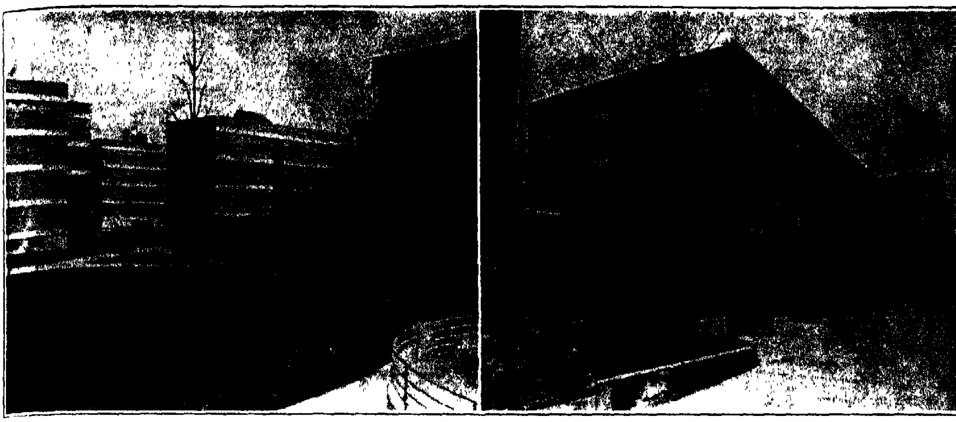
For all practical purposes, the Brotherhood ignores the implications of the doctrine voiced in 1935 by Dr. George Otis Smith, Director of the United States Geological Survey, that:

> . . . the entire framework of our civilization is being changed from wood to minerals as the end of our forest reserves comes into view and as modern machinery makes it possible to build more durably of sand and

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*In 1937, the 31st annual report of the A. F. of L.'s Building and Construction Trades department listed but 150,000 carpenters in "good standing," a term which means merely that they have paid their dues, refrained from becoming public nuisances, and proclaimed their distaste for the C. I. O. and all its ways.

†In union circles, of course, the word "exclusive" is added to the dictionary's definition of jurisdiction as the "lawful right to exercise official authority, whether executive, legislative or judicial."



. . . replaced with modern dwellings, such as these, in the Government building program.

stone and clay of which there is no end. . . .

Nor has the Brotherhood been perturbed by the same authority's recipe for an office building:

> Take by weight 60 parts of gravel, sand and crushed stone; 58 parts of tile and brick; 27 parts of building stone; 19 parts of cement and 16 parts of steel, with such other ingredients as copper and glass and asbestos, and paint to suit one's taste.

Rather, by means of a leadership that has tenaciously clung to the gospel of "once wood, it belongs to us," the Brotherhood has been consistently effective within the limits of its somewhat narrow objectives. It has been extremely cautious and conservative. Only once was it allured by the siren of economic reform; and it has hearkened to no gongs of political revolt. It is the arch-type of "pure and simple" business unionism, its ambitions confined to the plain formula of "more pay for less work."

From Artisan to Assembler

Less than fifty years ago, almost everything needed for building a home was made by the carpenter, right on the site. He fashioned the newel post, as well as window frames and doors. Using axe and adze he cut pillars and beams. At present, however, an ever-larger portion of this work is done by machinery in the mill. It is then shipped "pre-fabricated" ready to be put into place. And this trend has transformed the carpenter from the skilled and versatile artisan of a generation ago into a modern "assembler" in a dozen different operations. His old-time insignia of handsaw and handplane are being supplanted by their power-driven descendants that bevel and true edges, rip beams, mold and mortise with non-human speed and precision—in much the same way, indeed, that the automatic hoist is replacing the hod, and the pneumatic drill the pick.

At first, to combat the threat of such "recent innovations," the Brotherhood, ruled by the eloquent McGuire, a pseudo-socialist, made its first, last, and only foray into the realm of reform. It joined up with the Populist movement, dominated by farmers who in their "Granges" and "Alliances" were complaining of "10 per cent mortgages, and 10 cent corn," and invoking the great American cure-all of "more and easier money."

"The government of the United States," thundered McGuire at the Brotherhood's 1893 convention, "is great enough to issue an American paper currency of its own, without interest, direct to the people as a full legal tender for all debts. . . ." And a year later, he and the Brotherhood were helping to prepare the way for William Jennings Bryan's sonorous "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Barn-storming the country McGuire exhorted the Brotherhood locals and other unions, that:

> . . . organized labor everywhere should insist on a bi-metallic standard of currency and the maintenance of silver on a parity with gold. We cannot permit the debasement of any part of our legal currency to suit the whims of the mono-metallists . . . that they may depreciate values, undermine labor, reduce wages and at the same time . . . collect . . . every dollar of bonded indebtedness on mortgages that they hold against the industrial classes of the country.

Labor's Bitterest Quarrel

But with Bryan's defeat in 1896, and the collapse of the epoch's anti-gold, anti-Wall Street crusade, the Brotherhood turned its back, once and for all, upon salvation by the state. Instead it concentrated upon more immediate goals such as obtaining the 8-hour day. It had, moreover, two difficult organization obstacles to overcome. It had to protect the bargaining strength of its members by excluding "green hands," by creating for itself a monopoly position, an exclusive franchise to certain types of construction activity. It had also to eliminate rival or "dual" unions seeking hegemony in the Brotherhood's own territory; and in pursuing this policy it locked horns early in its career with the Wood Workers Union in what was to become the most costly and bitter jurisdiction quarrel in American labor history.

In the late eighties wood-working machinery began to produce standard parts in quantity, depriving the outside carpenter of much work he had formerly done. It also opened the way for the scorned "saw and hatchet" fellow, that is an unskilled "handyman." The Brotherhood promptly put forward the claim that the woodworkers in a factory belonged to the carpenters alone. They quickly revised their constitution to extend their authority, adding to their former categories of "carpenters, joiners, stair-builders and cabinet makers" three new spheres of influence: "mill-wright planing-mill hand, or any journeyman running woodworking machinery."

As a sop to its competitor's pride, the Brotherhood after a while granted to the Wood Workers complete control over all common "mill hands" and some furniture makers. It soon appeared, however, that this concession was enabling the Wood Workers to expand appreciably until in 1898 it seemed as if it would enroll 50,000 or more members. The Brotherhood

didn't like it; and the carpenters brazenly revoked their agreement with the Wood Workers, while the latter, angry and bellicose, appealed to the A. F. of L., asking for "full and sole jurisdiction over all factory woodworkers." After endless conferences, the A. F. of L. awarded jurisdiction rights to the Wood Workers Union, pointing out that the Brotherhood had itself conceded such priority in a number of written pacts. The Brotherhood, however, balked like a Missouri mule. It refused to relinquish the dues and allegiance of its more than 30,000 wood-working adherents. It proceeded on the assumption that the A. F. of L. ruling didn't exist. It "raided" the membership of the Wood Workers, made trouble with their employers by refusing to touch products created by its rival, and generally raised havoc. It bribed, cajoled, plotted its way to supremacy in woodworking with such success that in 1907 the Wood-Workers Union had but a remnant of 7000 of a 45,000 membership and "two thirds of these," lamented its last secretary, "are desirous of joining the Brotherhood of Carpenters because they realize the hopelessness of their condition."

In 1908 the A. F. of L., admitting the inevitable, reversed itself entirely, ordered the Wood Workers to amalgamate with the Brotherhood, and in 1912 Gompers himself presided over the ceremony that annealed the contending factions. In rendering this kind of a decision, however, the A. F. of L. established a precedent that has plagued it ever since. It had gone on record that "might makes right," and by letting the carpenters "get away with it" encouraged other unions to emulate the Brotherhood's example. And from that time on, the Brotherhood's behavior has often been indefensible. In countless cases it has simply appropriated the jurisdiction rights of other unions. It has agreed to arbitrate differences, to accept as final the findings and recommendations of various A. F. of L. boards as to jurisdictional claims and counterclaims. Yet on every occasion when the award of such agencies went against it, the Brotherhood threatened to resign from the A. F. of L. and ignored what, in union circles, is tantamount to a court order. In short, it has desperately held to the policy "heads we win, tails you lose."

In his struggle for existence, in his efforts to offset and outwit the results of technological change, the carpenter, through the Brotherhood, has acted on the belief that, as a skilled craftsman, he retains a special right to his job for which he has served a four-year apprenticeship, and in which he has acquired a special facility of hand and eye. He looks upon his functional ability as a vested interest, an unchanging property right, and he wants to prevent others from trespassing upon his own domain.

Of course, the desire to win control over a certain economic area is hardly



NEA

"Couldn't We Do Something a Little More Constructive?"

confined to the carpenter, or any other unionist. Every business man seeks to enlarge the sphere of his activity; and in the building industry itself, the architect and engineer often engage in jurisdictional feuds of their own about tasks that overlap. The contractor often ignores them both, drawing his own sketches, making his own calculations of stresses and strains, and dispensing with the services of a subcontracting specialist, say, in tiles. But since there is not alert effective organization to enforce such "working rules" quarrels among professional men and employers rarely hit the headlines.

The Brotherhood, however, keeps an Argus-eye on all such matters. It prohibits, for example, the use of a journeyman's tools by "helpers" to strip forms from concrete, although they can do it quite as capably as the full-fledged $1.25 or $1.50 per hour carpenter. The Brotherhood justifies its work restrictions and its high hourly wage on much the same grounds. It points out that even in a boom year like 1927, when more than six billions were spent in building construction, its members averaged but 174 work days annually. It argues that the seasonal character of the industry is hardly its own fault, and that the carpenter has to live and support his family the year round on what he can earn in the short and busy season. Hence anything that will give the carpenter more employment or stretch out the employment he has, is warranted by the harsh laws of economic necessity.

The Boss of a Bulwark

Today, the Brotherhood remains a bulwark of moss-backism within the A. F. of L. It is bossed in czar-like fashion by Big Bill Hutcheson, its president since 1916. The Brotherhood's Constitution and his own hard-boiled, blustering personality have combined to centralize virtually all power in union affairs into his ham-like hands. He presides over all conventions, calling them whenever he feels like, letting a period of 12 years (1924–1936) elapse between convoking one national meeting of his union and another. He appoints all committees. He issues or revokes all charters with the consent of the executive board which he utterly dominates. He selects all the Brotherhood's $75.00 to $100.00 a week organizers. He pays himself $200.00 a week, plus some fairly substantial "expenses." He has conducted unceasing jurisdictional warfare upon painters, cement finishers, plasterers, asbestos workers, and others, winning more often than he lost. He is an uncompromising "craft" unionist, hewing to his own line, year in and year out.

At the 1924 convention of the Brotherhood, he declared that: "Every member of our organization should remember that [it] is a trade union . . . and that if at any time any member advocates anything that pertains to Industrialism, or Communism, or any other ism that has for its purpose . . . the putting into effect of what might be termed industrial organization, there is no place . . . for that kind of man . . . there are only two isms that should enter into our organization—that is, unionism and Americanism. . . ."

He is one of the two or three most implacable foes of the C.I.O., and he promises that if ever the "A. F. of L. should accept the plan of the Committee for Industrial Organization, namely to organize all workers on an industrial basis, the only solution for our Brotherhood would be to sever our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor." In other words, the Brotherhood is still the Brotherhood, come hell or highwater.

SPANISH WAR PROFILES

Anecdotes of laughter collected under fire

By NINA BELMONTE

The following article is not objective. Its author is affiliated with the Rebel faction in the Spanish Civil War. Miss Belmonte's bias is not to be taken as that of the magazine. The article is published in Current History *because the editors believe it to reflect an aspect of the war which has heretofore received scant attention: the ties that still bind both sides together. The term "nationalist" is used by Miss Belmonte to denote the Rebel or Insurgent forces.*

LIKE all things in life, the war in Spain is a mixture of everything. As a war correspondent I have had a chance to taste them all, to look even further than the present and realize what the future will be like among today's enemies. And my definite impression is that when finally the fight has ended, there will be neither victors nor vanquished, but brothers, all united and eager to help create a great and powerful country.

Things had been very quiet on the Aragon front late last spring. Opposite us, hardly five hundred yards away, was the enemy trench; in between, a vineyard. Grapes were ripe, asking to be picked and eaten. The strong heat made the sight of those fresh grapes a permanent torture for fighters on both sides. Finally one of the loyalist militiamen could stand it no longer. We heard him calling:

"What about a truce while we pick them up?"

A few moments of silence. Then:

"Why not?" replied a nationalist soldier.

Out of their trenches came the opposing armies, unarmed this time. Together they gathered the grapes, chatted amiably with each other, and exchanged jokes.

"Know what we call General Miaja?" a loyalist militiamen asked. "We call him 'General Zebra,' because in the summer when he goes to the front he wears black and white striped pajamas!"

Everyone roared with laughter, and I realized then that not even war had been able to kill the Spanish sense of humor.



SPANISH FASCIST: *Still wet behind the ears, although old enough to drill with a dummy rifle, this youngster is a follower of General Franco.*

The work finally accomplished, the grapes were equally divided. Then each group took its share to its own trench. The shooting was resumed shortly afterwards.

Incidents of war, however, are not always pleasant. I was once at a position in the Jarama front. It was late at night. One of the soldiers on watch duty at that nationalist trench heard a noise nearby as if someone were crawling on the ground. He stood at attention and called, "Who is there?"

No reply. The noise stopped a once. Again he repeated his call. The he shot into the darkness, aiming a the spot from which the sound seeme to come. All other sentinels on dut along the line fired too. Still no re sponse.

Dawn, finally. The spectacle w faced was heart-breaking. There, onl a short distance away, the corpses c two children, two little boys. The could hardly have been more than te or eleven. Their hands were sti clutched to the pliers with which the had tried to cut the insurgent wire: The soldier who had shot at the un known enemy in the darkness crawle out of the trench and brought bac the two poor little bodies. Nothin was found in their pockets that coul identify them. With watery eyes, h buried the corpses of those two inno cent victims of war. Who were they No one will ever know!

Scenes of all types are found at th different fronts. I was once in th southern part of Spain, at what wa then the Malaga front. It was late i the afternoon, and soldiers were o duty, relaxed after days of continuou fighting. Across no-man's-land came a voice—that of a loyalist militiaman

"Hey buddie! I left my wife be hind at Marbella. If I tell you where to find her, would you look her up and let me know if she's all right?"

The soldiers looked at their officer He smiled sympathetically, then h called out to the loyalist:

"Don't you think you better fin out for yourself? You can return there afterwards."

The militiamen didn't hesitate. Ou of his trench he came, unarmed. Soo he had reached our own lines and accompanied by two insurgent soldiers was on his way to his wife.

The party returned several hour later with the loyalist in the best o spirits. His wife was well and he ha told her not to worry. He saluted climbed out of the trench, and dis appeared in the darkness of no-man's land, but we could hear him singing all the way across to the other side.

Still one more incident of this type

took place on the Madrid front. It was winter and the night was bitterly cold. I shivered.

"Cold?" asked a Legionnaire.

"Quite," I replied laughingly. "Heating here seems pretty bad."

"A good drink of brandy should do you good," he said. "Let me see if I can find some around here."

Off he went. Shortly afterwards he returned looking very gloomy.



COMRADESHIP: *A wounded Moorish soldier en route to the rear after severe hand-to-hand fighting in the suburbs of Madrid*

"No luck," he said. "All I could find was a bottle of anise. That's no good!" Then, his face brightened. He turned towards no-man's-land and called:

"Hey, there! Anyone willing to exchange a bottle of brandy for one of anise?"

He repeated his call two or three times. Then:

"O.K.!" a voice replied. "Want to come over and get it?" The Legionnaire didn't hesitate. "Coming!" he yelled and climbed out of the trench.

At any moment I expected machine-guns to start rattling. But no. The darkness of the night swallowed him without a shot being fired. Five, ten, fifteen minutes. And, then, he was back—bottle of brandy under his arm. He poured out a drink, handed me the glass, and said:

"Here, senorita! It'll do you good. Best thing against cold!"

War, however, is not always as simple as all that. We reached Pozuelo, in the Madrid front, shortly after it was taken by Franco's forces. The village had been in the path of war and practically nothing was left standing. The civilian population had evacuated. But in front of the ruins of what once had been a house sat a little old woman, about seventy, quietly knitting.

"Hello, *abuela!*" I said. "What are you doing here? You don't live in this place, do you?"

"No, senorita," she replied, "I don't live here now but before this was my home. I had two sons, two handsome fellows. They are now prisoners of war. I don't know if they are dead or alive, but I know that if they live they will come here looking for me. This is the only place where they would come looking for their mother."

Tragedy of all kinds is a usual sight during war. We were gathered one night, eight of us, in what was left of a once luxurious drawing-room of a summer villa. We were tired after a day of strenuous activity at the battle-fronts and we quietly sipped drinks while one of the officers sat at a piano and played soft music. It was relaxing, listening to his beautiful playing. Suddenly we heard a familiar sound—the dull roar of aeroplane motors.

"Air-raid," someone said. Yet, no one moved. What for? If our time had come, nothing in the world would save us. If it hadn't . . . well, we might as well stay where we were. At the moment we were listening to Schubert's *Serenade*. What a contrast of sounds, in that semi-demolished room! Bombs exploding—one, two, three, ten. . . . Yells of horror, shrieks of pain. We stayed right where w were, listening to the music, trying t forget that death was taking its to right near us—trying to forget tha any second we might become a par of that toll. Finally the roar of th aeroplane motors became dimmer an dimmer. The player stopped. Schu bert's *Serenade* was ended. "It's over, someone said. A few moments o silence. Then, an officer stood up:

"A toast to the dead," he said. "Ma they rest in peace!" We all stood up heads bowed, offering prayer for thos gone. Then, the music was resumed this time, Sibelius' *Valse Triste*.

But war is not wholly without it lighter side. "War Tourists," as w call people visiting the fronts fo curiosity's sake, often give those of u who have to be there almost withou relief, many a good laugh. We wer at the northern front. A middle-age gentleman, who usually spent his tim at bar-counters, decided to get a close up of war. He asked if we wouldn take him along in one of our expedi tions. We agreed, and he joined ou party the next morning in full countr attire. He laughed and talked loude than anyone else. We were amazed a his courageous talking. And, finall we reached the spot where we had t leave the car. Just as we were abou to stop, a terrific thunder, to our righ nearly left us deaf. Our friend pale

"What's that?" His voice was shak We didn't answer but got out of th car and pointed to a field hardly hundred and fifty yards away.

"Just that," we told him. His eye turned toward the spot. He saw huge hole on the ground—a good size shell-hole. He gulped and licked hi lips.

He looked rather upset, but sai nothing. We started moving ahead, i single line, practically crawling alon Suddenly the rattling sound of ma chine-gun fire.

"Down!" shouted someone. "We'v been spotted!" We dropped into th ditch by the roadside. Only our "wa tourist" remained standing.

"You fool!" we shouted. "Thro yourself down!" He looked at us, wil terror in his eyes. Bullets began hit ting the ground around him. He too a wild leap and started running ahea We yelled and yelled. No use. Th man had decided, it seemed, to outru the bullets. And, then, what had t happen, happened. He stopped sud denly and fell forward. He lay ther motionless. "Well, he's finished," w commented. "Too bad, but it wa his own fault!" When finally the firin

stopped, we went out and gathered up the "body" and took it along. It came back to life quickly enough! Not a scratch—just a plain case of fainting due to overwhelming fear! That was his first and last visit to the front!

Of course, the one thing most dreaded by war correspondents is making a mistake while driving and taking a road which may lead into enemy territory. Nothing might happen, and yet, it might mean instant death. The feeling of having committed such a mistake is something never to be forgotten.

With two other young ladies, I was driving back to Salamanca from Madrid's front. It was late at night and the head-lights pierced the deep darkness ahead. We went through deserted villages—the mark of war on all of them. Suddenly a group of soldiers standing in the middle of the road directed us to stop. We recognized them as nationalists. They looked over our passes and warned us to be careful lest we drive into enemy territory.

We continued on our way. Our next stop was Avila—it shouldn't take us much more than two hours to get there. We chatted as we drove.

"Hey!" one of my companions said with a start. "Do you realize we've been driving for nearly three hours and we aren't there?" Her question was somewhat of a shock for the three of us. We stopped, got out of the car and looked around. The surroundings were definitely unfamiliar. We had made that trip many a time, and we certainly couldn't recognize the place. None of us dared utter the thought in our minds. Finally:

"I think we've crossed the lines," one of my companions said in a quiet voice.

But, when, where? We had taken a number of turns, but we had thought them to be right turns. How in God's name were we to know where the mistake had been made? We deliberated for a few moments, then, the decision taken, we got back into the car and drove on ahead. There was nothing else to do. We simply had to go on until we found someone to tell us where we were. Why deny that our nerves were quite on edge? After all, we were heading for the unknown. And all because of a stupid mistake! We stopped at the first farmhouse and told a man who answered our summons that we were lost.

"Welcome, comrades!" he said and raised his clenched fist in the loyalist salute.

Well, we had done it! Gone right into enemy territory. We smiled back at him.

"We are not comrades," we explained. "We are nationalists."

He looked at us in utter amazement. "Then what are you doing here?"

We told our story. What was the use of lying? The man turned his back to us and called up the stairs: "Maria! Maria! Come down!"

We all waited in silence. Finally, a middle-aged woman came down. She didn't give us the loyalist salute, but simply looked inquiringly at the man.

"These young ladies," he explained, "are nationalists. They have lost their way and want to get back on the road to Avila. I shall show them, but I think first we ought to give them something. They must be tired and hungry and cold after so many hours on the road!"

Nerves relaxed. We were friends! We sat with those people for nearly an hour. They gave us food and wine; they lighted the hearth. Finally, they gave us the right instructions to get back on the right road. They talked about themselves. War had caught them here, in their house. They had stayed to take care of it. Their only son had gone to war.

We parted at the door deeply moved. We simply shook hands, and in answer to our *Arriba Espana!* (Up Spain!) he replied with an ardent: *Arriba!*

It is this type of incident that makes one realize that the Spanish people will be happily united under the colors and traditions which for centuries have given their country glory and power once the war is over. Even those who are innocent victims of a war in which they never took active part harbor neither hate nor revenge. There was a small house I shall never forget. In it, a mattress, soaked in blood. And, on the mattress the corpse of a young-looking woman. A girl, about nine or ten, stood by. She kept her eyes fixed on the poor mangled body.

"Yes, my mother. She has gone to Heaven . . . with the angels!"

"How do you know?"

"Because she told me before leaving."

This is typical of the Spanish mother. In dying, she had given her child words of consolation that wouldn't awaken hate, but forgiveness.



HANG-DOG: *Bound by the wrist and under the surveillance of a grim-faced officer, this youthful Loyalist detachment was caught in the Rebel advance on Bilbao.*

Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

IT IS a curious irony that the United States should have in Hollywood the highest developed motion picture equipment in the world, most of the best actors and actresses in the world, and many of the best dramatists in the world, and still be unable to produce more than a handful of first rate, significant films.

The best films since the War—the films before that are scarcely more than historically and reminiscently interesting—have been produced by the Russians and the Germans. Back in the twenties the Russians in such films as *Potemkin*, *The Fall of St. Petersburg*, and *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and the Germans in the *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, *Variety*, and *The Last Laugh* produced films which were challengingly experimental and unforgettably impressive. In fact they made the cinema into an art—the eighth art.

What makes the cinema so significant, so much more significant than any other art, is the fact that it is a mass art, and as a mass art it exercises a social influence far more widespread and far more intense than all the other arts put together. In that connection, the words of the famous art critic, Dr. Erwin Panofsky, which Gilbert Seldes quotes in his most interesting and illuminating book, *The Movies Come From America*, are pertinent:

> If all the lyrical poets, painters and sculptors now living were forced by law to stop writing poetry or producing art, a very small fraction of the general public would become aware of this fact, and a still smaller fraction would seriously regret it. But if the same thing would happen with the movies, there would be the most gruesome of revolutions within a week.

In the old days, especially in post-medieval times, the theatre, then largely a religious institution, was a mass art. Even when it began to elude ecclesiastical controls, as in France, for instance, at the end of the Middle Ages, at which time it became with its new trickeries and techniques a precursor of the modern farce, it did not lose its mass base. It was the masses that attended it, the masses that supported it, however indirectly, and the masses that inspired it. It was only after the aristocracies became interested in the theatre as a device and a diversion of their own that it became a class instead of a mass phenomenon.

Slowly, generation after generation, century after century, the theatre became more and more isolated from the people. When the aristocracies became too bankrupt to sponsor and support it, it was adopted by the middle class which made it over in its own image. Very soon, dramatists writing to interest and please that middle class decided, in the words of Richard Steele, one of the leading playwrights in the early part of the eighteenth century, "To refine the age, to chasten wit, and moralise the stage." But this was all done for a wealthy class, not for the mass.

It was the cinema which brought the theatre, or rather its new equivalent, back to the people. At last, after centuries of isolation from an art which had once been their superlative diversion, the masses found themselves confronted with a species of entertainment that they could both appreciate and afford.

A Mass Art

In large part the history of the cinema has been the history of trying to please those masses, because without the support of their nickels, dimes, quarters, and half-dollars, the moving picture industry could never have become the miracle of production and profit that it has with all the fabulousness of a make-believe world to lend it glamor. Hollywood producers have one unfailing way of telling whether they have pleased the masses or not—box-office receipts. They know that all the ballyhoo in the world cannot make an unpopular picture popular any more than esthetically it can make a bad picture good. They know the nature of the pictures which have been popular in the past and almost always prefer duplicating those types rather than risking new types the response to which would be, in their opinion, too perilously problematic. They know the situations, scenes, plots, characters which appeal and consequently repeat them with relatively few variations from year to year. Even when they cinematize novels which vary from pattern, they adapt them in such ways as to minimize the variations and maximize the resemblances. The result is stifling to the cinema as an art.

Every art is dependent to a degree upon the market but no other art except the cinema involves such a fantastic investment in overhead which in itself renders experiment in any challenging sense prohibitive from the start. If that overhead were cut down by decreasing salaries, the costs of sets, and the like, it would become possible for the industry to undertake more daring and original themes and characterizations and become as adventurous as the stage in its projects. It would make it possible for stars to become actors and actresses instead of stereotypes which are what most of them are today, despite the fact that many of them have genuine talent and some of them indubitable genius.

Notwithstanding all these facts, Hollywood somehow has managed to produce better pictures within the last few years than ever before, and, what is even more interesting, pictures which are not only "good" but which also "pay." Revealingly enough, most of the best pictures Hollywood has put on have been adaptations from books—*Arrowsmith*, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *The American Tragedy*, *Anna Karenina*, *David Copperfield*, etc., etc. Most of the great European films, on the other hand, have not been adaptations from books but cinematized conceptions pure and direct. The best film-directors, Eisenstein and Pudovkin, for example, have never envisioned the cinema as a story-telling medium but rather as a new form of art in which pictorialization is primary and all other elements, including the narrational, are secondary or tertiary. As in *Potemkin* Eisenstein sought to get new effects by means of a new technique and succeeded so well that the entire history of the cinema was changed thereby.

The field in which the American

movie has begun to excel of late is that of light comedy. In the silent picture days, it was Chaplin who elevated the American farce into comedy, and who ever since, especially in *Modern Times,* gave comedy social and satiric content. In a mixture of other films of even later date the comic note has been sustained, with the result that the pie-flinging farces of yesterday have lost most of their popularity. It is in such films as *Mr. Deeds Goes To Town, It Happened One Night, Libeled Lady, Theodora Goes Wild, Ruggles of Red Gap,* and in such mystery-comedies as *The Thin Man* and *Star of Midnight,* that this improvement is most delightfully conspicuous. Yet even here, now that success has been attained with this *genre,* the Hollywood tendency is toward endless duplication of it until it reaches a point of saturation. The result is we are now being served up "phony" imitations like *Double Wedding* and *True Confession,* which are so impossibly unoriginal and unconvincing the best thing that can be said about them is that one forgets them immediately after seeing them

Among the more serious cinemas which signify advance in the American film are *The Life of Emile Zola,* which was declared the best cinema of the year by the New York Film Critics, and *Night Must Fall.* There can be no question but that the Zola film represents a first rate dramatization of the life of the great French author, notwithstanding the fact that it minimizes the anti-Semitic aspect of the Dreyfus case, which results in distorting the picture as a historical interpretation. *Night Must Fall* is a more important film because it represents greater originality of conception and projection. Robert Montgomery's impersonation of the role of the murderer is one of the finest pieces of acting ever witnessed on the screen. The only actor who has ever come close to approaching Montgomery in psychological depth of interpretation is Charles Laughton, who in *Payment Deferred* acted a not dissimilar role with remarkable distinction.

State Control of the Cinema

Charlie Chaplin has recently declared that one of the main factors which has hampered the progress of the American film has been that of censorship. "In this kaleidoscopic turmoil of fast and furious events, when cause and effect with increasing pace are bringing to light a more realistic view on human affairs, the film play must ignore the vital issues," Mr. Chaplin states, "and deal only in such subject matter as a child would read in a rhyming book." While there is a great deal of truth to what Mr. Chaplin says, it must be admitted that unfortunate as that censorship has been and still is it is easier to endure than the state censorships which have been established over the cinema in fascist and communist countries.

In Soviet Russia, for example, history is so distorted in films that it is almost unrecognizable, and all in order that the film will not be suppressed by the censor. Eisenstein, not only the greatest of Soviet directors but the greatest director in the world today, has found it impossible to creatively function in Soviet Russia in late years. The tyranny of censorship resulted in the destruction of his most recent film after two million rubles had been spent on it. It was considered too formalistic by the censors. Ever since his *Thunder over Mexico,* which he was never able to edit because he was recalled to Soviet Russia for political reasons, Eisenstein has failed to produce a single work of significance. In all probability, in the light of the conditions which have existed in the Soviet Union for some years now, the fault is not Eisenstein's but the environment. Just recently, the chief administrator of the Soviet motion picture industry has decided to allow Eisenstein, in collaboration with D. I. Vasilieff, to produce a new film entitled *Slaughter on the Ice.* The scenario was written by Eisenstein in collaboration with P. Pavelenko. Production will begin shortly and it is hoped that it will be completed this year. Whether Eisenstein will ever be able to produce it or not will depend upon political and not esthetic reasons, for in Soviet Russia today films are not judged by their artistic merits but by their value as state propaganda.

A forthright illustration of how such censorship works in Soviet Russia can be seen in the film *Lenin in October,* produced by M. Romm and D. Vasilieff. What makes the film excellent from the point of view of the Stalin dictatorship but unconvincing and unimpressive from the point of view of the rest of the world (and, incidentally, there is good reason to believe that Eisenstein found it impossible to stoop so low in his work as to perpetrate such historical crimes) is that it distorts history in favor of Stalin. The film strives to show that it was not Lenin's own ingenuities which saved him from arrest and murder but "the ever-watchful precautions taken by Stalin with the purpose of saving him [Lenin] from his own heedless courage." When Lenin arrives at the Finland station the first person he asks for is Stalin, as if Stalin were the one man he had to see and ask for counsel before he made a decision as to what to do about the revolution. Both situations are historically unsound and absurd. Lenin is also shown attacking Zinoviev and Kamenev, flourishing aloft the paper,



The Movies Come from America, by Gilbert Seldes

1936 MODEL: *A Scene from Max Rheinhardt's production of* A Midsummer Night's Dream, *1936.*

Novaya Zhizn, in which they were then attacking Lenin's policies. No mention, however, is made of the fact that the editor of that paper was Maxim Gorki, who later became accepted by the Bolshevik regime, and today is buried in the Kremlin wall.

Mark Twain as a Menace

Turning away from the cinema to other cultural matters, we have in the case of the recent Brazilian dictatorship an amusing and pathetic illustration of censorship reduced to its nadir. In the Red scare which has swept over Brazil like a whirlwind, Mark Twain's novel *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has been one of many victims. The novel has been indicted as a bearer of "red poison." Erich Maria Remarque's book *The Road Back* suffered a similar fate. It is curious how many nations and how many libraries in different nations have found Mark Twain's works dangerous or offensive. And yet Mark Twain himself was so concerned about avoiding such a reaction on the part of his readers that he just couldn't get himself for a long time to let his hero Huck Finn use the word "hell." Nevertheless, the book *Huckleberry Finn* was forbidden in the public library at Concord, Mass., when it was first published, and sixteen years later it was ejected from the Denver library, and barely escaped a similar fate in the Brooklyn Public Library as late as 1905.

At the same time, ironically enough, Twain's works were popular under the Tzars and are just as popular now under the Soviets, which have filmed *Tom Sawyer* as first rate anti-slavery propaganda.

Advent of the Negro Ballet

In all his art expression the Negro has retained a certain primitivism which is remarkably refreshing in contrast to the stilted affectations of the more cultured styles and conceptions of art. Because he is more instinctive and less cerebral, the Negro has been able to introduce into his songs and into his dances a wonder and a magic which no other people have managed to do with such astounding success. In jazz, for instance, the vital and overwhelming exuberance of the American Negro reaches its apex in physical dynamics. The riotous rhythms that constitute jazz are to the Negro but the active translation of the impulsive extravagance of his life. Stokowski's statement that "Negro musicians . . . are causing new blood to flow into the veins of music" condenses in a phrase what the Negro has done to American music in the last twenty years. Jazz reflects something of the essential irresponsibility, or rather the irresponsible enthusiasms and ecstasies, that underlie Negro life here in America and which give to Negro art such singular distinction in verve and spontaneity.

Now the Negro has gone a step farther in the dance in the organization of



The Movies Come from America, by Gilbert Seldes

PRE-WAR MODEL: *A typical Serial Shot from* Fantomas, *one of the first screen melodramas.*

the first Negro Ballet. The inaugural appearance of this Ballet was two weeks ago at the Lafayette Theatre in Harlem, and the fact that it played to a packed house of Negroes and whites is evidence of the interest in the phenomenon. Under the direction of Eugene von Grona, this all-Negro group of twenty-three young artists, gave a performance which challenged by its very audacity and originality. The Group is still inexperienced and, consequently, lacked the finesse and perfection of line and movement of the older ballets, but it compensated for that inadequacy by its extraordinary vitality and freshness and the amazing novelty of its approach and interpretation.

The program included a ballet adapted to Stravinsky's *Firebird Suite*, Duke Ellington's *Southern Episode*, Reginald Forsythe's *Children of the Earth*, a choreographic interpretation of Bach's *Air for the G String*, and an interpretation of W. C. Handy's *St. Louis Woman*. There can be no question but that the best work of the Group was done with its native material where it was unexcelled. With the more classical materials, it was less-at-home and less effective, even gauche at times. Without doubt, however, the Negro ballet has a significant future before it.

Newer Harlem Ventures

One of the most interesting Negro poets of today is M. B. Tolson, who in his *Harlem Gallery* is trying to do for the Negro what Edgar Lee Masters did for the middle west white folk over two decades ago. Mr. Tolson is a bright, vivid writer who attains his best effects by understatement rather than overstatement, and who catches in a line or a stanza what most of his contemporaries have failed to capture in pages and volumes. The Negroes he describes in his poems come to life, candidly, challengingly, unforgettably Here is one of his poems which is typical of his volume:

DR. HARVEY WHYTE

Black Boy, why you cryin'
In de lonesome night?
De Lawd when He's paintin'
Didn't paint me white.
Dat's de reason Black Boy's
Cryin' in de night!

It's a long, hard road
From the Flint Plantation
At Waycross, Georgia,
To the position of Chief Surgeon
In a Harlem hospital.

It's a long, hard road
For a beggarly black boy.

And that pitiless road
Had sapped the humor
From the heart
Of Dr. Harvey Whyte
And drained the sentiment
From his soul.

At the present time, Mr. Tolson is also working on a novel *Dark Symphony* which will do for Harlem in prose what his present volume does in verse.

In connection with other Harlem matters, it is interesting to note that the Harlem Community Art Center was opened several weeks ago, an enterprise which has been praised for what it will do to cultivate art-interests and enthusiasms among the Negroes. A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Harlem Citizens Sponsoring Committee, lauded it as a most significant development and gave abundant credit to the WPA Federal Art Project for all that it had done to achieve its existence.

Realm of Science

DAVID DIETZ

A NEW constituent of the earth's atmosphere has been discovered by two astronomers at the famous Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona. It is nitrogen pentoxide. The discovery was made by Dr. Arthur Adell and Dr. C. O. Lampland, already internationally known for their researches upon the atmospheres of the planets.

Nitrogen pentoxide is a chemical compound of the two most important constituents of the atmosphere, nitrogen and oxygen. Each molecule of nitrogen pentoxide contains two atoms of nitrogen and five of oxygen.

Apparently the nitrogen pentoxide is located in the portion of the atmosphere between 10 miles above the earth's surface and 25 miles above the earth's surface. This band is sometimes called the ozonosphere because it is the layer in which ozone occurs.

Ozone, an electrified form of oxygen whose molecule contains three atoms instead of two, is formed by the action of the ultra-violet portion of the sun's rays upon the earth's atmosphere. It is believed that nitrogen pentoxide is also formed by the action of the sun's ultra-violet light but that the reaction is only possible if ozone is already present.

The previous known components of the atmosphere were nitrogen, oxygen, argon, water vapor, carbon dioxide, hydrogen, neon, krypton, helium, ozone, and xenon.

These represent the constituents of what scientists consider "pure air." To them should be added various impurities, more prevalent over cities than elsewhere. These include dust, bacteria, plant spores, ammonia, various oxides and acids of nitrogen, hydrocarbons, hydrogen sulphide, carbon monoxide, sulphur dioxide, sulphuric acid, chlorine, and hydrochloric acid.

Some astronomers think that measurement of the fluctuations in the amount of nitrogen pentoxide may prove the most sensitive measure of fluctuations in the sun's output of ultra-violet.

An Intellectual League

The discovery of nitrogen pentoxide was announced in Indianapolis at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The two astronomers were among some five thousand scientists who gathered there between Christmas and New Year's Day for the annual inventory of American science.

Showing their interest in what Sir Josiah Stamp had called "the impact of science upon society," the Council of the Association adopted a resolution extending "to its prototype, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and to all other scientific organizations with similar aims throughout the world, an invitation to cooperate not only in advancing the interests of pure science but also in promoting peace among nations and intellectual freedom in order that science may continue to flourish and to spread more abundantly its benefits over all mankind."

Perhaps an intellectual league of nations will succeed in accomplishing what a political one has not been able to do.

The Virus Diseases

Attention has been centered on the virus diseases ever since December 1936 when Dr. W. M. Stanley of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research announced his discovery that the virus which caused the mosaic disease of the tobacco plant was not a living organism but a giant protein molecule which exhibited many of the properties of living organisms.

During 1937, Dr. Stanley and his colleagues extended their work, isolating and identifying other large protein molecules as the causative agents of a number of other plant diseases and one animal disease. These include tobacco ring spot virus, latent mosaic of potato virus, severe etch virus, and Shope papilloma virus.

"Especial interest surrounds the Shope papilloma virus," Dr. Stanley says. "Rous and Beard have found that the papillomas caused by it in domestic rabbits usually progress and become cancers."

One form of papilloma occurring in human beings is the familiar wart. While warts are usually harmless, there are certain types which under certain conditions become cancerous.

The accomplishments in the virus field during 1937 give hope that 1938 may see the start of the conquest of those virus diseases which attack human beings. Among these are the most potentially dangerous diseases of contagion known to medical science today. They include influenza, infantile paralysis, encephalitis or sleeping sickness, and yellow fever. While medical men have adequate means of battling many bacterial contagions, such as diphtheria for example, they are still without adequate means of battling the virus diseases.

America lost 27,789 men overseas in the World War. The influenza outbreak of 1918 killed 400,000 people in this country. Public health officials have feared another outbreak ever since. Last summer the nation was threatened with a major wave of infantile paralysis. The worst outbreak of sleeping sickness was in the St. Louis region in 1933. Yellow fever rages in parts of South America and Africa and public health officials are particularly fearful that it may be introduced into the United States once more by airplane traffic from tropical America.

How the Brain Sleeps

The possibility that certain forms of insanity may be the result of a part of the brain falling asleep seems a reasonable conclusion from recent studies by Dr. Halowell Davis of Harvard University, one of the nation's chief authorities upon brain waves.

Brain waves, as most readers know are electrical waves generated in the brain by the activity of the brain cells They are recorded with the aid of radio amplifiers which amplify them millions of times and make them strong enough to operate the recording mechanism.

Dr. Davis' experiments have shown the existence of an intermediate stage between wakefulness and true sleep He calls it the "floating stage" because so many of the subjects tested described it as the period in which they were floating off to sleep.

It is during this period, Dr. Davis finds, that the different functions of the brain such as sensory awareness, memory, self-consciousness, continuity of logical thought, latency of response to a stimulus, go to sleep, one by one.

Highlights of the Law

GUERRA EVERETT

SOLE passenger in a small vessel leeward of the Aleutians some twenty years ago, I fell ill one chilly night. The master ordered a Chinese sailor to stay by me all night. Cold, and fearful of contagion, the man slipped away. The wrath of the master shivered the timbers. His voluble rage sent the sea gulls spiraling back along the wake. In one last burst of fury, he thundered, "I fine you one big dollar!" Relief, and something like admiration spread over the seaman's bland face, while I marvelled at this exhibition of the master's Jovian power.

Some observers look with misgiving on recent events which appear to be incursions into old principles of discipline at sea. An issue of extraordinary clarity was drawn in the "conflict between time-honored traditions of the sea, on the one hand, and modern trade union philosophy, on the other," by the conviction of 14 seamen of the *Algic* who refused to work in a foreign port out of sympathy for local striking stevedores. Most students of current history are familiar enough with modern trade-union philosophy, but perhaps many rely on memories of Midshipman Easy or the picture *Mutiny on the Bounty* for a knowledge of the tremendous force of tradition in the government of those who go down to the sea.

Because of the perils of the deep, crews of vessels have been special objects of legal protection since the days when the Law of Rhodes ruled the triremes and a Roman Emperor said "I am indeed lord of all the land, but custom is the law of the sea." The original American statute is almost (March 2, 1799) as old as the Government itself. Today meticulous provision is made by statute, decisions and regulations for the employment, or "shipping" of the crew, discharge of its members, the protection of their rights, and the enforcement of their obligations.

To cope with the nefarious if robust practice of "shanghaiing" sailors, heavy fines are assessed against masters who take on seamen without the knowledge of the shipping commissioner, and against anyone personating the commissioner. The shipping commissioner or his employee who takes any remuneration for supplying crews is punished.

The shipping commissioner supervises the engagement of the crew, ascertaining that each seaman has signed the "articles" which define the nature and duration of the voyage and its port of termination, and specify the number and duties of the seamen, the time at which each is to be on board to begin work, the capacity in which each is to serve, his wages, a scale of provisions to be furnished each, regulations as to conduct, "fines, short allowance of provisions, or other lawful punishments for misconduct which may be sanctioned by Congress or authorized by the Secretary of Commerce not contrary to or otherwise provided for by law," and regulations as to advances and allotments of wages and other matters not contrary to law. The Secretary of Commerce must give each Congress "an account of such impressments and detentions as shall appear by the protests of the masters to have taken place."

Payment of wages of sailors is surrounded with many safeguards. Wages are not subject to attachment nor may they be paid in advance of the voyage; and during the voyage no sum exceeding one dollar is recoverable from a seaman by any one person. When home port is made again no one may solicit a seaman to lodge at any place, nor remove any of his effects without his consent and that of the master, for a given period.

Vessels must provide medicines, vinegar and lime or lemon juice, and certain clothing. A "slop chest" or store of clothes, tobacco and blankets for sale at a limited profit, and a warm room in cold weather is required. American consuls have a fund for repatriating destitute and disabled seamen.

To compensate for these and many other privileges, seamen are held to a high degree of obedience and duty. Desertion, drunkenness, neglect of duty, wearing a sheath knife, wilful disobedience, assaulting officers, wilfully damaging the vessel, etc., may bring such punishments as forfeiture of wages, confinement in irons on bread and water (with full rations every fifth day) and long imprisonment. On the other hand flogging and corporal pu ishment are now prohibited.

Modernization of many of th ancient rules is a justifiable deside tum, and seamen's organizations m perform a prerequisite service in bri ing it about. The problem is to c form the union ideal to the paramo living principle which dictated arch brutish laws and which still infor our legislation, namely, safety and d cipline before the mast. In the *Al* case the momentous issue was resol in favor of discipline, and, as t Chairman of the National Mariti Commission observed, the jury's v dict "clarified the legal relationshi the men who man" merchant shi Union work to promote the welfare seamen must and can be carried within the framework of this decisi

So Gently You Came Tapping

The founding fathers who ordain that "The right of the people to secure in their persons, houses, pap and effects, against unreasona searches and seizures, shall not violated" did not foresee the inventi of the telephone, and its vulnerabil to eavesdropping. Had they been a to envisage the advent of the telepho the Bill of Rights doubtless would h carried some provision to deal w the party-line listening post and t siren who presides at the office swit board.

The Supreme Court has fall athwart the breach, however, uphold an Act of Congress which provides t no one shall intercept an inters telephone message unless authorized the sender and no person shall divu the substance of such messages. Th ends the practice of seeking evide or clues by wire-tapping—a prac which violates an axiom of liberty, to which we indulgently or indolen submitted until it began to step on toes too much during the Prohibiti Era. The instant decision will be cit perhaps, when television provides t nation with a glass housing program.

In this connection let us recall t great sergeants of the law who foug the good fight for liberty, Frank Kellogg and Newton D. Baker, w passed into history during the wee we are reviewing.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

ON DECEMBER 6, in the year 345, the Archbishop of Myra (Saint Nicholas) died after being imprisoned by Diocletian and released by Constantine. The prelate had surreptitiously bestowed dowries on the three daughters of an impoverished citizen. Thus began the custom of giving presents on St. Nicholas' Eve —later transferred to Christmas Day in many countries. But December 6 is still the day on which the Saint appears astride his white horse, with his negro servant, Pete, and visits all the little children of the Netherlands.

Apparently someone reached Nazi government chiefs after the Christmas holidays had begun and persuaded them that "present-giving" at Christmas-tide was appropriate. For, on Christmas day the families of 120 Protestant pastors rejoiced at their release from prison. The charges against them will be dropped. Whether the government has decided to abandon imprisonment as a means of dealing with Protestant pastors and the Protestant Church situation remains to be seen. It is rather significant that approximately ten pastors and seminary students (including the Rev. Martin Niemoeller) were not released.

"Magic" threatens to bring about the end of all culture, including religion in Germany, according to an article in the current issue of *The Review of Religion,* written by Karl Beth, Professor of Religious Psychology and Dogmatics at the University of Vienna. Professor Beth finds a "lukewarm" attitude of the Protestant Church as much responsible for this condition as the more apparent religious suppression and the dissemination of paganistic doctrines.

"History teaches," says Prof. Beth, "that every advanced culture runs into ruin when it changes to magic. It will endure only as long as it remains free from magic and is permeated with ethics. Ancient cultures have disappeared on account of being influenced by magic; for the future favors only an ethical culture."

Atheism Organizes

Magic is not the only foe which religion now faces. Atheism, which once had a few scattered adherents is now organized and has national meetings and even an international Congress of Free Thinkers who are to hold a convention in Paris in September of 1938. In Russia the League of the Fighting Godless has for years been waging a "war of extermination on religion" against the Christian Church. The Posener Zeitungsdienst reports that the results of the Russian Godless Campaign are not commensurate with the money expended. Therefore it is proposed to intensify the propaganda during the coming year which is to be known as the "year of decision."

The plan calls for a daily broadcast in promotion of atheism, instead of three or four a month as at present; the appropriation of one million, three hundred thousand rubles for foreign atheistic organization instead of the present eight hundred and forty thousand rubles; *Bezbosnik,* the official periodical of the atheists, is to issue a Chinese and Japanese edition monthly, to combat not only the Christian religion, but also the national religions of the Far East.

In addition to a prize that is offered for the best Godless hymn, there is a keen rivalry to produce a Godless Bible. There is also a demand for the cancellation of Article 124 of the new Soviet Constitution, in which religious freedom is mentioned. Preparations are under way to train fifteen hundred speakers for the purpose of delivering addresses in cities and villages.

Recent indications actually point to a revival of religious interest in Russia in spite of the most persistent efforts on the part of the government. An instance of this trend is the fact that four years ago The League of Fighting Godless numbered 5,000,000 members. At present, there are only 2,000,000 enrolled. Dispatches also note that in Russia today there are more than 30,000 religious organizations of various faiths.

In the United States the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism recently published "Ten Demands." Included among them were: the government must remove "In God We Trust" from our coins; the Bible must be excluded from our public schools; marriage must be secularized; divorce must be given upon request; assemblies must stop running the cross above the flag; Church property must be taxed; and all chaplains must be dismissed from public service.

According to a report in *Das Evangelische Deutschland,* a congress of atheists is to be held in Mexico City, on January 4, before this is in your hands to read. Initiator and sponsor of the meeting is the Atheist Association of Mexico which has invited the attendance of representatives from free-thinking and atheistic associations in the U. S., Brazil, Peru, and other Latin American republics. The announced purpose of the meeting is to foster greater cooperation between these societies of North and South America. Plans call for the establishment of a central office in Mexico City with definite authority to expand the atheistic press in America.

New Japanese Faiths

It is estimated that there are 800 quasi or new religious faiths preached in Japan, 80 per cent of which are based in some way or another on Shintoism, according to a report in the last issue of *Catholic Missions.* The Home Office and the Department of Education made a study of the rise of these so-called new religions, and their popularity has been attributed to the following causes: (1) inactivity of orthodox established religions, (2) unrest of the people, (3) imperfect medical service, and (4) a revival of religious thought.

These reasons may be assembled in a simple thesis and presented thus as an aspect of the religious question in Japan: the people are turning to religion for consolation and eagerly listening to any doctrine which, besides satisfying their spiritual needs, promises a remedy for their physical and social ills.

A Japanese contributor to *East and West—Conflict or Cooperation?* says that a study of the influence of Christianity upon Japanese culture during the past 75 years shows that this influence has been felt powerfully in three very important respects: "First of all, it has raised the status of Japanese women; secondly, it has set a worthy example before other religious organizations in its efforts to soften the impact of modern industry upon Japanese life; and, thirdly, it has widened the international outlook of the Japanese people."

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

FASCIST FRENCH MOROCCO?

(Will French Morocco be the springboard of France's Fascists, just as Spanish Morocco was Franco's?)—Editor's Note.

In an interview which General Noguès, governor general of French Morocco, gave to the reactionary *L'Epoque* of Paris, concerning Italian and German propaganda in that colony, he used the expression "These nations have found here a propitious terrain."

He could not have been more explicit. For once, at least, Mr. Noguès did not lie, because it is he who has made that region receptive toward Fascist propaganda.

Mussolini made it known in Morocco that the Italian state is paying all expenses for the support and tuition of several hundred Moroccan Arab students in Italian universities. Thus Morocco is becoming a propitious terrain for Fascist propaganda, because Mr. Noguès has refused all requests for scholarships made by young Moroccans who want to continue their studies in French universities.

Mussolini made it known in Morocco that Italy protects Islam in its colonies and the terrain becomes propitious for this Fascist propaganda because Mr. Noguès, great protector of the Catholic Church, has authorized a procession of bishops and of the Holy Sacrament in a Mohammedan country, prohibiting at the same time the celebration of a traditional Mohammedan holiday.

Mussolini floods Morocco with newspapers and pamphlets and albums in Arabic, which sing the praises of the Fascist regime in its colonies, and so the terrain is becoming propitious for these panegyrics because Mr. Noguès took it upon himself to prohibit all counter-propaganda. While Fascist literature in Arabic may circulate freely all over Morocco, under the vigilant and protective eye of the police, Mr. Noguès has prohibited in Morocco the spread of anti-Fascist literature in Arabic, particularly the pamphlet "Italian Atrocities in Libya," which describes the crimes committed against the tribes of Tripolis and Cyrenaica. And then Mr. Noguès has the audacity to justify his persecution of the Moroccans by the existence of Fascist propaganda, which he encourages, while prohibiting propaganda opposing Fascism.

If all these facts were not sufficient to show that the provocateur Noguès is working for international Fascism by his systematic preparation of the "propitious terrain for Fascist propaganda," those who prefer to judge situations by men instead of by facts, shall examine the records of the men whom Mr. Noguès has entrusted with the task of carrying out his policies, the men whom he has appointed to the most important offices of the State.

These are, among others: Colonel Mellier, Director of Political Affairs, royalist. Colonel Mellier belonged to



Glasgow Record

Off With the Old Love

Italy resigns from the League of Nations

the inner circle of the former Governor Lyautey, and just as all its members, he had the same royalist opinions as his chief. This was the reason he was removed by one of the civil governors who followed Lyautey.

It was Noguès who recalled and reinstated Colonel Mellier and, by entrusting him with the direction of political affairs, made him the most important functionary of all Morocco.

General Blanc, chief of the region of Fez, as ultra-reactionary as Colonel Mellier, belonged to the circle of Lyautey and due to his reactionary opinions was dismissed by one of the civil governors.

It was Noguès who recalled him and who by entrusting him with the command of the most important region of Morocco, established him as the organizer of provocation. In his role as provocateur, he does not hesitate to act in person. Thus, even before the present events, in a public street, he slapped the face of a prominent Mohammedan guilty of not having greeted him. This caused a protest from the Socialist deputy, Hussel, to which, however, no attention was paid.

Among the civilian employees, Mr Mazoyer, Director of the Press Bureau, appointed by Mr. Noguès, is a former *camelot du roi*. His assistant, Mr Simonnot, also brought to Morocco by Noguès, is a former editor-in-chief of the anti-Jewish magazine, "Savez-vous?"

—R. Louzon in the semi-monthly old syndicalist magazine *La Revolution Prolétarienne*, Paris, December 1937

UNREST IN FRENCH AFRICA

Do you believe that in view of the present struggle for predominance in the Mediterranean, a struggle which is becoming more and more bitter, the eighty airplanes concentrated in the airfield of Tunis (during the imperial cruise) will be of great weight if France cannot count on the spontaneous and enthusiastic support of the three North African peoples?

And now another question.

Do you believe that in the present state of mind and mutual relations, it will still be possible for France to obtain, by compulsion and by terror, the support of the three peoples on the day when her mortal enemies leap at her throat? If you believe that, so much the worse for you.

—*L'Action Tunisienne*, Arab Journal of Tunis

Everywhere in Morocco repression is rampant and we hear only what the great daily press reports. By the hundreds fellahs are brought before mediaeval courts of justice and later fill all kinds of prisons. Flogging has been reestablished and whole tribes are being punished by destroying their villages.

—Gaston Delmas, secretary of the Socialist Federation of Morocco, in *Maroc Socialiste*, Fez, Morocco

Schacht's Polemic Against Hitler

"Only optimism and not pessimism can overcome the difficulties of life, but it is wrong to try to persuade anybody that castor oil is honey."

—Hjalmar Schacht in *Deutsche Volkswirt*, October 29, 1937.

FASCISM AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM

The philo-Islamic and philo-Arabic propaganda of Fascism reached its maximum intensity after three years of patient efforts, in March 1937, during the journey of Mussolini in Libya. On March 18, two thousand native cavalrymen in the name of the Mohammedans and soldiers of Libya, who formerly never dreamed of sending such a delegation, offered Mussolini the sword of Islam. In the speech thanking them for this offering, Mussolini said: "I came to find out your desires. Fascist Italy intends to secure for the Mohammedan population of Libya and Ethiopia peace, justice and well-being as well as respect for the laws of the prophet. I also will demonstrate Italy's sympathy to Islam and the Mohammedans of the whole world." He added a sentence which could not fail to cause a smile among all those who thought of the events in Ethiopia. "You know that I am a man of few promises, but when I make promises I keep them." While in Tripoli, Mussolini told a Syrian journalist that all Libyan refugees can return to Libya, that he has no designs on Yemen, and that the Mohammedans of Ethiopia will be respected and protected.



Daily Herald, London

THE CAMEL

"Another blinkin' mirage!"

There is no doubt that the Islamic policy of Fascism which pursued its aims for several years with consistency, great skill, large vision and impressive financial means has not yet obtained the expected results. So far, there has been no general revolt against France or against Great Britain. Fascism has not succeeded yet in imposing its aims in any of their Arab countries. In a few cases this policy has even had effects opposite to those expected. Thus, to neutralize fascist propaganda England has recognized the independence of Egypt, and France is preparing to recognize the independence of Syria in a short time.

An independent Egypt and Syria would represent a much more serious obstacle to Fascist penetration than an Egypt or Syria subject to the rule of another European power. The Arab sovereigns, three of whom are descendants of the prophet and the fourth a religious chief of great importance, seem to have been rather annoyed by the title of "protector of Islam" which the Fascist press bestowed on Mussolini. These rulers, believe that if Islam needs a leader it will find him among its natural heads and not in a country which does not recognize the law of the prophet. The religious leaders of the near-East have also been unfavorably impressed.

In spite of that, it would be foolish to assert that the Islamic policy of Fascism has not obtained any results. Yemen, after a period of coolness caused by the fact that Italy did not give it any help during the war of 1934 against Saudi-Arabia, again shows friendly inclination towards Fascism, with the help of which it hopes to slice off from the British sphere a part of the territory in Southern Arabia. The state of Saud, former faithful ally of Great Britain, being now able to count on possible Fascist support, has recently loosened considerably the bonds of friendship which united it with England. The same can be said of Iraq which is becoming the center of Anti-British preparation in the near-East. The disorders in Palestine continue to be serious and the actions of the Palestine Arabs, subsidized and instigated by Italian Fascism, continue to cost the lives of many Jews and many millions of pounds of Great Britain. The recent disorders in Beirut show that Syria is also far from having secured such equilibrium as would allow it to develop peacefully. This is a factor of instability which may lead to new international complications. The military Fascist threat also weighs on Egypt, which is compelled to increase its unproductive expenditures for a large and well equipped army, expenses which weigh heavily on the population, and which certainly do not increase the popularity of the young Egyptian democracy. In Morocco, the Fascists almost provoked a revolt in October which would have severely taxed the power of France.

Naturally Fascism is not the only cause of the agitation in the immense section of the Islamic world which stretches from Persia to the Atlantic Ocean, and which on a territory 15 times as large as France contains a population of almost 50,000,000. It has simply profited by a situation which already existed and which has been aggravated at present. And Fascism, which coordinates the alarming elements existing in this region, directs their activity and intensifies its action. It holds all the threads of this activity in territories as distant from each other as Morocco, Iraq and Tunisia and never hesitates to supply all the subversive elements with the means to continue their work. Thus Fascism has contributed to a situation that at any moment may become dangerous, provoking a feeling of insecurity in all nations and contributing to the expansion of despotic regimes.

—Max Salvadori in *Giustizia e Libertà*, December 19, 1937, Italian Anti-fascist weekly of Paris



Il 420, Florence.

THE ARAB IN CHAINS

Ethiopian ex-slave: "I once bore chains like that. And then they talk of Italian ferocity and English humanity."

THE GRAVE SITUATION IN POLAND

The outcome of Poland's policy is now of decisive importance. A struggle is going on in that country for the control of the internal as well as the external policy.

This struggle has not yet been decided, though for the present the pro-German policy of Mr. Beck and his totalitarian tendencies seem to be getting the upper hand in the government.

The agreement concerning the minorities recently signed in Warsaw and in Berlin is the continuation and extension of the agreements of February 1934.

By this agreement the rulers of the two countries agreed to subordinate the problem of minorities, as well as that of Danzig, to the mutual aims along the lines of general politics. The internal situation may be explained by some information received from a reliable source.

In the government camp there seems to be a conflict between President Moscicki and Marshal Rydz-Smigly, when the former refused to sever all relations with the Socialists and the peasant parties, while the latter is veering more and more to the right.

"The new and sensational facts," writes our correspondent, "are that Rydz-Smigly appealed to the Nationalist and race-baiting Youth Organization of the Right, which since the resurrection of Poland has been in constant opposition to the Pilsudski regime. He has concluded with them a pact of aggression for the purpose of exterminating the last remnants of democracy and establishing a totalitarian regime à la Hitler."

The evolution toward Fascism is accentuated from day to day. Colonel Koc is reported to have asked for the suppression of the trade unions and to have chosen, together with Marshal Rydz-Smigly, a new cabinet composed exclusively of their friends of the rightist parties. Colonel Beck would, of course, retain the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Mr. Grabowski, the well-known prosecutor of the famous or rather ill-famed trial of Brest-Litowsk against the chiefs of the opposition, would remain Minister of Justice.

On October 20, the President of the Polish Parliament, Mr. Car, called a special meeting of the group leaders. During this meeting, a deputy submitted a report on projects for a coup d'ètat, giving all details concerning a secret session of a general staff of the "Ozon," the party of Rydz-Smigly and Koc.

"During this meeting, Mr. Koc insisted that repression on a grand scale would be needed to forestall any resistance of the opposition."

The plan, as outlined, was to enlist the aid of the Nationalist Youth in stirring up trouble in different parts of the country so there would be a pretext for the intervention of the police and armed forces. Rydz-Smigly would proclaim himself dictator to preserve "law and order." The President, Mr. Moscicki, would be removed and a totalitarian Fascist regime established. At the same time, all opposition parties and groups would be liquidated. All the political chiefs, who refuse to follow Marshal Rydz-Smigly, would be massacred without exception, including even the old Pilsudskiists. According to the expression of Mr. Koc, they would make a "St. Bartholomew's Night," and as Rydz-Smigly put it himself, their quick action "would stupefy Europe."

The opposition would not submit meekly to such methods and aims. It would fight desperately. The peasants, the workers, the democrats, the intellectuals, aided by part of the army, would defend their liberty, their life and the future of Poland.

It is easy to recognize the dangers which such a situation implies for the peace of Europe. Fascist Poland would be no more than an annex of the Third Reich, and that would give to the "will for power" of Germany such possibilities and such incentives that Europe would be shaken to its foundation.

—André Leroux, in Blum's *Le Populaire*, Socialist daily of Paris.



THE ROLL OF THE BLACK RACES

Daily Herald, London

Peace of Pudding

With the help of Christmas puddings, the Oxford University Pacifist Association are seeking to induce kinder feelings between the opposing factions in Spain. A pudding and a letter have been sent to General Franco, c/o the Duke of Alba and Berwick. The letter read: "In view of the approaching season of good will we are sending to you a Christmas pudding as a token of our sincere wishes that Spain's troubles may speedily be ended in a spirit fitting to that season.

—*Liverpool P. I.*

His Majesty's Prisons

There is no mystery or concealment about life in his Majesty's prisons, and surprise visits from responsible people are welcomed. We have many such visits to Maidstone Prison, and visitors almost invariably seem pleasantly surprised at what they have seen, and although asked to make any suggestions for improvements, make very few. On the contrary several visitors have remarked that the prisoners "seem rather pampered." One visitor in particular was astonished to hear that the prisoners had been shown a film of the Coronation.

—*Times*, London

Hardly the Type

News photographs in the Belisha manner of Lord Swinton, Minister for Air, fiddling with the new Air Force recruiting van, underlined sooner than we had expected the report in the last issue of THE WEEK on the supposed relation between under-training of bomber pilots, excessive air crashes in training, incapacity of the present

bombing fleet to carry out a war-time raid without enormous losses, and the unwillingness of politicians at the Air Ministry to raise the tests for fear of discouraging recruiting, recruiting figures being at the moment fashionably regarded as bull points on the Cabinet political stock exchange.

Further investigation reveals a further consideration operating powerfully at the Air Ministry. The theory is that if the navigation tests for bomber pilots are made harder, and at the same time recruiting is encouraged, there is a danger that what is known as "hardly the type of fellow we want" may start to swamp the service. "Hardly the type of fellow we want" is the type of fellow who without being at all out of the top drawer has somehow managed—as a result of all this popular education doubtless—to acquire a really remarkable grasp of practical technical problems, and in fact to be precisely what, other things being equal, a highly skilled and highly mechanized fighting force wants in the way of material.

Unfortunately, other things being so very far from equal, it has been found by experience that large numbers of those highly intelligent and physically and mentally skilful young men tend—again doubtless as a result of all this education—to hold political and social views which are by no manner of means those of the present political heads of the Air Ministry. In other words, the Air Ministry has in due course come rather sharply up against a problem which, as time goes on, will more and more seriously perturb political leaders.

—*The Week*, London.

Prince Mickey Mouse

By the expulsion of Hubert D. Harrison, Reuter's chief Balkan correspondent, the Jugoslav dictatorship has made itself a laughing stock. In his dead set against the democratic paper *Politika* the censor banned a Mickey Mouse comic strip by Walt Disney. The last picture had just reached the point in the story where the uncle of Prince Mickey Mouse, who was acting as Regent, started a military conspiracy against the over-popular prince. Harrison cabled this abroad. The neurotic Prince Paul, who makes diplomats' lives a misery by hunting for imagined slights in the British press, read into this cable an attack on himself, and Harrison was expelled. But the censor's real reason for banning Mickey Mouse, I hear, was not simply that Walt Disney's cap might have been designed for the head of Prince Paul, but that it might have looked an even better fit for some of his Ministers. For the picture which was to follow showed Prince Mickey Mouse going to the safe to count the proceeds of the heavy taxation about which his subjects complained, only to find that his Ministers had emptied it. So the susceptibilities of M. Stoyadinovitch and his colleagues were assuaged by the suppression of the picture, and Prince Paul's shattered nerves soothed by the expulsion of one of the few newspaper men in Belgrade who has refused to knuckle under to the terror-



Glasgow Record

IN DARKEST AFRICA

ism of this regime. And Father Korosetch, that unforgiving Catholic priest and Minister of the Interior, was able at last to revenge himself on the man who last July gave the world the story of how the Reverend Father set his police on to buffeting and bayoneting bishops and priests of a rival church, the Serbian Orthodox, when they marched in religious procession through Belgrade to protest against Korosetch's pet scheme, the Concordat with Rome.

—Critic in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London

The Holy Alliance

In its manner of expression and in appealing to the Holy Trinity, the text of this Fascist alliance conforms closely with the pact which the Czar of Russia, the Kaiser of Austria and the King of Prussia signed on September 26, 1815, and which is known in history as the Holy Alliance. It is more of a mystical than a political document. However, one automatically supposes that in connection with this document there are additional secret agreements, more positive and more precisely outlined. Mussolini did not always entertain toward Soviet Russia the sentiments now expressed in the new Holy Alliance. He was the first to establish an understanding with Soviet Russia. Germany has not hesitated to follow Italy and to go even farther toward an understanding with the Soviet Union. This alone should be sufficient to make the Holy Alliance appear suspicious.

—Henri de Kerillis in pro-fascist L'Epoque, Paris.

Italian Fascism Becomes Anti-Semitic

A cheap popular edition of *The Protocols of the Wise Man of Zion* has just been published in the Italian language. The new edition has a lengthy preface which points out that the "Protocols" are authentic and give proof that the Jews try to obtain the domination of the world by every means. The anti-Semitic periodical *La Vita Italiana* wrote in connection with an announcement of the new edition, "It is possible that some people, forgetting what our magazine wrote some time ago concerning the *Protocols*, may refer to the trial which the Jews provoked in Berne a few years ago. In answer to this we maintain that everything which has been published about with these *Protocols* is the absolute truth, in spite of the manœuvres of the press and Jewish influence."

The same issue of this periodical vigorously attacks the publishers of the *Italian Encyclopedia* because it entrusted with the editing of its item on "Anti-Semitism" the Jewish scientist Alberto Pincherle, professor of the history of religions in the University of Rome. "The Jew Pincherle," writes *La Vita Italiana*, "exploited this opportunity, of course, to deny the authenticity of these *Protocols*, which have been worrying the Jewish race for the last twenty-five years."

—Pariser Tageszeitung, (German Emigré daily), Paris, November 7, 1937

La Roque Prints 5,000,000 Stamps with His Portrait

We are not surprised to learn that Colonel Casimir de la Rocque has had his picture printed on stamps in Lyons. These are stickers a little larger than our 65 centime stamps, on which the face of de la Rocque appears, without any inscription.

The order is quite considerable because it amounted to five million of these stickers.

Why was the printing ordered in Lyons and not in Paris? Why this immense number? Is there some relation between these stamps and a certain doctor in Lyons who is considered to be the local chief of the Cagoulards?

—Le Populaire, Paris, November 20.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Dec. 5 - Jan. 6

DOMESTIC

DECEMBER 5—Governor George D. Aiken of Vermont, in an open letter to the Republican Party's national committee, urges a purge to rid the national committee of reactionary and unfair elements. Governor Aiken declares the Republican party is nearly in a state of complete demoralization.

DECEMBER 7—The Board of Tax Appeals exonerates Andrew W. Mellon of the charge of income-tax fraud. The board found that the government was entitled to a little less than $500,000. This was owed from Mr. Mellon's 1931 income. The government claimed $3,089,261 against the former Secretary of State's estate.

Lammot DuPont declares that business is ready to carry the burden of social responsibility if only the government would lift the fog hiding future taxation and that labor would assure stability.

DECEMBER 8—Joseph P. Kennedy is decided upon by President Roosevelt as the man to replace Robert W. Bingham as envoy to Great Britain.

A platform for American Industry for the coming year is adopted by the National Association of Manufacturers. They reassert the right of all workers to bargain alone or jointly and urge the repeal of the profits tax as hampering capital developments.

DECEMBER 9—Works Progress Administrator, Harry L. Hopkins, announces that in order to take care of the increasing need for relief in the country 350,000 additional workers would receive employment on WPA projects.

DECEMBER 10—Representative Cartwright of Oklahoma, chairman of the House Roads Committee, announces that he will not call his committee together during the special session in compliance with Presidential recommendation for withdrawal of Federal road aid for the fiscal year of 1939.

Pan American Airways, through Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, invites eight leading U. S. aircraft manufacturers to submit bids for planes capable of carrying 100 passengers and with a range of 5,000 miles, at a cruising speed of 200 miles an hour.

DECEMBER 11—The CIO gives 200 organizers notice that they will be laid off because of the business recession. The staff of CIO organizers had reached a peak of 652.

DECEMBER 12—Plans for endowing the Alfred P. Sloan foundation with about ten million dollars worth of securities are announced by Alfred P. Sloan chairman of the General Motors Corporation. The proposed endowment consists of General Motors Corporation common stock. The foundation is to be organized for economic research.

DECEMBER 13—The New Deal wins an important victory as the Supreme court votes 6 to 3 in upholding the stoppage of interest in calling of Liberty Loan Gold Bonds.

DECEMBER 14—President Roosevelt's demand that farm-bill costs be held to five million dollars a year unless any additional authorized amounts were covered by the imposing of new taxes, was ignored when Senator Vandenberg's amendment to limit expenditures to five millions met defeat in the Senate by a vote of 49 to 23.

DECEMBER 16—Dr. Glenn Frank is chosen chairman of the Republican Committee on Program, which will draft a declaration of party principles. Dr. Frank, formerly president of Wisconsin University, is identified with the liberal wing of the Republican party.

DECEMBER 17—Ending a day of sharp debate, the House votes 216 to 198 to recommit the Wages and Hours Bill to the Labor Committee. This action will probably result in the indefinite shelving of the bill.

DECEMBER 18—Robert Worth Bingham, United States Ambassador to England, dies at 66.

DECEMBER 19—Senate Banking and Currency sub-committee votes unanimously to report the Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill to the full committee when it meets tomorrow. The Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill would amend the National Housing Act.

DECEMBER 20—Railway stock juggling by some of the country's leading railroad systems is attacked by members of the Senate. Charges in the Senate were made by Senator Truman; those before the Committee on Interstate Commerce came from Senator Wheeler.

DECEMBER 21—Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State dies at 81. Mr. Kellogg was known as the father of the pact outlawing war.

The special session of Congress ends with no important measures having been passed.

DECEMBER 22—President Roosevelt warns Congress that it must assume full responsibility for appropriations in excess of budget estimates and that if road building appropriations were not cut, other funds should be reduced to make up the difference.

DECEMBER 23—Nathan Straus earmarks $31,250,000 in Federal funds for slum clearance and low-cost housing.

The National Labor Relations Board finds the Ford Motor Company guilty of violating the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Fight in courts planned by Ford.

DECEMBER 24—Overtures made by the United Auto Workers of America are spurned by the Ford Motor Company. The company's spokesman declares the intention of carrying the fight to the Supreme Court if necessary.

DECEMBER 25—Newton D. Baker, wartime Secretary of War, dies at 66 in his Cleveland home.

Special committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States makes public a report which estimates the nation's 1938 tax load to be 20 per cent of its income. The committee puts the sum at $13,500,000,000.

DECEMBER 26—Robert H. Jackson, Assistant Attorney General, asserts that the United States is now entering a major depression. He blames the policies of big business and monopolists for many of the economic ills of the past and present.

DECEMBER 27—The International Ladies Garment Workers Union expresses its disappointment and profound regret over the failure of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. peace negotiations.

DECEMBER 28—William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation, announces that 30,000 employees will be dropped from payrolls and 205,000 other men will be put on a three-day, twenty-four hour week.

President Roosevelt reveals that he will ask Congress to authorize an enlargement of the naval building program already earmarked for the fiscal year 1939.

DECEMBER 29—Robert H. Jackson, in new address, tells political scientists that "big business" is leading a general strike against the New Deal.

DECEMBER 30—President Roosevelt is revealed as the driving power against monopolies in an attempt by the Administration to beat down prices in anticipation of a private building program sponsored by the Federal Government. The President hopes to reduce the heavy relief expenditures and in the near future to balance the budget.

DECEMBER 31—The price that the Treasury will pay for newly mined domestic silver is lowered from 77.57 to 64.64 cents an ounce by President Roosevelt. In doing this the President defied the congressional silver group which had demanded maintainance of the higher price.

JANUARY 1—The first independent national unemployment census ever taken by the government indicated unemployment in mid-November to be between 7,800,000 and 10,800,000. A personal check of 1,950,000 persons was made in a house-to-house canvass and indicated a 72 per cent response.

JANUARY 3—President Roosevelt in his address at the opening of Congress asks for cooperation between government and business to increase the national income. Those who misleadingly assert that the Administration was attacking all industry in an effort to correct abuses were assailed by the President.

JANUARY 5—Projected economies of more than half a billion dollars fail to prevent a one billion deficit in a seven billion budget, forecast by the President in his budget message.

Justice George Sutherland writes President Roosevelt that he will retire from the bench on January 18. He has served for 15 years as a member of the Supreme Court.

The Ford Motor Company's petition for a rehearing on the board's complaint that the company had violated the Wagner Labor Relations Act, was denied by the Labor Relations Board.

JANUARY 6—Dr. Glenn Frank accepts post as chairman of the Republican party's committee on Program. The former Wisconsin University president promised to conduct an open-minded search for policies that will keep America a going concern.

INTERNATIONAL

DECEMBER 5—French Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos finds Poland less anti-Semitic, less pro-fascist than anticipated.

DECEMBER 7—Premier Milan Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia leaves Rome after successful visit. No question of detaching Yugoslavia from France, but Italians feel that French influence has been weakened by Italo-Yugoslav pact.

DECEMBER 9—English Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain reaffirms belief in Imperial preference, reassuring Dominions regarding Anglo-United States trade treaty.

Belgium reported unwilling to consider cession of Congo to Germany.

French Foreign Minister Delbos hails French-Rumanian ties as essential to peace.

DECEMBER 10—Nicaragua and Honduras sign treaty ending threat of war over boundary dispute.

DECEMBER 11—Mussolini announces Italy's withdrawal from League of Nations before cheering crowd in Rome.

DECEMBER 12—Foreign Minister Delbos' visit to Yugoslavia greeted by popular enthusiasm and riots against fascist tendencies of the minority Stoyadinovitch government.

Great Britain unconcerned about Italy's resignation from League.

DECEMBER 13—Yugoslavia to sign trade pact with France. League of Nations Armaments Year Book estimates world arms expenditure for 1937 at 7,100,000,000 gold dollars, as compared with $5,800,000 in 1936 and $2,500,000 in 1913.

DECEMBER 16—Foreign Minister Delbos pleased with results of visit to Czechoslovakia.

DECEMBER 19—Czechoslovakia reported able to hold off all foes.

DECEMBER 20—New issue of *Jane's Fighting Ships* shows that Britain holds lead in naval rearmament.

DECEMBER 24—Pope Pius protests Nazi attacks on Catholic Church.

DECEMBER 26—Great Britain to inaugurate radio programs to Near East to combat Italian propaganda.

JANUARY 4—Great Britain postpones application of partition plan in Palestine.

JANUARY 5—Great Britain and France warn Russia against pursuit of anti-Semitic policy.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

DECEMBER 5—British gunboat and two merchantmen bombed by Japanese near Nanking. Japanese capture Kuyung, 25 miles southeast of Nanking and important key to that city.

DECEMBER 7—Chinese go into battle to defend first line of Nanking's inner defenses.

DECEMBER 9—Trapped on peak near Nanking, 300 Chinese annihilated.

DECEMBER 10—Japanese call upon Nanking to surrender.

DECEMBER 11—Japanese enter main gates of Nanking, encounter strong resistance in streets; Chinese leaders blame mutinies and deals with Japanese for defeats

DECEMBER 13—Japanese troops, preceded by tanks, pour into Nanking. United States gunboat *Panay* sunk by Japanese bombs on Yangtze River.

Twenty new Japanese employees appointed to Shanghai customs office.

DECEMBER 14—United States demands full satisfaction from Japan for sinking of *Panay*, and also guarantee against further attacks; British angry over attacks on gunboats; Japanese worried over their failure to drive wedge between Great Britain and United States.

Japanese claim fall of Nanking.

"Provisional Government of the Republic of China" established at Peiping.

DECEMBER 15—Secretary of State Cordell Hull sends formal note of protest to Japan, demanding full redress for bombing of *Panay* and three Standard Oil ships. Japan apologizes.

Japan expected to place new Peiping provincial government over all conquered provinces of China.

Britain abandons hope of joint action with United States in Far East.

DECEMBER 16—Rear Admiral Mitsunami, chief of Japanese aerial operations, removed from post as result of *Panay* bombing; Admiral Yarnell reports bombing was deliberate.

DECEMBER 22—Revival of optimism in China indicates that Russian help has been promised.

Premier Neville Chamberlain warns Japan; France backs moves to uphold Western prestige in Orient.

Japan denies that the *Panay* was intentionally bombed.

DECEMBER 23—Japanese drive on towards Hangchow.

DECEMBER 25—In new apology to United States, Japan claims guilty have been punished; United States accepts apology, but insists on safeguards for future.

Japanese claim capture of Hangchow, and proclaim blockade of Tsingtao.

DECEMBER 27—Fall of Tsinan reported

DECEMBER 28—Japanese advance from Tsinan towards Shantung.

DECEMBER 29—Japan threatens to drive on to Chungking, 1,000 miles into interior.

DECEMBER 30—Chinese start to raze Tsingtao as its capture is threatened.

JANUARY 1—Tsingtao falls into hands of Japanese.

JANUARY 4—Chinese bomb Nanking area; Japanese deny recapture of Hangchow.

JANUARY 5—Japanese plan to abolish French and British concessions in Tientsin.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

DECEMBER 5—Loyalist bombers break up troop concentrations on Aragon front.

DECEMBER 12—Spanish rebels report success of three drives launched at Toledo, Brunete, and Teruel.

DECEMBER 18—Last defenses of Teruel fall before Loyalist attack.

DECEMBER 19—Loyalist forces enter eastern end of Teruel after heavy fighting.

DECEMBER 22—Loyalists, after victory at Teruel, drive on to west.

DECEMBER 23—Rebels rush artillery to Teruel.

DECEMBER 25—Rebels in Teruel refuse to surrender.

DECEMBER 26—Loyalists claim to have burned last rebel strongholds in Teruel.

DECEMBER 29—Battle around Teruel involves 300,000 troops.

JANUARY 2—Battle around Teruel continues despite two feet of snow.

JANUARY 4—Teruel held by Loyalists, despite counter-attacks.

FOREIGN

Egypt

DECEMBER 30—King Farouk dismisses cabinet of Mustapha Nahas Pasha, with large parliamentary majority; later appoints Mahamed Mahmoud Pasha, leader of Liberal Constitutional Party, as Premier.

France

DECEMBER 14—Modification of 40-hour week seen, in order to increase production of defense materials.

DECEMBER 29—Workers in Paris transportation, gas, electricity, and water services launch general strike.

DECEMBER 30—Paris strike ended by wage compromise.

Germany

DECEMBER 5—Count von Preysing, Catholic Bishop of Berlin, attacks Nazi religious policy.

DECEMBER 20—General Ludendorff, chief army strategist during war, dies.

JANUARY 5—Rev. Martin Niemoeller warns against communism as a result of Nazi persecution of Christians

Mexico

DECEMBER 9—Government seeks to place entire $250,000,000 foreign petroleum industry on a royalty-paying basis.

DECEMBER 23—Wide area in central and southern Mexico shaken by earthquake.

DECEMBER 30—United States and British oil interests refuse to pay higher wages ordered by Government.

JANUARY 2—Government abrogates Morrow-Calles oil pact with United States seeking to place petroleum industry on royalty basis.

Rumania

DECEMBER 26—Premier George Tatarescu resigns after defeat in December 21 general election.

DECEMBER 28—King Carol appoints Christian Goga, co-leader of anti-Semitic, pro-German National Christian Party as Premier, despite the fact that his party gained only 10 percent of votes at general election.

DECEMBER 29—Goga Cabinet takes dictatorial steps, posting army detachments in each district and suppressing three democratic newspapers.

DECEMBER 30—Jews forbidden to own land and all Jews naturalized after 1920 deprived of citizenship.

JANUARY 2—Nicholas Titulescu, former Foreign Minister, offers his help in fighting fascism.

JANUARY 4—New government disavows anti-Semitism but continues to repress Jews

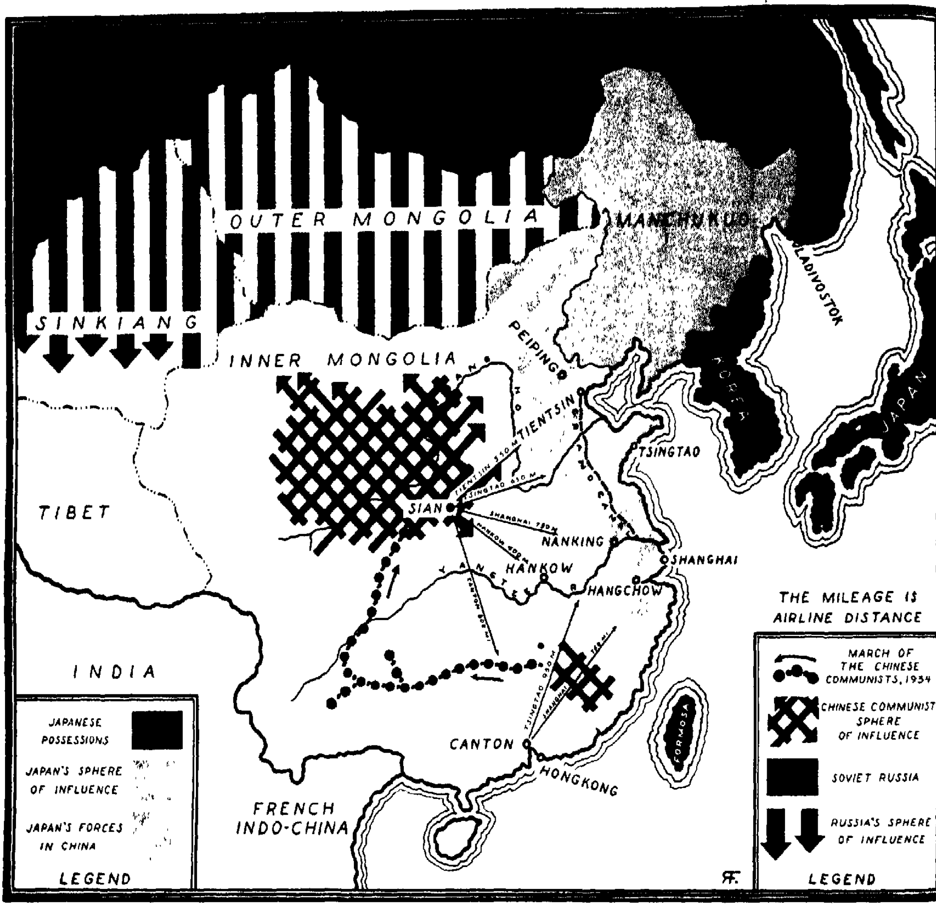
JANUARY 5—Premier Goga receives from London and Paris mild protests against his anti-Semitic tendencies.

Russia

DECEMBER 11—Stalin closes first Soviet election campaign, which he hails as most democratic in world.

DECEMBER 19—Execution of eight important officials announced on 20th Anniversary of Secret Political Police.

JANUARY 31—Second five-year plan ends; third calls for 15 percent increase in population in 1938—lowest annual increase yet scheduled.



CHINA'S COMMUNISTS

China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep! For when he wakes, he will move the world

—*Napoleon.*

THE communists in China operate a nation within a nation. They have their own government, levy their own taxes, maintain armies, schools, hospitals, etc. They are believed to control 20,000,000 out of an estimated total Chinese population of 450,000,000. Before 1936, their objective was to defeat and crush the Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek, which had pursued them unmercifully for ten years, and then to wage war against Japan. Early that year, however, in a change supposed to have been inspired by the Third International at Moscow, the communists changed tactics, declared for a united front of all democratic forces against Japan, held out an olive branch to the Government, and offered to renounce their identity as communists if China would wage war against Nippon. They were willing, they said, to abide by the laws of a democratic nation, once the invader was vanquished, and submit to a parliamentary form of government, with a democratically-elected "Congress of National Salvation."

But almost coincident with this change in tactics, Japan renewed its demand upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for "military cooperation" between China and Japan against the communists. Nippon had heard of almost legendary feats of the communist forces—of a march across the length and breadth of China, from the southern Kiangsi provinces, where they were hemmed in by superior Government forces, to the northwestern province of Shensi, where they are now concentrated. Thousands of lives were taken by cold, starvation, and the pursuing bullets of Chiang Kai-shek, but the communists completed their 8,000 hegira in one of the most remarkable marches in all history. Japan had heard, too, of millions who had joined the march, of the thousands of lives saved through universal vaccination, of the widespread elimination of epidemic and disease, of an education program which at last began to make a dent in





General Ho Lung and Photographer Harrison Forman.

Comparing notes before a lesson in army strategy.

the almost universal illiteracy of the people. But most alarming to Japan was the armed forces of the communists which numbered hundreds of thousands.

Faced with the conflicting demands of the communists and the Japanese government, Chiang Kai-shek attempted to steer a middle course. He said he would rather have certain areas occupied by Chinese communists than by Japanese soldiers, but that he would continue his own campaign against the communists. Last winter, Chiang was kidnapped by Marshal Chang Hseu-liang with the help of the communist army and was released unharmed after he agreed to a number of the communists' demands, which are believed to have centered around the promise that the Generalissimo would fight if Japan attacked again.

Chiang Kai-shek kept his promise. The July incidents of 1937 found him standing his ground. Out of China's resistance and refusal to humble itself grew the present war. The communists, in their turn, have mobilized to drive out the invader.

Calling themselves the Chinese People's Vanguard Anti-Japanese Army, they are prepared to throw 500,000 crack troops against the enemy. Their



The ABC's mean just that. The compulsory education program of the communists has done away with Chinese characters.



Each Thompson sub-machine gun is the equivalent of fifty army rifles at close range.

leader and commander-in-chief is General Chu Teh, upon whose head before the current war against Japan was placed a price of $250,000 dead or alive, by Chiang Kai-shek, and whose personal fortune has been placed at the disposal of the party. President of the Central Soviet Government is Mao Tse-tung, tubercular hero of the march who, it is said, exerts a stronger influence upon the communists than any other single man. He is pale, coughs continuously. He once captured 600 Government prisoners, talked to them for three hours, and then offered them their freedom. Five hundred refused to leave and asked to join his forces.

The military forces of the communists are divided into separate armies under separate commanders who are also responsible for the civilian populations in their own districts. The most famed, perhaps, of these commanders is General Ho Lung, who with only 20,000 men extended the Soviet regions seven years ago in western Hanan and in Hopei to become a threat to the Wuhan and Yangtze central areas. Ho Lung now commands the Second Front Red Army, said to be the best equipped of all the communist forces.

Harrison Forman, author and explorer, is one of the few occidentals



These light field guns, resembling French "75's" are especially designed for guerilla warfare. They are transported by mules.



Vaccination and inoculation are compulsory for all Chinese communists. The "physician" is 16 years old.

actually to have seen the Chinese communist government in action. The armies, he reports, are better drilled and better equipped than government troops. The accompanying photographs, taken by Forman, are among the few pictures available on the Chinese communists. They tell the story of an army which many military observers believe holds the key to the outcome of the current conflict. They show, too, the youth of the soldiers, who average less than 20 years. Of the half million troops, 120,000 are equipped with the latest weapons of warfare. The American-made Thompson sub-machine guns, which became famous during the United States prohibition era, are used by many divisions instead of the usual army rifle. At close range, the Thompson sub-machine gun is as effective as fifty rifles.

Chinese communist leaders declare that if a Soviet form of government is ever established in China, it will guarantee full religious freedom, protect the lives, property, and rights of all foreigners except the Japanese, and would be agreeable to alliances with friendly foreign nations who are prepared to treat China as an equal. (*Exclusive photos by Harrison Forman from International.*)



Practice in the Red salute. They have been taught to hate Japan and to love China.

MORE POWER TO YOU

ECONOMIC planners envisage a future in which a new American society will build toward greater happiness from a power base. Their vision embraces an age with power as free as air, where men liberated from petty toil and drudgery will achieve dignity and leisure and realize fully the hopes of political democracy. And a beginning toward this end has already been made. The giant hydroelectric dams rapidly building throughout the nation are dedicated to relieve man of his most onerous burdens. In size larger than anything that has gone before, the dams are in turn dwarfed by their significance to the immediate future.

In the seven power regions—divisions of the nation for the sake of a coherent planning pattern—men are at work throughout the day and night harnessing great rivers with steel and concrete. Grand Coulee Dam, which will cost some $260,000,000, is being built in the Columbia River Valley and will be, when complete, not only the largest power project, but the largest building job in the world. As an example of means to be employed in gaining the end President Roosevelt has outlined, Grand Coulee is unexcelled. In the immediate future this tremendous monument to man's engineering craft will generate 2,000,000 kilowatts of power every year. Together with the production of the Bonneville Dam building farther down the Columbia River this power output will electrify the Pacific Northwest. It is expected that not only farms and homes will utilize this power but industries will find it an inexpensive way to assist in the exploitation of the region's natural resources. In addition the Grand Coulee reservoir will contain sufficient water to sluice the dry acres of the Columbia River Valley to the south, and make it fertile for over 25,000 drought-stricken families waiting to settle on the land.

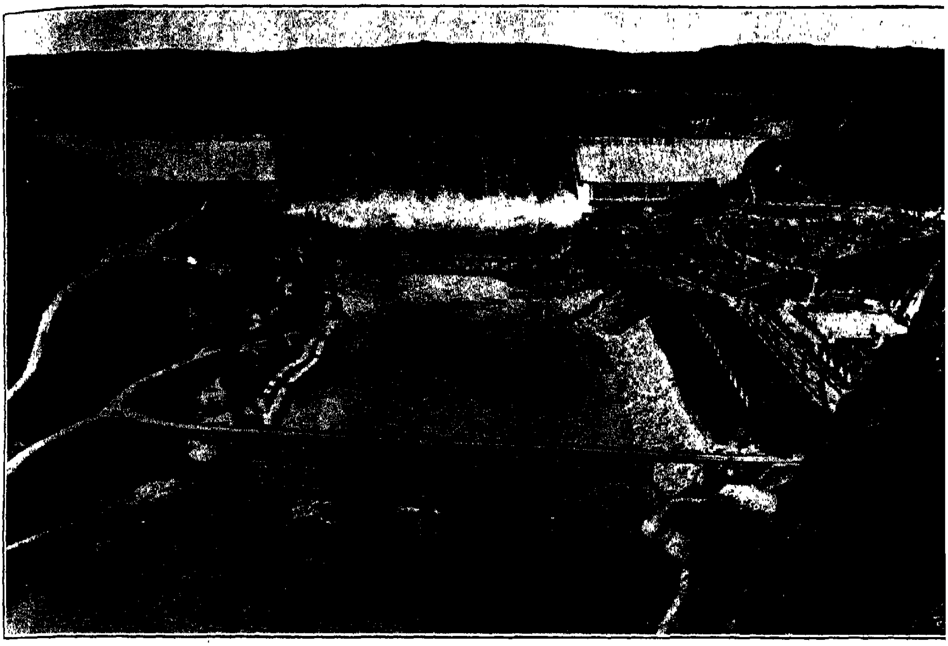


Erecting steel towers for the Danville project.

Comparative statistics concerning the construction of Grand Coulee are staggering. In height it will tower upward 55 stories from a base some 3,000 feet thick. Several buildings the size of the U. S. Capitol could be buried in the wall of the Dam that curves inward against the river's flow.

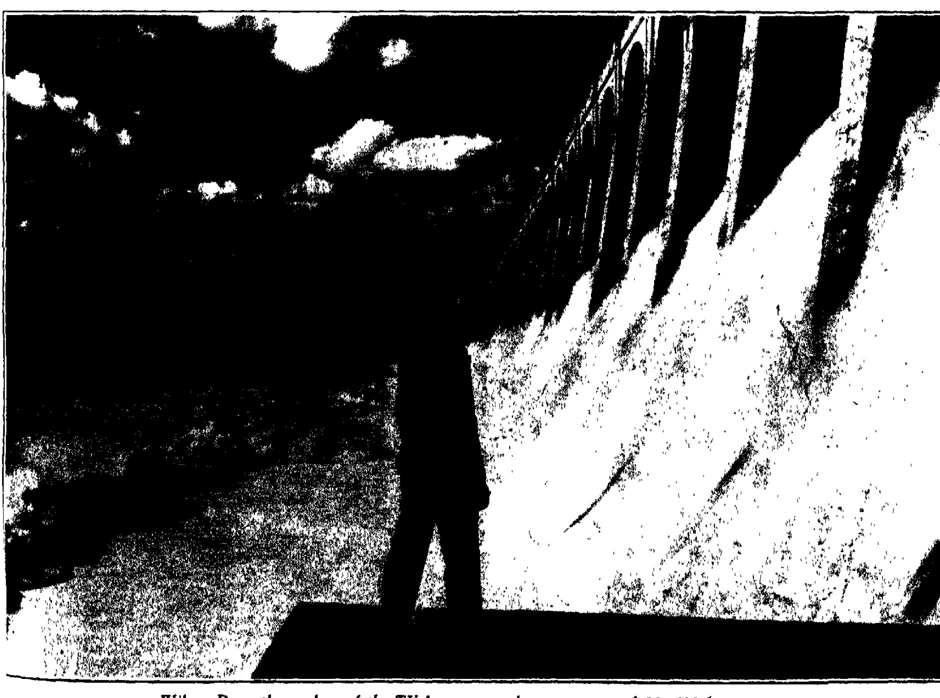


Grand Coulee Dam illuminated by night, where construction proceeds on twenty-four-hour basis.



Artist's conception of Grand Coulee completed to its full height of approximately 550 feet.

And the Grand Coulee, although the largest, is only one of many dams throughout the nation. Fifteen Federal projects are finished or under way, while 13 other non-Federal power projects are in various stages of completion. Of these, the Boulder Dam ranks only slightly below the Grand Coulee as an object of national interest. Located Nevada its four 115,000 horse power generating units sei power to Los Angeles over the main line at 287,500 volt Plans call for an installation of eleven more units of simil power with two additional units of 55,000 horse powe



Wilson Dam, the nucleus of the TVA, operates nine generators of 261,400 horse power.



Oil circuit breakers at Boulder Dam.

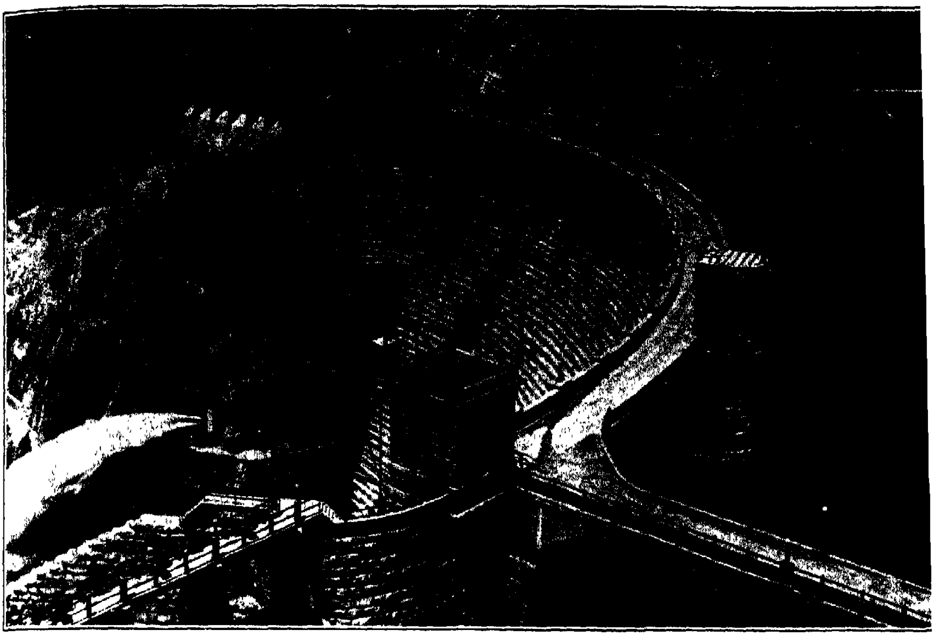


Switching yard at Boulder Dam by night.

In the Tennessee Valley lies the heart of the Federal power program. Here the struggle between Government and private ownership ebbs and flows. Norris Dam with its two 66,000 horse power generators and its capacious reservoir and Wilson Dam are the nucleus of a power Authority which will, eventually, cover 50,600 square miles in seven states for navigation, flood control, power generating, and the fight against soil erosion. Since its inception the Tennessee Valley Authority has been bitterly opposed by private utility companies seeking to destroy the program



Panorama of Fort Peck dam site at the headwaters of the Missouri River in Montana.



Roosevelt Dam on Salt River completed in 1911 is now undergoing alterations started in 1936.

But whether the citizen finds the Federal power project good or bad he is impelled to admire the physical beauty of the various constructions. For in the sheer bulwarks of steel and concrete, in the gleaming dynamos, and precise turbines lies the synthesis of the mechanical age; and the symbol of a nation's will to free from drudgery the human pack beasts of society. The Dams are monuments to civil engineering—that ancient science which seeks, in the struggle with natural forces, the perfect balance, and also finds, more often than not, an esthetic truth.



Aerial view of Boulder Dam showing outdoor switching stations, spillways and turbine towers.

Travel

CUBA AND BERMUDA

A SHIPMENT of pigs that never did arrive at its destination is why Bermuda is called Bermuda. In fact, the entire history of the island might have been altered if the hogs had reached Cuba, where they were supposed to have gone in the first place.

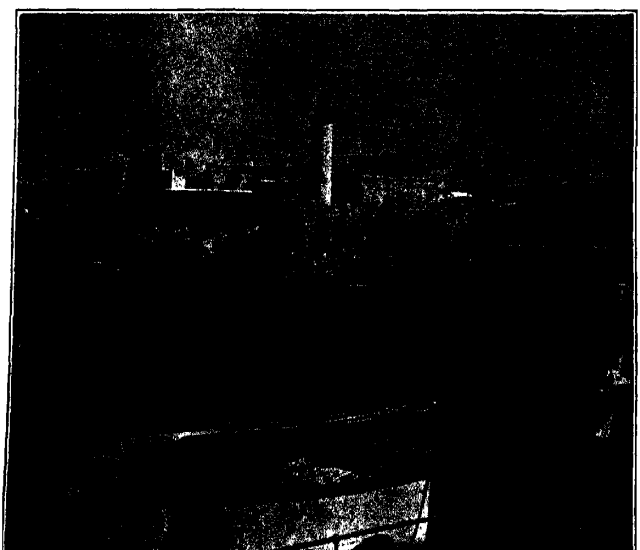
It seems that Juan Bermudez, a Spanish sea captain, was told to ferry the pigs to what was then the other side of the world. It was at the beginning of the sixteenth century and a small Spanish colony had been established on a stretch of land that a middle-aged navigator, Christopher Columbus, had bunked into accidentally some years earlier. The colony needed livestock not only to satisfy immediate appetites but to serve as the nucleus for a permanent source of food. Bermudez accepted the job and was willing enough but he never reached Cuba. He lost a sail or two in a storm and his boat pitched about on the waves for several days until it ended up in a shipwreck on a strip of beach. At first, Bermudez believed he had reached Cuba and set out on an expedition to find his countrymen. The pigs were brought ashore, little the worse for the wreck, although they had set up a mighty collective squeal when the water began to eddy into the boat. He believed at first that he had reached Cuba and formed an expedition to locate his countrymen. It took him but a few hours, however, to discover that the island was not "Cuba" but a small dot of land on the sea. The explorer climbed a tree and was able to see the shore line all around.

Not much more is known about Bermudez except that he lived to tell about his "little pearl" and have the island named after him. And of the pigs there is no record at all. The story is they went the way of all pork and that the meat was good while it lasted.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Henry May, an Englishman, suffered the same fate as Bermudez. His ship ran aground on the island and not long after that another shipwreck brought Sir George Somers to Bermuda. Sir George was the first to establish an English settlement on the island and in 1612 the Bermudas were granted to an offshoot of the Virginia Company, consisting of more than a hundred people, sixty of whom, under the command of Henry More, settled on the island. That was the beginning of the oldest self-governing colony in the British Empire.

Meanwhile, Cuba had been doing some flourishing on her own accord, although not always in a constructive direction. Although Bermudez' expedition failed, several other ships reached the island safely and soon the ambitious Spaniards were looking for new worlds to conquer. They had founded Havana, Trinidad, Puerto Principe and other now important cities by 1515, and sent out expeditions that discovered Yucatan and explored the shores of Mexico. One of their explorers was a determined individualist named De Soto who was anxious to find out about a large strip of land jutting out into the ocean and now known as Florida. De Soto's expedition drained Cuba of men, money and horses and for the next few years the island had a depression as serious as our own economic trouble of 1929-34. Searching around for new industries to pick up the business slack, the business men of the island hit on the idea of a slave trade and Cuba became an important hub for the African market as early as 1523. For a time the slave trade prospered and carried the island along with it. But whatever measure of prosperity the people enjoyed was more than offset by their inability to get one form of government and stick to it. They changed their minds about officials overnight and never could decide between the ecclesiastical authorities on one side and the civil against the other, the *ayuntamiento* or the governors, the administrative officers or the ex-administrative officers. Moreover, there was mutiny, brigandage, and internecine struggles to further disrupt the peace.

Such are the heritages of Cuba and Bermuda, both of which have become two of the most famous island resorts in the world. In a world which war and the weather have made very small for the vacationist, these islands are more in favor today than ever before. The general tension in Europe, the civil war in Spain, and the war in the Far East have all contributed to the increase of visitors to Bermuda and Cuba, and this

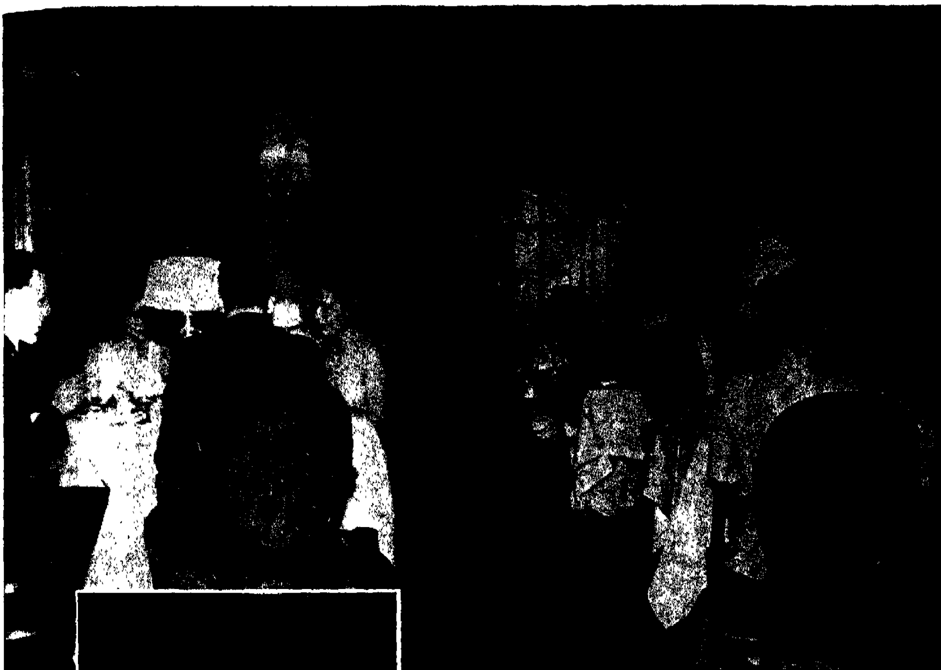


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The Morro Castle in the harbor of Havana, Cuba.

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Out of the house and onto the beach at Bermuda.

winter and summer even more people will vacation at one or both of the islands than last year.

Bermuda Today

The trip to Bermuda takes about forty hours by boat and about six hours by airplane. You will have to pay the United States $5. when you buy your round-trip boat ticket, which will probably average about $80. or more, although there are accommodations as low as $60., in which case your tax is $3. Great Britain also imposes a levy of 12 shillings and 6 pence on each ticket, payable in Bermuda. You can buy only round-trip tickets; one-way tickets are not sold except to Bermuda-born subjects or those in possession of Bermuda landing permits.

Bermuda is one place where the services of a guide are not required. You won't need anybody to tell you what to do and what to see. The island is comfortably small and getting acquainted is no problem. In the winter you'll golf and in the evening you'll wear white ties; in the summer you seldom play more than nine holes because of the heat and you will spend most of your time on the beach or on the lawn with croquet. You can always hire sailboats or speedboats to fit your pace, but you will have to forget all about automobiles for Bermuda is one place where distance is no problem. The people feel that speed and streamlining are out of place in Bermuda and that the danger to life is not worth the questionable advantage of motor cars. Visitors come to Bermuda and believe it impossible at first to get along in a modern civilization without the automobile. They soon change their minds. A questionnaire distributed recently among 474 departing vacationers disclosed that not one was in favor of motor cars on the island.

Most popular forms of transportation are bicycles, carriages, and the Bermuda Railway, the last named being more of a scenic facility than anything else. Carriages are priced fairly high but the Bermuda officials ask you to remember that you are paying not merely for the carriage but for the absence of automobiles on the roads. The cost of equipment is high, feed is expensive, and the drivers just about make a fair living.

A number of Americans have been so pleased with the moderated tempo and healthful living conditions on the island that they have made permanent residence and have become citizens. They are impressed with the fact that Bermuda has had only two depressions during its entire 325 years' history as a colony, and that neither of the depressions occurred later than the 1860's. Taxation is almost negligible. There are no levies on incomes, inheritances, deaths, personal properties, gifts, capital gains, sales, schools, and polls, etc. Real estate assessments are low, generally running less than 50 per cent of the actual cost of land and construction.

Not everybody, however, can become a citizen of Bermuda. In fact, your welcome depends very heavily upon what you do and whom you are. If, for example, you are a union organizer and think that Bermuda offers fertile ground for expanding the labor movement you will be politely but firmly refused access to the island. There are no strikes and no labor unions.

There are other tests you will have to pass if you should desire to live in Bermuda. Your name will be published in the press for all to see and make objections, if they have any. You will then be carefully investigated, Bermudians, you see, are very careful in the selection of their neighbors. There is only a limited area on the island—foreigners may never own more than 2,000 out of the total acreage of 12,500—and the people are chary of admitting anyone whom they feel would disrupt the congeniality of the colony. The final authority on your application is exercised by the Governor who will thoroughly investigate your reputation and the standing in the community from which you have come.

Bermuda does not profess to be a democracy. It is a government of property owners. Less than ten per cent of its citizens can vote; the actual number is 2,456 out of a population of slightly more than 20,000. These are all adult males possessing at least £60 worth of land. There is no representative in the Legislature for every 000 of the population. Bermuda enjoys a grant of legislative powers which cannot be revoked except by special Act of the Imperial Parliament, and has control over its own financial affairs.

Church and educational facilities are ample. There are half a dozen schools for children of all ages, including the co-educational Somers College. The churches are of Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Church of England, African Methodist Episcopal, and Methodist denomination.

Bermuda's relations with the United States have been uniformly friendly except during the American Revolution and the Civil War. When the call to arms against Great Britain was sounded the Bermudians stood by His Majesty, even though their interests in America were very substantial; they had owned a large area in Virginia known as the Bermuda Hundred but still did not feel the Revolution was warranted. The Virginia tract was confiscated by the American government and to this day no settlement of recompense has been made. During the Civil War, the Bermudians sympathized with the Southerners. Many of them were active in running the Northern blockade and a number of them were captured and spent months in Government prisons.

Cuba Today

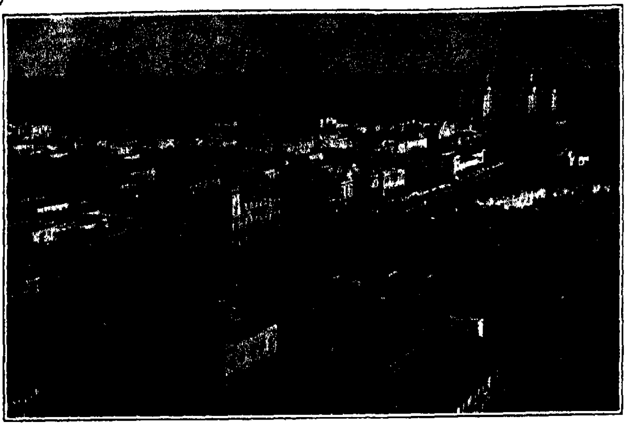
The big interest in Cuba, of course, is Havana, frequently referred to as the "Metropolis of the Caribbean." Unlike Hamilton in Bermuda, Havana is a city in every sense of the word. It has a population of 800,000 and is as busy a city in some sections, as you can find anywhere on the American continent. There is another aspect of Havana, however, that seems to hold a more romantic appeal for American visitors. This is Havana of old Spanish reminiscences and old-world tradition. This is the Havana, too, of famous monuments, cathedrals, and old colonial dwellings. The combination of two worlds in one has always attracted the traveler.

Round-trip fares to Havana run

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 3

1 Honolulu is on the island of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian group
2 Sun's Tomb, or Sun's Shrine, was built in memory of Dr Sun Yat Sen
3 The Chinese Republic was founded in 1911.
4 No, Shanghai is the largest city in China.
5 Shanghai is slightly larger than Chicago; (according to *The World Almanac*, Shanghai has a population of 3,490,000; Chicago, 3,376,000).
6 Dr Sun Yat Sen was the founder of the Chinese Republic
7 No, Soviet Russia occupies between one-sixth and one-seventh of the world's habitable land.
8 The Tennessee Basin is the drainage area of the Tennessee River.
9 Norris Dam has recently been built in the upper Tennessee Basin.
Grand Coulee Dam, which will be the largest ever built.
11. Grand Coulee Dam is on the Columbia River in Washington.
12 William E Dodd has recently resigned as Ambassador to Germany
13. Hugh R. Wilson has been appointed to take Mr Dodd's place.
14 Mr. Wilson was Assistant Secretary of State.
15. Governor Charles H Martin of Oregon.
16. The lumber industry.
17. The late Andrew Mellon was Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Coolidge and Hoover.
18. Alexander Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury under George Washington
19. George Washington was president in the eighteenth century.
20. The McNary Farm Bill Amendment would have limited the operation of the farm bill to three years—1938-40.
21. The McNary Amendment was defeated by a vote of 51-25.
22. By the President.



Havana, the city of boulevards and monuments.

$100. or less depending on the season and the accommodations. Special nine-day cruises which include a three-day stay cost approximately $140., hotel accommodations included. No landing tax is required by Cuba of United States citizens although foreigners are required to pay a tax of $1. and if their destination is the United States they pay $8. when embarking.

There is no unanimity among visitors as to what is most impressive in Havana. Some will say that the view of the Morro Castle when approached from the sea is most inspiring. Others choose Havana's wide boulevards and plazas and churches. Still others favor the government buildings and the public monument. And there are many who remember best the city's centers of amusements. All are right, for all are equally impressive. The historic Morro Castle, a fortress which was once called the "Castle of the Three Kings of the Morro," looms in the harbor like a miniature Gibraltar standing guard over the island. The boulevards are lined with trees and are well-paved. The most famous of them is the Prado, which extends for two miles and along which are found the leading hotels, theatres, and other important buildings. Dominating the upper part of the Prado is the $20,000,000 Capitol building of Cuba, said to be one of the finest structures of its type in the world. The height of its dome, 308 feet, is exceeded only by that of St. Peter's in Rome, 423 feet, and St. Paul's in London, 325 feet. The most famous monument in Havana is the statue of Columbus, discoverer of the island and originator of the phrase, "the loveliest land that human eyes ever have seen." Nearby is the "Templete" shrine, which commemorates the landing of Don Diego Velazquez in 1519. And just at the entrance to the Vedado stands the Maine Monument, erected in 1915 by the Cuban government as a tribute to the 266 Americans who died when the U. S. S. Maine was blown up in the harbor of Havana just forty years ago. Adorning the base of the monument are two cannons and anchor chains which were recovered when the battleship was raised.

Still another tribute to America may be found in the Capitol building where a panel shows the memorable charge of Colonel "Teddy" Roosevelt and his Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in 1898. Nearby is another panel depicting the hoisting of the first Cuban flag from the Morro Castle in 1902, when Governor-General Wood formally delivered the island to Tomas Estrada Palma, the first elected president of the Republic of Cuba.

A typical day for the vacationist in Havana would include a drive, perhaps, along the Prado or along the famous Malecon sea wall to La Playa de Marianao, Havana's most noted bathing beach. It might include, too, a visit to the farm E. Aljibe and a brief taste of a mango. There, too, the visitor would see a cockfight. Those who lean to golf would go out to the city's Country Club. Those who like racing would visit the famous race track at Marianao. And in the evening there are the night clubs, theatres, amusements, and boatrides in the harbor.

The number of Americans visiting Cuba last year exceeded the 1936 total, which was twice as high as the previous year. And there are strong indications that 1938 will surpass even last year. American lines, which dominate the travel facilities to the Caribbean and coastal routes, are the chief benefactors of this travel trend. The Maritime Commission, appointed by President Roosevelt to study means of bolstering the condition of our merchant marine, regards this as one of the definitely optimistic developments pointing to a brighter future for Uncle Sam's shipping lines. The standard of travel established by the Panama Pacific Lines, Grace Lines, and the others to Havana and coastal ports is as high as that usually found only on leading transatlantic lines. And according to present plans now before the Maritime Commission, the service will be still further extended and improved.

HERE AND THERE

AFRICA is a land of paradoxes. You go there expecting to be impressed by its big game; you come away even more impressed by its beautiful buildings, modern cities, and good transportation facilities. You expect to be warned against wild animals, but instead there are signs everywhere asking you not to tease the lions. You have always thought that a sweet tooth means just that, but you will learn that the way to satisfy the sweet tooth of a pigmy is to give him salt. You anticipate intense heat since you are not far from the equator; instead, you grab up all the blankets you can find at night and are thankful for a good fire.

Some pet lovers keep dogs, some cats, some canaries, but many Cubans find their keenest enjoyment in pet fireflies. Lightning bugs in Cuba are so large and bright that they are sometimes imprisoned in wicker cages and used to illuminate cabins in rural districts. During the day, Cuban women and children often play with the insects, just as they would with other pets. Bathed and fed regularly, these fireflies live for several months.

All Hungary is making preparations to welcome nearly 400,000 Roman Catholics from all over the world for the Thirty-Fourth International Eucharistic Congress, to be held in Budapest from May 25 to 28. More than 10,000 from the United States and Canada alone are expected to attend. The Main Altar, before which the great conclave will assemble for Mass, will be erected in one of the city's largest squares, near the entrance of a park. A lake in the park will be drained in order to provide additional space.

A pin which failed to float has often caused many a young lass in the Vosges mountains a little apprehension. It seems that the girls of the village determine their matrimonial possibilities by throwing pins into Saint Sabine's Fountain. If the pin floats, its tosser believes that she will marry soon. If it sinks (as it does almost every time) it is supposed to be a portent that she will not be married for at least a year. Various strategies have been used to overcome the natural laws of submersion, but with little success.

Six English lighthouses are now provided with special perches for birds, with the result that the lives of thousands of migrating birds have been saved. Formerly, the beam of the lantern dazed them, many flying into it and meeting instant death. Now, during the migratory seasons of spring and fall, hundreds of birds rest as guests on the specially provided perches.

Automatic machines are popular in Copenhagen. The railway station has machines providing everything from typewriters to stamps.

There is one place in the world which finds grass on its streets extremely desirable and will grow to the trouble of growing grass on roads where there is none. The place is the Virgin Islands and its reason is to prevent the washing out of roads during heavy storms. Whenever a new stretch of dirt road is built clumps of Devil's Grass are transplanted to it.

Ancient Lachist, mentioned in the Old Testament, and which is supposed to have been at the height of its power about four thousand B.C. is now being uncovered. The city occupied a magnificent situation on a lofty Tel southwest of Beit Jibrin, and guarded the land from the ancient walls to a wide moat at the bottom. Outside the walls and moat there has been found a huge tomb of pit filled with human bones, in all probability thrust there by Sennacherib when he cleared up the city after the siege and capture by the Assyrians.

The Soviet Union is planning one of the most complete collections of living plants in the world. More than 800 acres on the outskirts of Moscow have been set aside for the purpose on the southern slopes of the Lenin hills, near the Moscow River and the Palace of the Soviets. The Government is sending out for special plants all over the world, and special arrangements are being made to keep alive rare tropical and exotic specimens.

Fine Persian carpets have 600 to 700 stitches to the square inch and when a carpet-maker can squeeze in 1,000 stitches he is considered an artist. There are more than 200 kinds of Persian carpets, many of which are exported to London, now the carpet center of the world. The finest are usually hung as tapestries and the basic price of an outstanding one, before duty is paid and before it even reaches wholesalers, is often as high as $12.50 a square foot.

Pumpkin milk is the usual drink in Braunschweig, Germany. Farmers find that the popularity of the beverage has been a boon in enabling them to dispose of their pumpkin harvest. The drink is prepared by slicing the pumpkins and putting them through a presser. The liquid thus squeezed out will keep indefinitely and with the addition of a little cacao makes an excellent chocolate. It can also be made into a powder and used in manufacturing a carmel candy.

A tooth which may have belonged to the "missing link" has been said to have been discovered in the Sterkfontein caves of South Africa. One of three found by a noted scientist, it is believed to be 200,000 years old.

The World Today in Books

(Continued from Page 6)

and knows the political situation in the Balkans and the Danube countries as well as his own name. His book is a welcome contribution for it assorts, classifies and puts each one of the many nations in the central European jumble in its own light. Americans know less, generally speaking, about Central Europe than they do about any part of the continents of Europe and Asia. They usually become confused when they have to place on an imaginary map the locations of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece. And the confusion becomes slightly worse confounded when they try to assess each one in its relations not only to each other but to fascist blocs and to democratic blocs and what-not.

If ever a complicated tangle needed unraveling, it is Central Europe and Fodor has done the job with more interest than one would think possible in such a subject. Central Europe today, he writes, is somewhat nervous. The Rome-Berlin axis upset its balance and made the smaller countries fear for their lives. Austria has had nightmares over the pressure brought to bear on her by both Italy and Germany but doesn't dare to say a word in self-defense, lest self-defense become an armed necessity. Central Europe is nervous, too, when it hears about the size of the Russian war machine. And it is not altogether impossible, Fodor says, that Germany and the Soviet will throw away their swords and agree on shares of the central European booty, the Germans to dominate Austria, Hungary, and the Western Balkans, including Yugoslavia and Greece, and the Russians to exercise influence over the Eastern Balkans, including Constantinople.

Ridiculous? Not as it may seem at first mention. At the turn of the century Russia's mortal enemy was Austria and it appeared that only war could settle the differences between the two. Yet in 1903, at the moment relations between the two countries were most strained, a pact of peace was concluded. Why not a pact of peace in this instance? Mr. Fodor merely mentions the possibility but does not commit his own opinion other than to say that all such conjecture is music of the future.

More of the Transgressor

The High Priest of the nobility of the Fourth Estate, Negley Farson, has followed the way of a transgressor to South America. His *Transgressor in the Tropics* is the record of his experiences and observations among our neighbors to the South. It would be unfair to expect Mr. Farson's latest book to be as completely absorbing as his *Way of a Transgressor;* an autobiography as remarkable as that cannot be written every day, yet those who were attracted to the first work will regard *Transgressor in the Tropics* as an attractive and welcome side dish rather than another main course.

If Farson has an equal as a storyteller that person has not been exposed to public view. The Transgressor can take you on a tramp steamer and inside of a few minutes make you feel as if you knew the captain and the crew all your life. And the same skill also applies to countries and peoples and political situations and things you like to know that you never knew before.

In South America Farson pried open closed books everywhere. The United States and Great Britain still exploit the fabulously rich oil fields of Venezuela, Colombia, and Peru; they operate the gold mines of Colombia and Ecuador, together with the remaining public utilities; and they mine all the copper coming out of Peru and Chile. "In other words, the Americans and British still have their hands on the national incomes of these countries." But they are not doing it any more with the acquiescence of the local statesmen. It seems that they are no longer welcome and the South Americans are casting about for ways to free themselves of exploitation.

Price of Peace

An informal little essay on peace and ways of remaining at peace has been written by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and is called *This Troubled World*. It is a little longer than the full-sized magazine article and the First Lady explains her feelings on a number of world problems, briefly, charmingly, and with an utter lack of affectation. Her conclusion may seem to some to show unwarranted faith in man as a peace-loving specimen, but faith has always been the least of all faults.

Mrs. Roosevelt believes that brotherly love can do good, but only when it is translated into action. If we want peace, she says, we will have to want it enough to want to pay for it, "in our behavior and in material ways. We will have to want it enough to overcome our lethargy and go out and find all those in other countries who want it as much as we do."

Dr. Butler's World

Some months ago Quincy Howe wrote a little book called *England Expects Every American to do His Duty*. It was a warning that we would be called on again, as we were in the past, to carry the torch for His Majesty in whatever war Great Britain might be involved. Mr. Howe advised Americans to steer clear of any alliances, especially when the appeal was based on the argument that the English-speaking peoples should stay together under all circumstances. For the diametrically opposite point of view, we can refer to *The Family of Nations*, by Nicholas Murray Butler. The president of Columbia University would like to see all this petty squabbling among nations cease and he believes that the way to do it is through international cooperation.

This is not a new nor startling pronouncement for Dr. Butler. He has been advocating a family of nations from the moment he became articulate as a public figure and that was as far back as anyone of us can remember. He saw great possibilities in the League of Nations but he thinks the big mistake was to link it up with the "vengeful and backward-facing provisions" of the Treaty of Versailles. He contends, too, that the League suffered a heavy blow when it was snubbed by the United States. This was one of our greatest diplomatic errors, Dr. Butler says. We cannot remain remote and aloof from the rest of the world and say that nothing concerns us but ourselves:

> The folly of this illusion is only exceeded by its profound immorality. If one sees a fellow human being assaulted and outraged in a public place, he quickly gives the alarm and calls the police. He does not regard himself as aloof from the criminal happening but rather sees it to be of direct and intimate concern to himself and to the social order of which he is a member. Precisely the same is true of the conduct of nations. An assault by one nation upon another has now become as criminal an act as is the assault of one individual upon another.

Dr. Butler thinks it would be tragic if anything should come between the United States and Great Britain. We both speak the same language, he points out, and it would be a calamity if the peoples of both nations lost their self-confidence, their courage, and their determination to understand each other and to work always together for the common end.

CURRENT HISTORY





TEST-TUBE BABIES

FROM the test tubes of industry have come many of the jobs that keep America busy. Fifteen million American men and women are at work today in jobs that did not exist in 1900. These jobs do exist today because, through research, industry has been able to develop hundreds of new products. And it has been able to make them so inexpensive that millions of people have been able to buy them.

These jobs are "test-tube babies," created in the modern research laboratories of industry. As a result, millions of people are employed today in welding, in making and selling radios, electric refrigerators, lamp bulbs, automobiles, and hundreds of other manufactured products invented within the memory of many now living. General Electric engineers and research scientists have contributed greatly to this progress.

From the G-E Research Laboratory, in Schenectady, has come the modern electric lamp, which uses less electricity and gives more light, thereby saving the public $5,000,000 a night. From it have come the modern x-ray tube which is helping the physician save lives, and conquer disease and suffering; the high-vacuum tube which makes radiobroadcasting possible; and many other developments which have created new jobs.

G-E research and engineering have saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar they have earned for General Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC

1938—OUR SIXTIETH YEAR OF ELECTRICAL PROGRESS—1938

CURRENT HISTORY

MARCH 1938

Editor and Publisher, M. E. TRACY *General Manager*, JOHN C. CASMAN

Advertising Manager, JOHN A. CURTIS *Managing Editor*, STEVEN CARTWRIGHT

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ARTICLES

FEATURES

On the cover you will see a graphic portrayal of a ground in which some children of the nation's submerged third" are being brought up. The rest the story of the nation's housing needs and what being done about them is told in *Uncle Sam's Housing Worries*. No one can speak with greater authority on this question than the author of this article—**Nathan Straus**, the Federal Housing Administrator.

M. Chautemps Cries "Wolf" brings a new and brilliant contributor to *Current History* readers. **Alexander Werth** is a British journalist, the Paris correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, and the author of two standard works on France, *France in Ferment* (Harper's, 1934) and *Which Way France?* (Harper's, 1937). He presents a new slant on the last French crisis and makes some interesting predictions. It is a most timely and penetrating interpretation of the French scene.

While charges against the railways and counter-charges by the railways are flying around, there are numerous rumors of impending government action with the coming of busses, trailers, and air transport, stockholders in railroad companies are beginning to feel like another host of "forgotten men." In *Lo, the Poor Railroads!* **F. E. Williamson**, president of the New York Central, succinctly and forcefully presents the position of the railways.

The newspapers periodically feature blasts from loyalist or rebel sympathizers accusing the other side in the Spanish war of distorting the news. In *Correspondents in Spain*, **Lawrence A. Fernsworth**, London and New York *Times* correspondent in Barcelona, discusses this censorship issue. His article, incidentally, uncensored, having been sent from France as he returned to his Barcelona post.

W. Carroll Munro, an associate editor of *Current History*, pricks some bubbles and points out where the economists err in his entertaining and illuminating analysis of *The American Way*, which is not always as it appears in the advertisements.

Most of the headlines have gone to the pogroms, the street riots, and the other extra-legal outbursts of anti-Semitic activity in Germany. But behind all these is a vast web of anti-Semitic laws, lending sanction to the continuing persecution. **Curt L. Heymann** takes us through this extremely important but little known aspect of Nazi Germany in *German Laws Against the Jews*. Dr. Heymann is a member of the editorial staff of *The New York Times* and a frequent contributor to these pages.

Someone calculated that, if every Chinaman added half an inch to his shirt, the American cotton problem would not exist. Well, the Chinese failed to take action on this proposal, and cotton-growers, slowly realizing that they were not likely to, began to look around for more substantial prospects nearer home. The result is that *Cotton Finds New Markets*, and the South finds its hopes revived. The author of this article, **Howard Stephenson**, is the author of several books, a former Scripps-Howard editorial writer, and former editor of *The American Druggist*.

Guerrilla warfare is now the order of the day in China. These small battles may have much to do with the result of the war over a period of time. But by far the most decisive phase of the hostilities so far has been Japan's devastating advance from Shanghai inland, smashing through the series of Chinese "Hindenburg lines" and capturing China's cities. The military aspects of this history-making event are lucidly described in *Japan's Big Push* by **Captain Andrew Tolstoy**, military expert and author of *Chronicle of War* in the December issue, to which the present article is an important sequel.

Negotiations between capital and labor for the settlement of disputes have been more successful in railways than in any other branch of industry, and the machinery established there has been held up as a model for all to follow. In the seventh article of his series on *Labor in America*, Herbert Harris describes the significant growth and activities of the railroad brotherhoods, which may, by the way, point the way to peace between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O.

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N. B. COUSINS

The World Today in Books

LAST year, when this department published its annual article on university presses, a reader wrote and asked why it was, if universities published as many important books as we said they did, that most of the book reviewers seldom discussed those works in their columns. We replied that most book reviewing, like book publishing, was largely a matter of buck-passing; that a surprising number of books was selected for review on the basis of the publisher's name; that the publisher, in his turn, leaned heavily on the name of the literary agent; and finally, that the literary agent was often dependent upon the name of the author. The university press, however, does not rotate on this orbit. To begin with, it is not interested in, nor does it need literary agents. Its books are selected in the majority of instances not on the basis of whether the author is a proven best-seller, but on the basis of whether what the author has to say deserves to be printed. And lacking the business organization and the promotion budget of the commercial publishers, the university press has no "name" with which to impress the reviewers, a number of whom entertain the notion that any book bearing the imprint of a university press must be pretty stuffy reading.

These two reasons—the lack of bigness in reputation and the conception of university books as highly technical—have been responsible for the paucity of reviews in the popular channels. There are, however, exceptions. The literary critic of the *New York Times* devoted two successive columns recently to a university press book, despite a conspicuous silence on the work among most of his colleagues. *Sweden: The Middle Way*, one of the two university press books on *Current History*'s list of the ten outstanding non-fiction works of 1936, was "discovered" by a daily reviewer for one of the Metropolitan newspapers. But for the most part, a university book must already be on the best-seller lists before the reviewers will say anything about it.

While it is true that a large percentage of the university books are of a specialized nature and do not lend themselves to popular appeal, many reviewers make the mistake of ruling out all university books on this basis. One of the finest and most important of recent books—one which was especially written for a popular audience—received nothing like the attention it justly deserved. The book, *This Is Our World*, by Paul B Sears, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, has as perfect a general reading appeal as anything published in the non-fiction field in recent months, yet comparatively few reviewers gave it any mention at all, despite its evident ability to carry top billing.

If it is the intention of the reviewers to wait until the university presses build a "name" for themselves, in the commercial sense of the word, they shall not have to wait very long. The growth of the presses in the general field has been little short of amazing. More than twenty of them have joined a central sales agency, University Books, in a definite attempt to make headway in the popular book market. The central agency sends out travelers who call on libraries and book stores throughout the country, to show and offer for sale the books published by the university presses. A central display of university books is maintained for the public. In the one year since *Current History* made its last survey on university press publishing, the soundness and practicability of this move have been easily apparent

UNIVERSITY BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
This Is Our World	Paul B. Sears	University of Oklahoma Press	$2.50
A History of Historical Writing	Harry Elmer Barnes	University of Oklahoma Press	3.50
Britain in Europe 1789 to 1914	R. W. Seton-Watson	Cambridge University Press	9.00
The Citizen's Choice	Ernest Barker	Cambridge University Press	2.00
Dom Pedro the Magnanimous	Mary Wilhelmine Williams	Chapel Hill	3.50
A History of Argentina	Ricardo Levene	Chapel Hill	4.00
Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America	Gordon Ireland	Harvard University Press	4.50
Documents on International Affairs 1936	Stephen Heald, John W. Wheeler-Bennett	Oxford University Press	14.00
The Criminals We Deserve	Henry T. F. Rhodes	Oxford University Press	2.50
Machine Politics: Chicago Model	Harold F. Gosnell	University of Chicago Press	2.50
Victorian Critics of Democracy	Benjamin E. Lippincott	University of Minnesota Press	3.75
The Unicameral Legislature	Alvin W. Johnson	University of Minnesota Press	2.50
Spain Poised	S. Chatwood Burton	University of Minnesota Press	5.00
Theory and Practice of International Relations	Madariaga	University of Pennsylvania Press	1.50
China and the World War	La Fargue	Stanford University Press	3.25
Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland	Raphael Semmes	Johns Hopkins Press	5.00

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—*John Haynes Holmes*

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—*Norman Thomas*

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—*Fannie Hurst*

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Avenues of distribution heretofore unopened were made available. Sales of university books in the popular fields have spurted. Promotion has been intelligently planned and executed. It is with no feeling of undue optimism that *Current History* is able to report on the basis of its present survey that the university press is in the commercial field to stay; that its influence in the world of books is greater today than at any time in its publishing history; and that an even greater growth may be expected within the next few years.

Already, the presses have taken the leadership in certain phases of publishing. In printing and in binding, their margin of superiority over the average commercial press has been very marked. Little yet has been published that can compare with University of Chicago's *Ancient Egyptian Paintings,* the most costly and elaborate art publication ever produced. The presses of North Carolina, Stanford, and Oklahoma to mention only a few, exemplify book-making at its best. Each work is produced as if it were made to go on exhibition.

Oklahoma

The current publishing lists of the university presses reveal a number of works which have a broad appeal. *This Is Our World,* by Paul B. Sears, is in keeping with the fine tradition established by its author when he wrote *Deserts on the March,* which won for him a Book-of-the-Month fellowship three years ago. Like his earlier work, Mr. Sears' present effort seeks to bridge the gap between the scientist and the layman. His writing is charged with a wondrous enthusiasm for the world about him. This enthusiasm is not affected; it is part of Paul Sears, and there are few readers, whether they are professional scientists or laymen, who will not feel that they have had a large measure of that enthusiasm transmitted to them through this book. Writers will do well to observe closely the author's technique. Never pompous, never emphasizing his own authority, never overwhelming the reader with weighty detail, never heckling the text with annoying footnotes, Mr. Sears is completely in command of his audience at all times. To him, man's relation to the world about him is the most interesting of all subjects, and he writes as if he were going to prove it.

This Is Our World tells the story of the *real* world in which we live. "It is the world," Paul Sears writes, "we see only in faint distortions in office or apartment, the world which passes like an unreal picture as we ride along our ribbons of concrete. It is the world which reaches us, vastly disguised, through the ticker-tape or the weather report. It is the world against which we have erected the barriers of cities, transportation, clothing, and all of civilized culture. . . It is the world into which, if we are to survive, we must fit, no matter how pretentious we are."

The University of Oklahoma, which published Mr. Sears' book, is also the publisher of another excellent recent work: *A History of Historical Writing* by Harry Elmer Barnes.

Mr. Barnes, whose prolificity in the field of research writing is a source of mixed admiration and amazement to those who have followed him through more than two dozen works on history, sociology, and political theory, has contributed what in many respects might be called a pioneer work. His-

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 76

1. What is the name of the gulf between Mexico and Lower California?
2. Which State has the most railway mileage?
3. Which State is the wealthiest?
4. Which State was the last to enter the union?
5. Who is the ruler of Vatican City?
6. What States does Lake Erie touch?
7. What is a uni-cameral legislature?
8. Name the last four Vice-Presidents of the U. S.
9. Name three living former Vice-Presidents?
10. Has the Vice-President a vote in the Senate?
11. Charles G. Dawes was Vice-President under what President?
12. Who was recently appointed Solicitor General?
13. Who is the "forgotten man of Doorn"?
14. Name the eight countries that touch the boundaries of Germany.
15. Who is the Treasurer of the United States?
16. Name seven of the countries that signed the nine-power treaty?
17. David Lloyd George held what position during the world war?
18. Is Mexico a member of the League of Nations?
19. Has oil production in Mexico increased or decreased the last 15 years?
20. Which have the largest investments in Mexico, American or British interests?
21. Paul van Zeeland is ex-premier of what country?
22. Name the three great American dirigibles that have met with disaster within the past fifteen years?

tories have been written about peoples and countries and movements but there has been very little in the way of histories on histories. This subject is not as inconsequential as might first appear, especially since Mr. Barnes' method has been to view the writing of history through the intellectual accomplishments or failings in each major period. So that the work is not a compendium of historical listings but a dimensional study of the various cultures which played prominent parts in the attitudes of the historians, as well as a careful examination of the individual contributions of the major historical writers of each period. Mr. Barnes does not discard his critical faculties when he comes to a consideration of contemporary historians, although it would have been easier for him to slide gracefully over the last fifty years, thus conveniently sidestepping any controversy. If there is one failing in his book, it is that one of the most prominent of contemporary historians has no mention at all—and that historian is the author himself, Mr. Barnes.

Cambridge

THE Cambridge University Press, through the Macmillan Company, has recently issued two important works. These are *The Citizen's Choice*, by Ernest Barker and *Britain in Europe*, 1789 to 1914, by R. W. Seton-Watson. Mr. Barker's work consists of a series of lectures and essays by the author during the last five years. Although originally composed for a university audience, the lectures are simply and clearly written and will be of great service to those who are trying to appraise each of the various schools of political thought and find a comfortable haven in which to house their convictions. There is no clear-cut solution, Professor Barker warns, for to denounce one form of government as totally bad and to uphold another as totally good is to deny the necessity for critical observation. He points out, for example, that to be a "pure friend of fascism is to forget that it tends to substitute a generated mass-enthusiasm for the reasoning and reasonable process of discussion." And to be a "pure enemy of fascism is to forget that democratic forms of discussion may be degraded into a collusive game for lucrative stakes."

Britain in Europe is one of the vastest undertakings in the field of history in recent years. The author, Masaryk Professor of Central Euro-

pean History in the University of London, wrote the book out of need for a historical study of British foreign policy, as apart from the Empire's diplomatic policy. Dr. Seton-Watson points out in his preface that he originally planned to limit the volume to the period from 1822 to 1874, but soon became convinced that an extension of the work, both earlier and later, was necessary. The work is the result of careful scholarship and will be widely used as the standard reference study on this subject.

North Carolina

The Chapel Hill Press of the University of North Carolina, which has done more than any publishing house in the country to explain, dramatize and chronicle the history and the needs of the South, seems to be heading still farther south in the Americas for book material, and the indications are that it will establish leadership in that field, too; at least, if the two current books it is issuing on South America are to be taken as any criterion. The books are *A History of Argentina*, by Ricardo Levene, and *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous*, by Mary Wilhelmine Williams.

Translated and edited by W. S. Robertson, *A History of Argentina* is the first volume of the Inter-American Historical Series, which had its beginnings in the Pan American Congress held at Panama in 1926—one hundred years after the famous Bolivarian congress of 1826. The proposal was made and adopted at the session that a qualified representative of each country in Hispanic America write a history of his country, one that would reveal to Anglo-Americans the manner in which each nation was considered by its own historians. The series has started very auspiciously with *A History of Argentina*, which has set a high standard for the works which are to follow. The publication of this series throws out in bold relief a function of the university presses that is very close to a public service. Although the series could not be expected to be published without a loss, and although foundations interested in Hispanic America were not able to lend financial aid, Chapel Hill considered the publication of these books far more important than any prospective monetary return and assumed the responsibility for their issuance.

Another pioneering achievement by this press is the biography of Dom Pedro II, of Brazil, of whom there has been no work to date in the English language. Dr. Williams has told the story here of one of the most colorful of all South American rulers. Dom Pedro, says Dr. Williams, was one of the most notable people of his century. He brought to his people the "best results of human thinking throughout the world; and, in view of the national and constitutional handicaps against which he struggled, he should rank among the wisest and best rulers of the period." *Dom Pedro* is a pleasantly written biography; it should be of great value to students of Brazilian history.

Harvard

On the subject of books dealing with South America, what is certain to become a recognized reference work has been published by the Harvard University Press. It is called *Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America* and is written by Gordon Ireland, professor of Civil and Latin-American Law, at the Louisiana State University Law School.

Professor Ireland's work is a detailed factual record of the boundary disputes which have constituted "so large a proportion of the international problems of the South American republics for over a hundred years." The book is a monument of research.

Oxford

One of the most notable accomplishments of the Oxford University Press has been its publication of the works issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The latest of these volumes is *Documents on International Affairs 1936*, edited by Stephen Heald in conjunction with John W. Wheeler-Bennett. Consisting of the texts of speeches, correspondence, treaties, etc., the work is supplementary to the *Survey on International Affairs.* Ever since 1928, the *Documents* series has been an indispensable reference work for the historian, the diplomat, and all those who have a specialized interest in world affairs. The present volume includes material on Europe, the Middle East, America, and the Far East, as well as documents having no specific relation to localities, such as the Tripartite Currency Agreement.

The Criminals We Deserve is the intriguing title of another book on the Oxford list. Written by Henry T. F. Rhodes, professor of criminology at the University of Lyons, and a member of the International Academy of Criminology, the book is a candid examination of popular attitudes toward the criminal, penal systems, and ways of

reducing or even eliminating crime. There is little comfort in Professor Rhodes' work for those who approve of the American form of crime prevention and penal correction. Criminality, he says, is something inherent in our social order and unless we take steps to adjust the social order to the present-day needs of a more complicated society we cannot hope to expect a reduction in crime. Moreover, he adds, the usual methods of penal correction are not correction at all but actually serve the purpose of confirming a criminal in his anti-social tendencies.

Chicago

Not the least among the University of Chicago's various specialties are its studies on politics. The faculty numbers several members who have not limited themselves to the far-off study of politics but who have actually gone into the field, some with a large measure of success. T. V. Smith, author of *The Promise of American Politics*, published two years ago, has made a name for himself not only in the professorial but in the political field. And now another member of Chicago's faculty, Harold F. Gosnell, who has been dipping in and out of politics for many years gathering first-hand information for his many studies, has kept the tradition going with his *Machine Politics: Chicago Model.*

What the Lynds have done for Middletown in the field of sociology, Professor Gosnell has done for Chicago in the field of politics. Beginning with the Big Crash of 1929 and up through the last Presidential election to the present day, the author has peeled the concealing layers off Chicago politics for all to see. When the political pendulum swung toward the Democrats as the result of depression, Chicago underwent no purifying experience. The labels were different but the appetites of the controlling politicians changed not one whit from their predecessors: trimmings with gravy on every plate. The defeated opposition party, however, suffered more severely than it would in a normal period because there was not enough left over to sustain them in the manner to which they were accustomed. "In a period of economic depression," Mr. Gosnell says, "there is graft enough for only one machine."

Not the least important aspect of the book is the interesting analysis of the influence of the press during the 1936 election. Despite the popular impression that the Roosevelt victory indicated that the Chicago press had

completely lost influence, charts prepared by the author definitely show that such was not the case.

Minnesota

VICTORIAN CRITICS OF DEMOCRACY, by Benjamin E. Lippincott, and published by the University of Minnesota Press, is an interesting discussion and examination of the intellectual rightists of the nineteenth century. There is very little difference, Mr. Lippincott says, between the issues of democracy and capitalism during the Victorian era and that of today, and the criticisms of democracy made then are just as applicable now. In fact, "Hitler and Mussolini made Carlyle's fight" and are his "heroes in action, ruling the dull millions." Ruskin, the author adds, was more of a National Socialist than the present Nazi rulers; Arnold anticipated the Fabian socialists; Lecky typifies the dilemma of the middle-class; and there are "elements of fascist thought in Stephen and Maine."

Mr. Lippincott's position is that as a group, the Victorian critics of democracy had little understanding of the need for freedom among the lower classes. "They put too much emphasis on authority . . . they did not see that the democratic system, which they opposed, is the very best system for achieving their end; they did not see that the best way to make men responsible is to give them some responsibility."

Mr. Lippincott thinks and writes clearly. The issue is sharply defined. If we mean by democracy the welfare of the majority of the people, then we cannot assume that the best way to provide that welfare is to limit the people in their expression and in their rights. A democracy is not a democracy if it becomes the property of any small group, regardless of its intellectual trappings and drawing-room philosophy.

Two additional Minnesota books deserving of special mention are *The Unicameral Legislature*, by Alvin W. Johnson and *Spain Poised; An Etcher's Record*, by S. Chatwood Burton. Dr. Johnson's work is an important study of a form of State government which may very well serve as the model to be adopted by forty-seven States in the union. Nebraska has already adopted the one-house form of legislature, and Dr. Johnson reports that its experience has been largely successful. Opponents of the unicameral system will find that most of their arguments have no foundation in fact.

Spain Poised was written and drawn for the purpose of preserving the memory of the Spain that existed before the civil war. How much remains of the old "Castles in Spain" era is hard to say, but Mr. Burton has contributed a number of effective reminders. In a series of technically competent, pleasant etchings, he shows us how they all used to look—Cordoba, Toledo, Alcazar, Cuenca, the Alhambra, to mention a few which are familiar to most Americans. The author's comments confirm a characteristic apparent in his drawings—he is sensitive to the beauty not only of Spanish castles but of Spanish tradition.

Pennsylvania

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, who has been clarioning for greater understanding among all nations with great vigor in this country during the last few years, has written a little book for the University of Pennsylvania Press on *Theory and Practice of International Relations*. Mr. Madariaga states with great conviction his belief that if the

problems of world affairs are to be solved at all, they will have to be solved collectively. Some permanent system is necessary to solve these problems, he says, adding that the establishment of a workable and strong world council for world affairs is the first step. The author's own opinion seems to be that the present League could serve the desired purpose.

Stanford

ONE of the most ambitious of all American university press undertakings is the Hoover War Library Publications, issued by the Stanford University Press. The twelfth volume in the series, *China and the World War,* by Thomas Edward La Fargue, has just been published. Authoritative and comprehensive, the work is of especial importance at this time in view of the background material it affords for an understanding of the present conflict in the Far East. The causes of today's war are not all to be found in events of the last few years; some of them have their roots in events in China's history since the turn of the century, and Mr. La Fargue's work makes this clear. The author has covered every aspect of China's history during the World War. He has recorded the relations of China with each of the various belligerents and has included texts of documents which figured prominently in China's war participation.

Johns Hopkins

RAPHAEL SEMMES writes of Maryland's early history with the warmth and richness of expression that usually come only from personal observation. His *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland,* published by the Johns Hopkins Press, offers much evidence that the intervening centuries have not dulled the sparkle of the characters who gave so much color to their State's early development. Perhaps it is because Mr. Semmes is writing about people, and not about prosaic events, that he succeeded in giving so much flavor to his book. The author's research uncovered a mine of interesting narrative which he has passed along to the reader and which in many cases is told in the words of the early settlers—strong, vibrant language, full of bounce.

The Johns Hopkins Press, incidentally, has just celebrated its Sixtieth Anniversary. The pioneer American press issued its first work, the

(*Continued on Page 80*)



Turmoil

SPOKESMEN for small business, called in conference by the Roosevelt Administration, met, roared, rowed, resoluted, and adjourned, all within three days.

What does the Administration know that it did not know before? What do the small business men know that they did not know before? What do the rest of us know that we did not know before?

You cannot quarrel with the objective. No more can you quarrel with most of the objectives men have sought since the dawn of time. If it were merely a question of objectives, humanity would have been on a level with the angels long ere this!

There is not one thing to be said against the idea of trying to get advice from small business men, big business men, or even medium-sized business men. But what about the idea of running a government like ours on the advice, or in response to the pressure of groups? Is it consistent with our traditions in particular, or with the basic principles of democracy in general, to rest public policy on group, clique, bloc, or class desires?

That is the all-important question confronting the nation.

For five years now, we have been trying to work ourselves into a state of economic bliss by a series of detached and often contradictory adjustments between or among factions. The outstanding result has been to increase and harden factionalism, to split the country into blocs, to widen rather than close up the cracks. For the moment, anything like genuine cooperation between capital and labor is out of the question. Each has been practically forced to mobilize against the other, to assume that their common interest does not outweigh all other interests, and that the public interest is of no great importance. If the aim was to promote bigger and better quarreling, the Wagner Act must be written down as a huge success—4,000 strikes in 1937, with a million and a half workers affected, and the loss of 27,000,000 days' work, not to mention all other losses incident to disturbance, disruption, and disorder.

Unless I have misread American history, the underlying purpose of this government was to apply the broadest and most universal principles to all problems and to consult group, factional, or class interests only when they conformed with such principles. That purpose, however, appears to have been forgotten in the present scramble for prosprity at any price.

The New Deal's biggest idea seems to be that we can attain general prosperity by fixing up first one group and then another, either through the granting of special favors, or through restrictions on some opposing group, by robbing Peter to pay Paul, then Paul to pay Peter, and then somebody else to pay both. To this end, we have had conferences galore, each sounding its own horn and winding up with petitions for some measure that would react to its own peculiar advantage. The net result has been a veritable hodge-podge of legislation, much of which has died because of obvious impracticalities. Vast sums of money have been expended to help some groups increase their production and vast sums have been spent to help other groups curtail it. Those in charge have titled the performance "expert planning," but mostly it has been brought about by group pressure.

All this represents a definite change in American ideas as to what the purpose of legislation should be, and on what principles it should be formulated. Whether constitutional or not, many measures that have been passed with the since objective of promoting the common good, conflict with those traditions and standards which our system of government is supposed to express. Millions of people have been persuaded or coerced into joining organizations and fostering antagonisms in which they do not sincerely believe and which involve the surrender of their personal rights and opinions. Not only because of the confusion which results from these expanded antagonisms and organizations, but because of widespread discontent among people who have been drawn into them, and, above all else, because the outcome has been far less satisfactory than was promised and predicted, we have little to show for all the spending and experimenting except turmoil. Nothing has done more to discourage the American people than the continuous proposing, modifying, and abandoning of plans which at best could only help segments of the population.

M E Tracy


FED. GOV'T BUY 7,000000 OLD CARS!..
WE WANT 16 BILLION BUCKS!
FED. GOV'T! TAKE OVER ALL RELIEF
FED. GOV'T WE WANT SUBSIDIES
FED. GOV'T! TAKE OUR COAL MINES
FED. GOV'T! LOWER COSTS-
FED. GOV'T WE WANT HIGHER WAGES
FED. GOV'T! WE WANT MORE SUBSIDIES
FED. GOV'T! TAKE OVER UTILITIES
BALANCE THE BUDGET
RENATO

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

Armaments for Peace

DESPITE the passive disapproval of a good portion of the citizenry, the Administration has decided to arm for peace. Battleships will be built, cannon cast and young men trained—for peace. This may seem contradictory to those who have not yet learned that peace and war have much in common.

And there are many interesting aspects to this domestic armament program. Of greatest interest at present is the justification offered for peaceful arming by the apologists or, as they are commonly known, the expert observers. In the first place their logical minds refuse to believe that behind the armament program lies a pathological fever bordering on mental chaos. To these gentlemen domestic armament for foreign war is but another clearly indicated step in the pursuit of a sound politico-economic foreign policy. The battleships, they point out, are replacements for obsolescent units and not, as many people think, additional reinforcements. Nor will these new battleships be available much before 1942. So it is, we are told, that instead of being a pledge to some future war, the naval building program is in reality an instrument of peace to be cleverly and, of course, irresistibly, manipulated to that end.

Consider the threat of the totalitarian nations to the democracies of the world, the threat of Germany in middle Europe, the threat of Italy in Africa, the threat of Japan in Asia, each and all dissatisfied nations intent upon bettering their positions at all costs. The United States, we are told, must combine with other democracies to meet this threat or prepare to meet it alone. But how? And the apologists for the Administration have the answer. In fact we are not only informed that our leaders are at present preparing cannon and bombs, but have already baited and set an economic trap into which Hitler, Mussolini, Hirohito, and perhaps, even Vargas will stumble. Once caught these scourges will then summarily be tried by economic law. It is all very simple.

We are told that the heart, liver, and lungs of the Administration's foreign policy is Mr. Hull's reciprocal-trade-treaty program. Recently this policy secured the signing of a British trade treaty. And that treaty—in theory—we are informed, completes the economic trap into which we are going to tumble our enemies. It will work as follows. Suppose Germany for the purpose of securing raw materials on a barter basis, gains political ascendency over a weak-sister nation, and demands from its victim an exclusive trade arrangement. Such an agreement will of course conflict with our own reciprocal-trade-treaty policy. Thus the weak-sister nation is forced into a position where it must either choose Germany, a totalitarian nation, or the United States, a democracy. And if it chooses Germany, then automatically it will be deprived (because of our agreement with Britain) of access to two-thirds of the world trade. In view of this, we are told, the ensuing pressure upon the unfortunate nation to break away from Germany's political orbit will be terrific.



Glasgow Record

THE ROOSEVELT POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

But assuming that this theoretical economic trap has been sprung, then isn't it probable that Germany will bare a fang to gobble up the vacillating weak-sister republic? What then? Simple indeed, for in conjunction with Britain, the United States will threaten Germany with superior cannon and battleships. As a result Germany will desist, and willingly appear before an international tribunal where a basis for permanent world peace will be laid on the necks of the totalitarian nations by the victorious democracies. Thus the status quo will be preserved, and the have-not nations will have

been coerced into a secondary political and economic world position.

Such is the lofty scheme, and as one observer pointed out, a scheme touched with nobility. But even so, can we be assured that Hitler has lost his second sight, that Mussolini is dozing, that Hirohito is asleep in his garden? And are these alleged monsters affrighted more easily today than yesterday? Isn't it more probable



Arizona Republic

I'M MEASURIN' HIM FOR A NEW SUIT OF ARMOR

that the totalitarian nations will fight rather than submit to pressure, and fight more intelligently than they did in 1914? To assume that free trade is indispensable to these self-contained nations is to blink historical demonstrations of isolation. Of all nations the United States has shown the dispensability of free trade with its fine example of impregnable tariff barriers.

But of primary concern in the pursuit of this trapping expedition is the fact that in so doing the Administration reverses an historic American policy without first consulting the American people. As reported by the Institute of Public Opinion a majority of 75 per cent of our citizens are still in favor of minding their own business at home. Having rid the world of Kaiserism in 1918 to no avail they are not now interested in ridding the world of fascism. They will not bleed and die for abstract principles which in the tearful aftermath are discovered to have been but disguises for British or French defense of empire, to say nothing of a banker's profit. Nor are they sanguine concerning a new alliance with the old allies. The plutocratic incompetents now ruling Britain are past masters of betrayal, and the French plutocracy has never been without a price. And these facts, the poor misguided American people knew long before Britain betrayed collective security in Ethiopia and in Manchuria.

The people demand the truth from their supposedly informed leaders. If there is, in reality, a yellow peril in the East, and again the threat of the Hun in the West, then by all means let us arm to fight. If no peril exists let us look to an unarmed peace.

Wage Cuts to Poverty

THE majority of business men argue that prices cannot be cut without cutting wages. President Roosevelt argues that while it is necessary to cut prices, wages must at the same time be maintained. Which view is right?

The problem is a dual one: to maintain the demand for consumers' goods and to increase the demand for capital goods. If the former is decreased, the latter will depreciate even more rapidly. And since wages constitute the only genuine consumer buying power within the nation it seems illogical to curtail them in the hope such action will lead to prosperity.

Mass-production industries must accept, and adjust themselves to an expanding economy. To cite briefly an example: Steel cannot earn a profit operating at 25 per cent of capacity no matter how low the wage. Nor can it sell at prices high enough to balance the inefficiency of such curtailed production. However, operating at 80 per cent capacity steel could make money despite high wages and low prices. Overhead charges and fixed costs remain constant while labor costs vary inversely with the amount of output. And it is to this economic fact that Mr. Roosevelt refers when he says that mass-production industries should reduce prices without reducing wages. For he believes that to make price reductions dependent upon wage reductions will start again the deflationary spiral leading downward to economic disaster.

Unfortunately the success or failure of any given price and wage policy in an unplanned economy depends largely upon psychology. In the midst of falling prices business men can not bring themselves to buy more than a minimum. Nor can they, as individuals, bring themselves to support a falling material market for fear of being placed at a disadvantage by a less scrupulous competitor. In the mass or alone they are, psychologically little more than sheep ignorant of the laws they blindly obey. However, there is one thing they must learn now: To cut wages will condemn the working class to an even greater misery than it has endured before. And that is a dangerous course of action.

M. van Zeeland Issues a Report

FORMER Premier van Zeeland whose report on international economic cooperation was published on January 28, provided the nations considering it with three political outlets: (1) they could shelve it as just another and somewhat academic report in a world of realities: (2) the democratic nations can put its recommendations into effect between themselves excluding the totalitarian states; (3) the democratic nations can invite the fascist states to join in a world system —an invitation that will have to be backed by a cash handout.

These results are probably just about what the British Government the chief instigator of the report, wanted.

Little fault can be found with the economic precepts contained in the report--the reduction of tariffs, the reestablishment of freer trading conditions, and so forth. There will, however, be conflicts between the general idea of freer world trade through bilateral agreements, the various regional schemes now in force, and more particularly the nations pursuing the path of self-sufficiency.



Louisville Times

THE SUN ALSO RISES

But the main obstacle is a political one, and it is connected with the financial aspects of the report. M. van

Zeeland recommends the extension of the Tripartite Agreement between the United States, France, and Great Britain as an essential prerequisite of freer trade. And this is to be brought about by the reduction of foreign debts of, and extension of credit to, those nations which cannot afford to abandon exchange controls at this stage. That means Germany and Italy.

One section of opinion in England —the powerful pro-German group—would be willing to see these measures go through—although only with the attachment of certain political assurances. For this group, the van Zeeland report is a perfect camouflage for the continuance of the policy of buying off the fascists. More is apt to be heard of this proposal; but it is most unlikely that the United States will listen to the proposition.

There is another angle on this free exchange issue which may crop up in the future—namely, the French Left-wing demand for exchange control. A free-exchange system operating between Great Britain and France leaves available a potent lever on French policy which can be operated separately or jointly by the French Rightists (with their "Cagoulards" associations) and the English Rightists (dubbed the "Cagoulords"). For an attack on the French franc can do a Left-wing French Government immeasurable harm. In the meantime, however, with the temporary Chautemps Government (see *M. Chautemps Cries "Wolf"*) in power, the demand for exchange control has been nullified, and the English Government is free to do what it likes about the van Zeeland report—so far as France is concerned.

Hitler Purges the Reichswehr

THE resignation of General von Blomberg, followed later by the retirement of General von Fritsch and the institution of Hitler himself as "Chief of National Defense" was due to much more than the fact that General von Blomberg had married the daughter of a carpenter and given up his career for love in the style of Edward VIII.

There have been deep-rooted differences between the older members of the German general staff and the Nazi regime In the first place, there is a class difference; the Army "Old Guard" regarded Hitler and his gang as so many upstarts, of no social tradition, who had to be tolerated because of their extremely successful demagogic powers. It was a question of taking them or leaving them, and many Army officers were obliged to accept the Nazis.

Then there was the question of religion. Shortly before the shake-up, the Army chiefs protested that Nazi neopaganism was destroying the morale of the ranks. It so happens that the most effective opposition to the Hitler regime has come from the Church;



Glasgow Record

—AND THE VILLAIN STILL PURSUED HER

and the political intentions of the Army chiefs in raising this issue cannot be ignored as one reason for Hitler's desire to rid himself of them.

On questions of foreign policy, too, there have been conflicts between the Government and the General Staff. it is known that Generals von Fritsch and von Blomberg fought against German support of Mussolini's depredations in Ethiopia, while their opposition to German intervention in Spain was responsble for the limitation of that policy to the supplying of materials of war and some technicians, leaving the Italians to pour in the great proportion of foreign troops.

Events will answer the leading questions that arise. Were the Generals forced out because they opposed a new adventure in foreign policy contemplated by Hitler—either in Czechoslovakia or Austria? Two facts support this theory: The promotion of Herr von Ribbentrop to the post of Foreign Minister places the nominal responsibility for German foreign policy of the man who is nearest to the powerful English pro-German clique and who is supposed to be most adept at securing the English neutrality so essential to the success of any German move on the Continent. The second is the removal of Herr von Papen from his position as Minister to Austria; for von Papen's Catholic principles prevented him from taking any overt action against the clerical-fascist Schuschnigg regime in that country.

Then again, how much support did the retired Generals command in the Reichswehr? Will the Army back Hitler, or has he weakened his position? And did he act to nip in the bud an Army coup? There are remarkable parallels between Hitler's purge and the execution of the Russian Army Generals. If the thesis is correct that the executed Soviet Army chiefs were planning with their German counterparts a simultaneous military coup d'état in both countries, then Hitler was just dealing with the German end of the conspiracy and further purges may be expected.

In the international sphere the shake-up will strengthen the anti-communist entente, which the retired Generals opposed; it may increase German intervention in Spain; above all, it will achieve what the Nazis love to do—keep the foreign chancelleries guessing.

Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

ANTI-SEMITISM: Are Latin-Americans starting an anti-Semitic drive *à la* Nazi? In Mexico the Committee for the Defense of Mexican Merchants is carrying on a campaign against Jewish traders, and a short while ago the so-called Bloc of Revolutionary Action for Small Commerce in Congress tried to pass a bill that would have virtually driven Jews out of business in that country. In Costa Rica the establishment of a colony of Jewish refugees from Germany in the historical Tenorio estate aroused anti-Semitic objections. The local Nazi leader in that country —where there is a large and well-to-do German colony, many of whose members have intermarried with Costa Rican families—has admitted that Germans there have instructions from the Hitler government not to trade with Jews. In Brazil, Minister of Justice Campos and other advisers of Vargas' are drawing up a new immigration bill that will decide the fate of about 1000 Jews who seem to have entered that country on tourists' passports remaining there illegally. In Ecuador, Dictator Enriquez has decreed the expulsion of all Jews except those engaged in farming or industrial pursuits "advantageous to the nation."

This all sounds like the first Latin-American echoes of anti-Semitic persecution in Central Europe. The sporadic manifestations seem to be directed mainly against the new Jewish refugees who have settled in Latin America as a result of that persecution. Considering the size of the newly settled Jewish population in the territory, the measures undertaken against them only affect an insignificant proportion. The expulsion decreed by Ecuador's dictator, if carried out, will force a few hundred Jews out of that country. And the number of refugees who have emigrated to Latin America during the past few years may be estimated at between 25,000 and 30,000. The total Jewish population of Latin America probably represents three of four times that figure.

As a result of efforts made by the Jewish *Centralverein*, the Refugee Economic Corporation, and other organizations, following the Jewish exodus from Germany, about 20,000 went to Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Panama, and other countries. The largest contingent—more than 10,000—settled in Argentina, where they found an established and prosperous Jewish colony, probably the largest in Latin America, large enough indeed to have a Yiddish press. The remainder have moved unaided into Latin-American countries. A few German-Jewish scholars have found hospitality in Latin-American institutions of learning.

So far the agitation has been directed against Jewish traders. It is true that some of the Fascist propaganda fed to Latin-American newspapers has tried to promote racial prejudice, but it has had no response of any consequence. Jews in Latin America would face real danger if this agitation ever took a religious turn, for the Catholic Church is mistress in the territory and enjoys more power than any other institution. But the Church seems at peace with the Jews. Jews do not molest the Church in the least. In fact, there are quite a few Jews there who go to mass and do business with the hierarchy. In Argentina there is a wealthy Jewish family who financed the erection of a Catholic church.

A general anti-Semitic crusade in Latin America would really create an amusing situation. If all persons with any Semitic strain in their veins should ever be made to leave those countries, many thousands of Latin-Americans of Spanish and Portuguese descent would have to pack and go. For many of them come in straight line from the Semitic peoples—Moors or Saracens and Israelites—that have lived for centuries in Spain. It was not only Iberians and Celts and Romans and Teutons, but also Arabs and Jews, who entered into the racial make-up of the Spanish people.

Of course, many of those Latin-Americans do not suspect their Semitic parentage. They are *buenos cristianos*, and very devout Catholics at that. But in many cases you can detect the Semitic origin in their cast of features. The writer has even known Catholic priests of unmistakable Semitic lineage.

FLYING SALESMEN: From Rome to Buenos Aires in less than 36 hours! The other day an Italian squadron of three planes, with Bruno Mussolini at the controls of one, landed at Campo dos Affonsos, Brazilian airport near Rio de Janeiro, after spanning the South Atlantic from Dakar, French West Africa. They had started from Rome the day before, and made the 6,000-mile flight to the Brazilian capital in 24 hours and 46 minutes.

But . . . can Italian bombers cover the same distance in identical time? The Fascist Government and the Ala Littoria did not undertake this experiment that Italian immigrants in South America may receive fresh their Christmas candied-fruit packages or that young South-American millionaires may go to Rome to sing the Giovinezza. Mussolini has brought to this hemisphere the same bluffing and bullying tactics he has been employing in Europe.

There is also a business angle. Brazil and Argentina have recently made heavy purchases of planes in the United States, and Italy has been fighting American competition there and elsewhere.

There is no power that during the last few decades has carried on a more noisy propaganda campaign in South America than Italy today, and the spectacular flight is part of the campaign. Imperial Italy's propaganda is often louder than the trumpets of Aida. True, all the gestures of Italian policy have a touch of tawdry grand opera. But, then, that thing works in South America where people seem to like to be dazzled.

Besides, Italy, for a number of reasons, has a claim to supremacy in the southern continent. Reason number one: it was an Italian who discovered America, and another Italian who gave his name to this hemisphere. Reason number two: South-Americans speak a neo-Latin language, and Italian is almost a national tongue in some sections, just as spaghetti is almost a national dish. (In parenthesis, we might add that Italy has also a claim to the United States or the greater part of it, inasmuch as English is about 60 per cent Latin, and Italian is spoken south of Washington Square.) Reason number three: there are about 14,000,000 people of Italian extraction, mixed

and unmixed, in South America. Reason number four: Italian economy is in deperate need of South-American foodstuffs and raw materials.

ARMS MERCHANTS IN CLOVER: Just now the armament racketeers are holding the center of the stage in the South-American scene. A considerable part of South-American exportable products is being exchanged for warships, old and new, bombing planes, anti-aircraft guns, bomb throwers, armored cars, tanks, and the like.

Venezuela, the only country that had kept aloof from South-American military and naval races, has just been caught in the whirlpool of the present armament boom. With a tremendous oil wealth, no foreign debt, and a reserve fund of 100,000,000 bolivares (about $32,000,000), it was ripe for the international gentry who seem to know the combination to every national treasury. It will be interesting to know how much of the one hundred million bolivares are left when the armament racketeers get through with Venezuela. Colombia had a similar experience a few years ago.

This time the job has been pulled by the Italian government, which has sold to Venezuela two old cruisers. The ships will be paid for partly in oil, and Mussolini plans to supply more naval and mercantile vessels to the Caracas government, also for oil. A few months ago the State Department proposed to offer the Latin-American republics old-age American destroyers practically free of charge. How is it that Venezuela turns to "buy" Italian ships? Secretary Hull virtually predicted last year what has happened in Venezuela, when, supporting the leasing of destroyers to Latin-American republics, he said that if the United States did not offer this aid to them, other governments would.

Mussolini is sending another mission to Colombia with a similar plan. The precise terms of the Venezuelan transaction are not yet known, but one thing seems certain: that the deal will permit Italy to tap the great petroliferous field of northern South America. Last year Colombia signed an agreement with Germany providing for the supply of petroleum, among other products, to Germany, and opening to Germany the door for oil investments in that country. Walter Hokkmann, President of the Hamburg-America Line, recently paid a visit to President Lopez Contreras at Caracas and discussed trade and shipping with the Venezuelan ruler. As American and British interests control the field, some people have been wondering whether there has also been a deal between the fascist powers and Standard, Royal Dutch-Shell, and Gulf Oil.

The Chilean government has decided to buy two modern cruisers and, it is believed, it will spend about $25,000,000 in the purchase. This is the first item in a ten-year naval and military armament program which



Selecta

U. S. Marine, Cuban view.

Santiago expects to finance in large measure through exchange profits drawn from the difference between the official and free exchange rates when the government disposes of foreign currency drafts obtainable from the nitrate and copper industries. The left wing in the Chamber of Deputies made an unsuccessful attempt to block the measure, apparently on technical grounds, and without objecting to the armament program itself. The Chilean opposition has missed the real, the larger, issue in this matter.

Italian, British, German, French and Danish naval constructors have submitted bids for the two cruisers. In order "to eliminate suspicion," the government is going to make the bids public. But, don't Chilean legislators know that armament makers are past masters in the art of "fixing" bids? A few years ago, Vickers and Electric Boat ostensibly bid against each other —we believe it was also in Chile—but they had a secret understanding that the company that secured the contract would pay a royalty to the one that did not.

Going ahead with the execution of the Brazilian naval program, Dictator Vargas has ordered the construction of six more destroyers in British yards. It had been expected that three of these vessels would be constructed in the United States, but it develops that American bids have been "considerably higher." At any rate, the new American naval program probably is all American constructors can handle.

However, two American concerns, the General Electric and Babcock & Wilcox, have been awarded by Brazil contracts aggregating $5,500,000 for the supply of electric equipment and boilers for the three destroyers that are being built in Brazilian yards.

Following the signing of large contracts secured by Krupp in Argentina, the head of Argentine military aviation, General Verdaguer, at General Goering's invitation, is at this writing visiting Germany and studying German military aircraft industry with a view to further purchases.

A PLOT AGAINST VARGAS? There is one question that news dispatches from Brazil and comments on Vargas' new regime have not answered. How strong are Vargas' political enemies? And what has become of them?

We have been very confidentially informed that some of them are at present in New York trying to interest American speculators in a revolution to overthrow Vargas. The speculators have been asked to invest in some sort of democracy futures. (This new commodity has something to do with coffee futures.)

The alleged conspirators claim that the coffee coup which preceded Vargas' fascist flotation has not given coffee speculators a square deal, and that Vargas has pegged democracy. They feel it is high time for a boom in democracy values. The speculators are said to be reluctant as yet, fearing that the Brazilian conspirators offering a new deal in democracy and coffee are really selling short.

The whole thing may be a fabrication, but there is a precedent in recent years. The Paulistan revolution against the central government of Vargas in 1932 was partly financed by a "loan" made by American and European coffee interests, including Amsinck, Sonne & Co. of New York, Lazard Freres of Paris, and Grace Brothers of London, to the revolutionists, and the revolutionary funds—$1,115,000—were deposited by those concerns in the Guaranty Trust Company for the purchase of munitions.

UNCLE SAM'S HOUSING WORRIES

The Federal Housing Administration is making progress in giving meaning to the word "home"

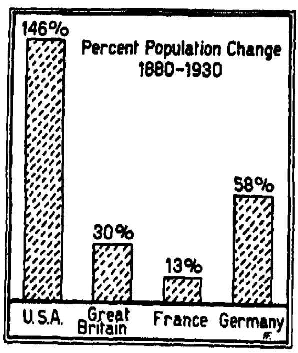
By NATHAN STRAUS

THERE is a housing problem in the United States. The problem has been stated so many times and in so many forms that its fundamental simplicity is frequently obscured. Reduced to its simplest terms it may be stated thus: there is not enough decent and new housing being built. The reason for this deficiency is that decent and new housing is too expensive for those who should and would live in it.

A number of factors, presently to be examined, have made it difficult, if not impossible, to supply adequate homes at much less than $3500. (This figure and all subsequent computations apply to urban and rural non-farm housing. So little is known statistically about rural farm dwellings that it is virtually impossible to make valid generalizations.) It is a generally accepted rule that the cost of fixed and operating charges on housing amounts annually to 10 per cent of the initial cost. Thus the man who owns a $3500 home pays out about $350 a year on his mortgage, taxes, and repairs. If he rents a $3500 home he usually pays more than this, for the landlord wants some profit on his investment. Let us assume, for the sake of round figures, an average of $360 per year, or $30 per month. To occupy such a home, either as owner or renter, a man should have an income of about five times the rent, or $1800. An old-fashioned rule of thumb says that one month's rent should be equal to one week's pay. But within the past generation the cost of living has risen faster than wages, particularly for those in the lowest income groups, so that a wage earner, to maintain a proper budget, seldom should pay much more than one fifth of his income for rent.

Assuming the figure of $1800 as the minimum income for which private enterprise has recently been able to provide decent, new housing, we should know the limit of the market. How many non-farm families have incomes in excess of $1800?

The Brookings Institution in its notable report *America's Capacity to Consume* states that, in 1929, the year of our greatest prosperity, only 46.6 per cent of the non-farm families had incomes of $2000 or more and that 65.5 per cent had incomes of $1500 or more. If, in order to determine how many families had $1800 or more, we split the difference between these percentages we arrive at 56 per cent, which probably errs on the conservative side. The Brookings Institution estimates the number of non-farm families in the United States in 1929 at 21,674,000. Thus, the total number of such families who could afford to inhabit new, decent housing would amount to about 12,127,000.



But homes have not the transient use of, for instance, automobiles. Only a small percentage of these families would normally be prospective customers for new housing. Based on records of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that, in 1929, only 509,000 new dwelling units were built in non-farm areas.* Only about one in 24 families in the income group able to pay for new housing actually demanded new housing.

Were these families in the lower brackets of the income groups able to afford new housing? Apparently they were not. Four fifths of these dwellings were built in 257 cities covered by reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and their cost is known. The average cost of construction in these cities was $5900 per dwelling. This figure does not include contractor's profit, land, utilities, nor speculative profits where such occurred. By the time these costs are added to the base figure, the ultimate cost of the home would be at least $7000 and probably more.

Assuming a total cost of $7000, we may soon learn for whom the average home was built in 1929. By the method of figuring previously used, we may assume annual carrying charges of $700. The annual income necessary to afford such charges would be $3500. And in 1929, only 19.4 per cent of non-farm families had incomes of more than $3500.

What this meant, in essence, was that only 4,206,000 non-farm families were "in the market" for the 1929 home. It meant substantially that the only hope of 17,468,000 families in the non-farm areas to obtain decent housing was in acquiring housing built for the upper 4,206,000 families after it had become depreciated by age or obsolescence.

Thus we see a billion-dollar industry, in which millions of workers try to make a living, offering its product at prices which only the thousands in the "carriage trade" can afford.

There is, then, a clearly marked line between the "haves," those who can afford to inhabit new housing, and the "have nots," those for whom private enterprise is unable to provide new housing. In 1929, not much more than one half the non-farm families could be listed as "haves," those who could afford decent, new housing.

Now second-hand housing is not necessarily bad housing merely because it is not new. How good is the housing in our non-farm communities? The Department of Commerce, in its Real Property Inventories of 1934, examined over 2,000,000 dwelling units in 64 selected and representative cities. It found that one out of six dwellings either needed major repairs or was

*By 1929, the building industry had suffered a severe recession from its peak in 1925, when 937,000 dwelling units were estimated to have been built in non-farm areas.

unfit for habitation; one out of seven had no private indoor toilet; one out of six was overcrowded; one out of five had no bathing facilities. These deficiencies are listed without regard for the price range in which they may exist.

Let us shorten the focus to examine the condition of housing in the price ranges of those who can not afford new housing. The Civil Works Administration made a survey of housing conditions in the city of Washington, which for the past four years has had more new construction than most American cities. This survey showed that in 1934 among 20,000 dwelling units renting for $30 per month or less, 28 per cent were, by any reasonable standard, uninhabitable. Nearly half of this 20,000 possessed no private toilet facilities, and one out of six had no water supply within the dwelling unit. Three out of four of the dwelling units in this price range were heated only by stoves, and nearly half had only oil lamps for illumination. More than one out of three were more than 50 years old.

It is possible that low-cost housing in newer, Western cities would not now present such a sorry picture, but if current methods of providing housing are not radically changed it is only a question of time before identical conditions will be found in every city.

The effect of existing methods has been to pile up a tremendous housing shortage for those in the lower income groups. The depression has piled up a shortage of housing for those in the income groups which builders have normally served. Obsolescence, depreciation, and demolition have piled up shortages without respect to income groups. The sum of these shortages, according to the National Housing Committee,* stated in its recent report *The Housing Market,* is 2,000,000 dwelling units needed merely to maintain the standards of 1930.

The National Housing Committee estimates that elimination of the existing shortage and provision for current needs will require the construction of 1,500,000 dwelling units annually in non-farm areas within the next two years.

The Committee considers that 89 per cent or 1,335,000 dwellings annually should be built to house income groups capable of paying $30 per month or less in rent or equivalent.

*The National Housing Committee is a non-governmental and non-profit corporation with headquarters in the Tower Building, Washington, D. C. Its educational activities are directed toward stimulating interest in housing.

There is the need. The problem is: how can an industry, whose cheapest satisfactory product has hitherto been available only to the top limit of this market, reach the whole market effectively?

Causes of Past Failures

Before we consider how this may be done, it is necessary to examine some of the causes for previous failure to reach this market. This failure may be stated in terms of the high cost of housing or in terms of the low incomes of those who need houses. To make the distinction between these two explanations more than mere phraseology, we need to restate the problem thus: Reducing the cost of housing involves the organization of the building industry—it is a problem of financial and construction techniques. The solution of that problem alone will no more solve the housing situation than the mass production of food and clothing has removed hunger and exposure. There still remains the more general problem of raising the purchasing power of those who need housing, which is an economic problem involving the distribution of our national income. Subsidized housing, for example, is addressed largely to this second problem, though, if well directed, it should assist in the solution of the technical problem as well.

Let us examine, first, how we may improve the techniques of the housing industry, how we may reduce costs.

The first and most important reason for the high cost of housing is the risk involved. Risk is caused by two fundamental factors, change and economic insecurity.

Because of industrial expansion, the growth of urban places in the United States has for 50 years been meteoric. Thus, few plans were made to control either direction or size of that growth



Parlor, bedroom, and sink, in the best style of the slums.

and such as were made were quickly brushed aside by impetuous riders of the boom. The effective result has been that no man could build a home either for his own use or for profit with any assurance that in ten or fifteen years the value of that home would not be wiped out by forces which neither he nor anyone else could seem to control.

Because reputable lending agencies so frequently suffered crippling losses caused by the growth and change of cities, they refused to make mortgages on more than 60 per cent of the cost of homes. They limited the periods of amortization of their loans to 10 years and they maintained high interest rates. As they achieved some measure of security for their own loans, they increased both the cost of housing and the risk of the builder. For he was obliged to obtain the rest of the necessary financing of his operations in the second mortgage market. The price he paid for this money was largely a gambler's commission.

The unfortunate ramifications of risk have extended far beyond the cost

of housing money. The home building industry has consisted largely of small operators who have worked on guesswork and rule of thumb, because of lack of the resources necessary for comprehensive, factual analysis of the market.

Risk has also affected the men who do the actual building of homes. Because the business has been periodic, employment for building trades workers has been uncertain. The masons and plumbers have never known whether they would have 200 days of work or no work in the ensuing year. Small wonder then, that, through their unions, they should have pressed for a high hourly wage in order to make a living.* The high labor cost of building per room built has been a symptom of an unstable industry rather than an occasion for moral disapprobation.

Finally, risk has affected the cost of materials. It is obvious that, if housing is built only on a retail basis, bathtubs and windows must be sold on a retail basis. And if material supply companies are to make any profit, the slow turnover of merchandise must be reflected in higher prices.

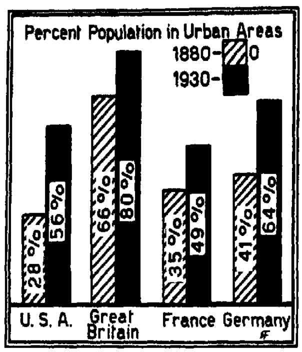
Thus we can trace back to the growth and change of our urban communities a long chain of evils which have made housing cost too much. The evils in each link of that chain have often been developed beyond any necessity caused by connection with any other link. For instance, in finance, interest rates have often been raised beyond the point necessary to justify the risk assumed by lending agencies, to the limit of "all the traffic would bear." Or, in the belief that buyers may default, the selling prices of homes have been raised high enough to pay off all costs incurred by the builders in five years instead of ten.

These are the elements which have made the construction of housing so expensive for the "haves" and have made the use of new, decent housing impossible for the "have nots."

But housing includes more than the cost of building construction and profits. It includes land, services, and taxes. Oddly enough, the price of land in this country which has so much land, is based on the concept of scarcity. Speculative values rather than earning power determine the price. The more land is used, the greater the price. Thus, any reduction achieved in the cost of construction tends to force a rise in land prices that wipes out potential savings in the cost of housing.

*In many parts of the country, weather conditions are such as to interrupt building activity in winter months or during rainy seasons. This is an example of risk even more difficult to control than those created by man

Utility services in the aggregate are more expensive today than they were a generation ago, simply because we demand more services than our forebears did. Hot water 24 hours a day, gas cooking ranges, electric refrigerators, and heating systems "stoked" by a mechanical fireman are considered as standard equipment in practically all new housing. These utilities constitute



a large factor in the high cost of homebuilding.

Likewise, with taxes, it is not a question of the efficiency of government. Even under the finest type of public officials we still would have to pay higher taxes than our ancestors because we demand paved roads and parks and pure water supplies and other services which are considered essential parts of our modern life. Yet they all must be paid for out of government budgets.

Europe's Experience

It is frequently said that the United States is a generation behind the European countries with respect to its attitude toward housing. Probably an exaggerated generalization, it still merits examination. Before making any comparisons with European housing practice, one must know something of population increases, stability and density in European countries.

The charts on these pages give some clue to the essential differences in population trends in various countries:

From them certain facts are apparent:

(1) Major European countries in the past fifty years have had a slower growth of population. Some of this is undoubtedly due to both direct and indirect losses from the World War (loss of men as individuals and as potential fathers). Yet, even before the War the rate of population increase was smaller than that of the United States.

(2) These countries are more highly urbanized than the United States and their period of urbanization not only came earlier but was more gradual than ours.

(3) Population in these countries is more stable both in size and with respect to shifts in location. The rate of growth of some French and German cities approaches that of the older American cities, but for the countries as a whole, this statement holds true

It is not unlikely that the application of measures to insure orderly development of communities is due to longer experience with the problems of urbanization. For nearly two generations municipal authorities in European countries, particularly those on the northern part of the Continent, have pursued an active and realistic policy of land use control. As a consequence, the risk which has done so much to hinder sound development of our communities has been greatly reduced in Europe.

Control of land use meant that cheap money could be offered safely. Cheap money meant the ruling out of speculative profits in the effort to house low-income groups. This tended to give the construction of housing for low-income groups the status of a quasi-public utility. Therein lies the essential difference between European and American housing methods.

The concept of housing as a public utility designed to meet consumers' needs has led to the formation of huge building companies in most European countries. Because their programs were aimed to meet an almost infinite need, these large building companies could order and use materials on a wholesale basis, which in its turn tended to reduce the cost of housing. Because employment was steadier, labor costs did not include premiums for insurance against certain and recurring unemployment.

In European experience we have evidence that housing need not be a risky operation. Millions of European families now enjoy an environment available in this country only to the wealthy. We have evidence that the application of measures already proven successful abroad could open the market of the middle and lower income groups in this country.

What is now being done to house families below the $4500 income group, which, we learned, was the average

catered to by the building industry in 1929?

The programs now under way must be classified into two broad categories: (1) housing for those whose incomes make them prospects for private enterprise; (2) housing for those whom private enterprise is unable to reach.

Housing by Private Enterprise

Within the past five years two Government agencies, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal Housing Administration, have been set up to aid private housing enterprise.

The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, under which is grouped a number of subsidiary corporations, deals mostly with the credit structure of housing for home owners. Through its Home Owners' Loan Corporation, over one million home owners were saved from foreclosure in the years 1933–36. Through its Federal Home Loan Bank System it provides the same service to savings and loan associations, savings banks, and insurance companies as the Federal Reserve System does for commercial banks. Over 3600 such institutions with assets of $3,250,000,000 now depend on this system to provide fluid and safe credit for prospective home builders. Further to facilitate the provision of credit, it has organized 1165 of such associations with total assets of more than $500,000,000.

Thus, the fundamental and indispensable tool to fashion housing for those able to own their own homes is made available.

The Federal Housing Administration offers to private enterprise an apparently inconsequential aid, the insurance of mortgages. It does not lend money, it does not build housing. Yet, the Federal Housing Administration has already exerted a profound influence on building practice in this country, and that influence is ever increasing.

In any insurance system, the rates and availability of insurance are based on the risks involved. The Federal Housing Administration stands ready to protect lending agencies against loss of their investments in housing, provided that housing is built in proper surroundings according to approved standards. The Federal Housing Administration uses the inducement of its insurance to eliminate, insofar as possible, the risk of building operations. Housing on which the Federal Housing Administration will insure mortgages is of two types: the small unit such as one to four family houses, and the large scale project.

Hitherto the Federal Housing Administration has been permitted to insure first mortgages paying no more than 5 per cent interest and running no more than 20 years. Such mortgages could amount to 80 per cent of the Federal Housing Administration valuation of any given property and improvements.

The amount of any insured mortgage on small properties is limited to $16,000, and rents on large scale projects have been subject to approval by the Federal Housing Administration. To date the amount of premium-paying mortgages is $835,000,000, of which over $400,000,000 covers newly constructed homes.



Solitude and the slums.

By the time this article is published, Congress may have passed amendments to the Act which created the Federal Housing Administration, designed to enable private enterprise to reach even lower income groups and consequently a larger market. These amendments would increase the amount of insurable mortgages to 90 per cent of the total value of homes in the lower price ranges and reduce the over-all financing charges (interest, insurance, and service charge) by one per cent. Protected by the admirable standards it has established as a prerequisite to insurance, the Federal Housing Administration should be able to carry what would ordinarily be regarded as a dangerous financial risk at the same time as it opens a new market to the builder.

Already the Federal Housing Administration has aided private enterprise to house decently families on a lower income level than those hitherto housed decently by private enterprise. But neither the present law nor the proposed amendments offer any prospect for the millions of families with incomes below, let us say, $1200 per year.

Housing by Public Enterprise

When we discuss housing for really low-income groups, the shift is necessary from emphasis upon reducing costs to a dual emphasis upon reducing costs *and* raising incomes. No foreseeable improvement in techniques, for example, will bring decent new housing to the family with an income of less than $1000 per year. The family income must go up, and, while part of the effort to raise income is outside the housers' field, part of it is within the housers' field because public housing raises the real income of low-income groups by means of subsidy. We use this method of raising incomes in our public schools, hospitals, and parks, and European countries have recognized it as an integral part of their housing efforts.

Until 1933, the only efforts made in the United States to house families whose incomes were below the level which unaided private enterprise could serve, were those of New York State, which, in 1926, enacted legislation offering partial tax exemption on large scale projects constructed by corporations that agreed to limit dividends and submit to the regulation of a State Housing Board. In 11 years, 11 such projects were built in New York City. Their principal virtue has been a demonstration of the value of community planning technique, and their influence on subsequent large-scale housing projects has been considerable. They housed in first-class dwellings an economic class which probably could afford new housing, but only the most shoddy type. The partial tax exemption offered was insufficient to make these dwellings available to families who could not afford new housing of any kind.

In 1933, the present Administration attacked the problem of housing the lower income groups on a number of fronts.

Believing that a movement back to the land would solve many urban problems, one group of economists favored a program of "subsistence homesteads." They saw millions of urban workers displaced by technological advances. They saw other workers drawn to "one-industry" towns who had been stranded

when these industries collapsed or moved to other areas. They saw farmers who had been ruined by drought, soil erosion, floods, or insects. Consequently, communities were planned in rural areas near sources of part-time employment where the prospective homesteaders could have a house and an acre of land to raise foodstuffs.

The ramifications of such a program extended so far beyond the limits of housing *per se* as inevitably to compromise its chances for success. For instance, the wisdom of a return to the land being granted, the question arose: would city dwellers wish to give up the attractions of the city for the promised security of the rural life? These and many other no less knotty problems so plagued the planning authorities that, after completing their original program of about 100 small communities, the subsistence homestead type of housing was abandoned.

Greater emphasis has been placed on re-housing the urban workers in or near urban centers. Two agencies, the Resettlement Administration and the Public Works Administration, undertook this work.

The Resettlement Administration has built three large "greenbelt" communities within the metropolitan areas of Washington, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee. Complete satellite towns with municipal services, schools, shops, and theatres, these projects are already exerting an influence on community planning out of all proportion to their size. They provide at present an almost ideal environment for about 3000 families and are planned to grow ultimately to perhaps three times their present size. They illustrate the best principles of English Garden City planning adapted to American conditions.

The Public Works Administration through its Housing Division built 58 projects with a total of 24,855 dwelling units. Essentially of one physical pattern, these projects are grouped in two distinct categories created by their financial set-up.

Seven were built by private limited-dividend corporations financed by loans from the Public Works Administration. These loans bear 4 per cent interest, are made on 85 to 88 per cent of the cost of each project, and are to be amortized in 35 years. There is no outright subsidy from the Federal Government for these projects. They demonstrated three important facts: (1) A mixture of private and public enterprise can produce excellent housing at reasonable prices and a fair profit for families with annual incomes of not less than $1500; but such families comprised only two-thirds of our population even in 1929. (2) Few private builders as yet seem interested in this type of housing. (3) If the lowest income groups are to have decent, new housing, there can be no profit, and the housing must therefore be constructed by some governmental agency with a substantial subsidy.

The remaining 51 projects of the Public Works Administration were financed in whole by the Federal Government, and 45 per cent of their cost has been written off as a capital subsidy. They house families with annual incomes ranging from $700 in the South to $2200 for large families in northern cities where the cost of living is highest. Twenty-six of these projects were built on sites cleared of slum dwellings. They range in size from Williamsburg Houses in New York with 1622 dwelling units to Highland Homes, Wayne, Pennsylvania, with 50 dwelling units. The units themselves range from 2 to 6 rooms. Fully equipped kitchens, baths, and living rooms are standard. Most of the units have cross-ventilation, and every project is designed with plenty of open area for recreation and low buildings oriented to catch sunlight or prevailing breezes.

The Public Works Administration program was seriously handicapped, first, by the fact that it pursued an uncharted course and policies were, of necessity, extemporized in the midst of frenzied activity; second, by the fact that housing needs continually were subordinated to those of unemployment relief; and third, by lack of public understanding of the philosophy of public housing.

The 1937 Housing Act

In the four years since this limited program of demonstration was launched public understanding and acceptance of the need for subsidized housing have grown tremendously. Thirty States have enacted legislation permitting local public housing agencies to finance, construct, operate, and subsidize housing projects designed to re-house slum dwellers. Although the enactment of such legislation is an indication of the widespread growth of public approval, it would be useless, because of the financial condition of most local governments, were it not for the aid provided by the Federal Government.

On September 1, the President signed the United States Housing Act of 1937. The reward of a long uphill fight led by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, this Act was three years in the making. Hundreds of interested witnesses, representing business, labor, the Church, public officials, technicians, and social workers, submitted evidence to Congressional committees over a two-year period from 1935 to 1937. The evidence was conclusive that no proper housing for the lowest income groups was possible without continued and substantial government aid. The evidence was also conclusive that America could not be well if one-third of her people were housed in disease and misery. The only verdict possible on the evidence was a long-term program of public housing.

The United States Housing Act of 1937 created the **United States Housing Authority**, an autonomous corporation of perpetual duration in the Interior Department. The Authority will lend money and technical assistance to local public housing agencies for the construction of low-rent housing projects and will join these agencies in providing the subsidy necessary to bring these projects within the means of slum dwellers.

The sum of $500,000,000 is made available for loans in the three years, 1937–40. Not more than 10 per cent may be allotted to each State and not more than 90 per cent of the capital cost may be lent on any project. Loans must be repaid in full with interest not below cost of money to the government plus one-half per cent over a period not to exceed 60 years.

Two types of subsidy are offered. One, the capital grant, is similar to that provided by the Public Works Administration. The other, a system of annual contributions, seems likely to be more popular and more workable, and it is therefore described in some detail

The rent per room in a proposed project necessary to pay all operating costs and also to repay the Federal loan with interest is determined. Next, the rent which slum dwellers in the given city can afford is determined. Let us assume for the moment that the first, or "economic," rent is $9 per room per month, and that the latter, or "social," rent is $5 per room per month. If slum dwellers are to be housed in this proposed project, the United States Housing Authority and the local housing agency must make up the difference between these rents, or $4 per room per month. According to the Housing Act, the local agency

must supply contributions equal to at least one dollar for every five dollars supplied by the United States Housing Authority. In this example, the minimum local contribution would be $.67 per room, per month, and the maximum Federal contribution would be $3.33 per room, per month.

It is estimated that under this method of annual contributions, the total cost to the Federal Government of the $500,000,000 program, which should provide more than 100,000 dwellings, will not exceed $18,000,000 annually. In no case can this annual cost exceed a minimum amount necessary to achieve rents within the means of slum dwellers. The annual subsidy is thus an annual contribution by the taxpayers to good housing similar to the annual contributions for good schools or good roads.

These are, in brief, the mechanics of the Housing Act. Among its many provisions, one more merits mention here. Construction costs are limited to $1000 per room and $4000 per dwelling in most cities and to $1250 per room and $5000 per dwelling in cities with population in excess of 500,000.

In the United States Housing Act of 1937, the Congress has at last recognized a responsibility of government to provide decent housing for those who can not obtain it through traditional channels. To some this concept still seems radical. Yet, we drive our children on roads built at public expense to schools built and operated at public expense, and, after school hours, they play in parks operated at public expense. Most of us would readily grant that the quality of a home has a far greater influence on general welfare than the quality of roads or parks and is hardly secondary even to education. If one purpose of government is to promote public welfare, it is difficult to withstand the argument that government cannot ignore the need for a basically proper environment. Without this environment, every effort to improve educational, cultural, and recreational opportunities is necessarily compromised at the start.

I personally believe that the very slight remaining opposition to public housing is founded in its novelty in this country. I believe that, as with public schools, when the newness and strangeness of the concept has been weathered by familiarity, we shall accept it as one of the most natural and necessary of our public functions.

The foregoing pages have sketched the outlines of the American housing problem and some of the tools developed to produce a solution. The picture would not be complete, however, without some forecast of the product which these tools may fashion.

There are natural forces now moving that should tend to facilitate the work somewhat. Most statisticians agree that population growth in this country is decelerating and that we may see within our time many communities with a nearly stable population. A stable population will tend to eliminate the extraordinary risks of building.

Gradually we are adopting European methods of operating on a large scale. This should lead to better and cheaper housing.

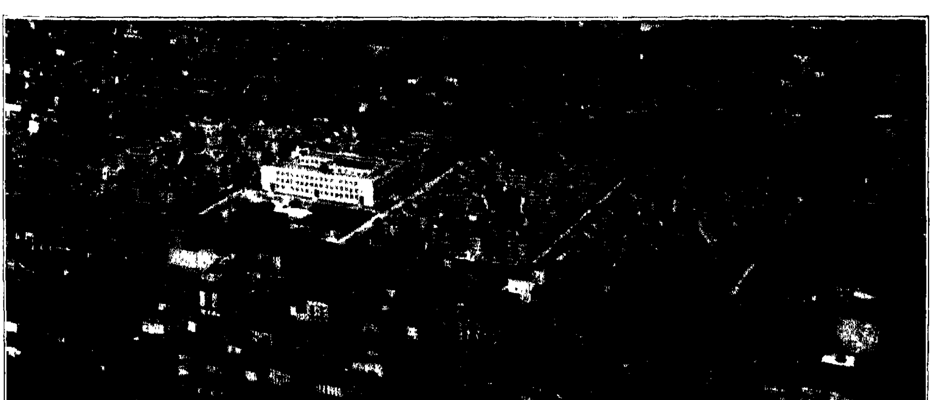
In general, the above changes will tend to improve the housing of all economic classes.

In strictly rural areas (as distinguished from towns and small cities which are on all fours with larger cities in benefiting by all aspects of the government's housing program), I believe, the class which can pay an "economic" rent (either in the form of purchase payments or rent) will benefit in much the same manner and degree as the same class in urban communities. The strictly rural group which can not pay an "economic" rent, "dust bowl" farmers, sharecroppers, etc., present the most difficult of all housing problems. Only the rim of this problem has been touched.

The problem of housing those families with annual incomes of, say, $1500 or more is largely one of improving the technique of production and distribution. The problem of housing families without income is beyond the scope of the work contemplated in the United States Housing Authority Act.

Between these two extremes, there is that huge group of urban workers who have hitherto been forced to live in slums or blighted areas. Many of them will be given an opportunity, by the housing program now launched, of living in a decent home. Within the next five years, about 150,000 of these families should have reached that goal, thanks to the Resettlement Administration, the Public Works Administration, and the United States Housing Authority. A tiny percentage of those who need good housing most, that number may grow to respectable size as those still compelled to live in squalor perceive the benefits of what they now *can* obtain. The United States Housing Authority will reach the level of millions of such families. The scope of its future achievements will be determined in large measure by the needs and the demands of the one-third of our population which is ill-housed.

This country's housing problem will not be solved wholly until its economic problems are solved, for housing is but one of many industries whose well-being is indispensable to the wealth and health of the nation.



The nation's largest slum clearance project—Williamsburg Houses, a city within a city, in Brooklyn, New York.

M. CHAUTEMPS CRIES "WOLF"

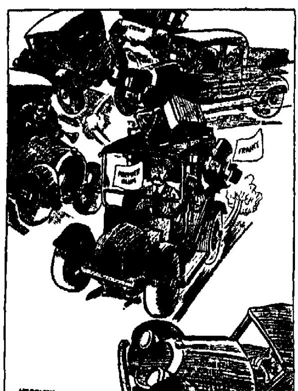
By ALEXANDER WERTH

IN THE beautiful reception room of the Hotel Matignon, with its Louis-Seize furniture and its Gobelins Tapestries—it used to be the Austro-Hungarian Embassy and is now the Premier's official residence—Premier Chautemps, on the night of January 18, informed the press that he had formed a new Cabinet. "I have succeeded in solving a difficult and delicate crisis," he said. His face was tired and yellow, and he had a slightly guilty look in his eyes.

A few minutes earlier, ex-Finance Minister and now Minister of State Georges Bonnet was seen leaving the Premier's office in a state of bliss. Two days earlier it looked as though his career had been smashed, a victim to his own indiscreet ambition; and that he would never perhaps be Minister again—or even Ambassador. And here he was again, well in the saddle, *Ministre d'Etat* for economic and financial affairs, a person almost as important as the Premier himself. "A difficult and delicate crisis," M. Chautemps repeated. Was it not rather the most futile and most unnecessary crisis, and one which M. Chautemps himself had brought upon France?

For he himself had killed with his own hands his last government—the so-called Second Popular Front Government which, last June, had succeeded the Blum Government after its overthrow by the Senate. It had been in office for over six months. The key positions—the Premiership and the Ministry of Finance—were occupied by Radicals, M. Chautemps and M. Bonnet; but M. Blum was Vice-Premier, and at least one important post, the Ministry of the Interior, was in the hands of a Socialist, M. Dormoy—a fact which, as we shall see, played an important part in precipitating the government crisis of January 13.

The record of this second Popular Front Government *à direction radicale* was not outstanding. True, the Socialists had helped to bring about the virtual nationalization of the railways; but otherwise the "pause" in the application of the Popular Front program continued to be the Government's watchword. No more reforms for the present. Which, to M. Bonnet, meant that there would be no reforms if he could help it. He was there to defend "liberal finance," the Tripartite Agreement, and the franc; and whenever the Socialists got restive, he would wave the Tripartite Agreement at them and



NEA Service

In Paris It's an Art.

say that if they did not behave, France would lose the friendship of England and the United States.

Léon Blum, who, for all his Socialism, values nothing higher than England's friendship, and to whom the grave international situation is the first consideration of all, always allowed himself to be impressed by Bonnet's arguments. Time after time, Bonnet would bully the Government into an "unanimous affirmation of the policy of monetary freedom."

The Socialist backbenchers at the Chamber began to grumble against this submission; and in the Budget debate in December a number of them showed that they were not necessarily averse to exchange control—a policy which had already been advocated for some time past by the C. G. T., the trade union federation, which did not believe that any progress could be made with "the peaceful social revolution of June 1936" so long as the currency was, as they put it, at the mercy of high finance. "Monetary freedom," they felt, was a weapon of enslavement. But actually these arguments against "monetary freedom" were, as M. Sérol the Socialist Deputy, said on January 13, "of a doctrinal nature," and he denied that anybody had ever intended to interfere in practice with M. Bonnet's financial policy. It is true, nevertheless, that if there was a certain feeling against this policy, it was because it had failed to increase prosperity. The cost of living was going up, and there was much discontent among the working class—both political and economic.

Still, at the beginning of January there was nothing to create a financial or a political crisis. M. Bonnet himself had never missed an opportunity to praise to the skies his financial management; in the picture papers and in the movies we were shown how big cases of gold were arriving at Cherbourg, and Bonnet claimed that the position of the Treasury, with seven billions in hand, had never been so good as at the beginning of the financial year.

True, there were some particularly serious strikes which had broken out in the second half of December: the sit-down strike at the Goodrich tire works at Colombes, the strike in the commercial transport of Paris (which had to be checked by using army trucks), and on December 29 the unjustified one-day strike in the Paris public services. But this serious strike was immediately settled; and by the first week in January, the outlook was very much better again. No doubt, the strikes had shown that the labor legislation of 1936–37 was not working smoothly; that the compulsory arbitration law was being consistently violated—chiefly by the employers who (as Chautemps himself admitted in his speech at the Chamber on December 31) had been guilty, in 43 cases out of 53, of ignoring the arbitral award. Many employers were also

victimizing, dismissing, and generally discriminating against C. G. T. labour, and particularly against the trade union representatives in their employment; and there was also the thorny problem of the sit-down strikes.

Something had to be done to oil the labor machine. Chautemps conceived on January 7 the excellent idea of calling a round-table conference at



Times-Wide World

Premier Chautemps, who, with his ambitious Finance Minister . . .

the Hotel Matignon between the qualified representatives of labour and capital—the latter including not only the big employers of the C. G. P. F. but also the smaller manufacturers who had been excluded from the famous Matignon conference of June, 1936. Invitations were sent out. The C G. T. and the small employers promptly accepted the invitation unconditionally; the big employers said that they would come only if no "structural reforms" were to be discussed.

Plans for Labor Peace

What Chautemps was proposing was this: he had drafted a new "labor code" (1) regulating to some extent the enlistment and dismissal of labor, so that victimization should be reduced to a minimum; (2) "democratizing" strikes by making them legal only after the majority of the workers had agreed to the strike on a secret ballot—this was calculated to take the strike weapon out of the hands of professional agitators and irresponsible trade union officials; (3) "neutralizing" the works where a strike had broken out, so as to prevent the use of strikebreakers—this was intended to put an end to sit-down strikes, and (4) providing a "sanctions clause" for the non-application of arbitral awards, and simplifying and shortening the procedure of compulsory arbitration.

These were important reforms which, if accepted, would certainly have greatly created more orderly relations between capital and labor. Only, since Big Business regarded these reforms as an infringement of the "sacred rights of property" and of the boss's complete freedom in choosing his own labor, they did not like them. The reason why Chautemps was anxious that capital and labor should give their preliminary approval to these before he put them before Parliament was his belief that, without such an approval, his "labor code" might meet with insuperable opposition from the ultra-conservative Senate. Aware of the Senate's sympathy, the big employers decided to boycott the Matignon Conference.

And then, like a bolt from the blue, there coincided with this boycott a sudden offensive against the franc. Between January 10 and 12 the Exchange Equalization Fund lost something like $75,000,000 of foreign exchange, and on January 13 an emergency cabinet meeting was called, at which Bonnet again bullied the Government into an "unanimous reaffirmation of the policy of monetary freedom." He threatened to resign, and also obliged the Government to go immediately before the Chamber and ask it for a formal endorsement of the Government's declaration. The financial paper, *L'Information,* controlled by a banking group working in close cooperation with M. Bonnet, said that if this "rather exceptional" pressure on the franc continued, not another sou would, before long, be left in the Equalization Fund. The maneuver was clear. And in the afternoon, Chautemps, looking like a man working under some invisible pressure, continued this strange work at the Chamber. To the bewildered Left majority he made a speech in which he accused the working class of all that had happened, and failed to say one word against the boycott by the big employers of his industrial "peace conference." He was frantically cheered by the Right. He said that the franc would be wrecked unless the Chamber explicitly rejected exchange control. This was asking a lot from the Socialists and Communists, especially after a speech insulting the working class. Nevertheless, the Socialists were determined not to break up the Popular Front majority, and yielded, after four hours of discussion, even on the question of exchange control. By three in the morning, the Government was saved.

Only that was not at all what Chautemps wanted. For reasons best known to himself, he was determined to throw out his own government, and at four o'clock the opportunity for which he had been waiting presented itself. Ramette, the Communist deputy, made one of the usual Communist speeches, in which he said that, although the Communists loudly disapproved of the Government's policy, they would not vote against it, for they did not wish to break up the Popular Front majority. Chautemps saw his opportunity. Although the Communist speaker had not asked for anything of the sort, Chautemps said: "The Communists want their liberty. They can have it." This was too much for the Socialist Ministers. Blum, who had gone to bed, was promptly sent for, and the Socialist Ministers resigned. For Chautemps had deliberately driven the Communists out of the Popular Front majority, and had broken it.

Behind the Crisis

What was behind this determination to break his own government? And was Chautemps acting on his own initiative or as somebody's tool? It is difficult



Times-Wide World

. . . Georges Bonnet, trumped up a crisis to break down the Popular Front.

to be too categorical on this last point; but it is clear that certain important interests were determined to get rid of the Chautemps Government. Big Business, which had used the franc as a weapon of blackmail, feared that the labor code might still be presented to Parliament, and that even the Senate might pass it under working-class pres-

sure, as it had already passed the labor reforms of 1936. And—there was another important consideration. M. Dormoy, the Socialist Minister of the Interior, was producing every day more and more astounding facts about the activities of the C. S. A. R. (or "Cagoulards"). Big Business interests were clearly implicated in the affair; it was discrediting the Right in general; it was showing up the distinctly unpatriotic contacts existing between certain French fascist elements and foreign governments; and, clearly, it was threatening to recreate as powerful an anti-fascist front in France as that which had been produced, in the form of the Front Populaire, by the Croix de Feu menace of 1934-35. That the C. S. A. R. was subsidized not only by Big Business in France but also by Italy and Germany and Rebel Spain was not in doubt: most of their armaments came from these countries, and the bomb explosions at the Etoile on September 11 which blew up the big employers' headquarters (a well-staged "Communist outrage"), and the savage murder of Carlo Rosselli and his brother by C. S. A. R. gangsters, had clearly been inspired by Italy. The middle of September was a time when Italy feared a stiffening in France's Spanish policy, and the Etoile outrage was calculated to throw the country into a state of at least temporary confusion. Names of important Italians were freely quoted in Government quarters as being the real chiefs of the Cagoulards, and certain high personalities with their own ideas on Franco-Italian relations were becoming fearfully alarmed. In short, M. Dormoy was doing his job of investigation too well.

A day after the fall of the Chautemps Cabinet, France was startled to hear that M. Bonnet, whose personal ambition had played so great a part in bringing down the last Cabinet, had been asked to form the new Government. Was his ambition of becoming Premier going to be satisfied?

The Socialists and Communists rebelled; and it was too much even for the Radicals to identify themselves with M. Bonnet's scheming. They told him not to persist in his cabinet-making. He personified all that was hostile to the Popular Front; and a large number of Radicals were still pro-Popular Front, or, at any rate, not yet pro-High Finance. It looked too much as though M. Bonnet wished to bring back something like a National Government of Right Wing tendencies, which would "save the franc"—a repetition of the surrender of 1934 and 1926, when the Left majority in Parliament was compelled, under outside pressure, to submit to "the grave necessities of the moment."

On the following day, Blum launched a different idea, which, though it failed at first, was of the utmost importance, and will not fail to make progress. It was well received by the country. He proposed a National Government "around the Front Populaire," that is, one comprising all the Popular Front parties (including the Communists) and also men of the Opposition "known for their devotion to the democratic principles." He wanted Paul Reynaud and other members of the Center to join. The idea did not succeed, partly because Reynaud wanted Blum to extend his National Government still further to the Right, and partly because the Radicals had some qualms about bringing the Communists into the Government. The country—or rather the parties—were not quite ready for so ambitious a plan; and yet, even certain men on the Right (for instance, Henri de Kerillis) realized that the idea was good, and that if war threatened France, it would be necessary to bring even the Communists into the Government, "for we cannot afford," Kerillis said, "to have the working class of the capital against it."

The Communists were ready to support Blum's plan; it is probably true to say that the links between the French Communists and Moscow are much flimsier than is generally believed, and it is certainly true that they are conscious of being an important element of the French people, and are not only nation-conscious, but even government-conscious. Thorez has proclaimed time and again that they are ready to cooperate loyally with the democratic forces of the country, and that they realize the distinction between what is ideal and what is possible. They are *possibilists*. No doubt, the entry of the Communists into a "democratic" government would produce an outcry against the "Stalinites" from the more revolutionary elements among the French working class and would give an impetus to all the Trotzkyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist traditions existing among the Paris workers; but the Communists are prepared to take that risk.

My own feeling is that in a real emergency (and the January crisis was only an artificially worked-up emergency) Blum's idea of a "national government around the Front Populaire" will materialize. Its premier will probably not be Blum, but a rather more "national" figure like Herriot. Another important effect of Blum's plan was to show that a National Government could be built up around the existing Left majority, and that "National Government" and "the will of the country" were not necessarily contradictory terms, as 1926 and 1934 had led one to believe.

In the meantime, however, we have (as I write) a particularly nondescript stop-gap cabinet under the same M Chautemps. The Socialists—in spite of M. Blum's wishes—refused to enter it, after all the plotting Chautemps and Bonnet had done to break up the Popular Front. This government will be merely tolerated for a time, but it cannot last long. The country feels that a more representative government would command incomparably greater respect abroad than this bunch of scheming Radical politicians; and all the elements in the country who are loyal to the Popular Front—and they include many Radicals, and this loyalty has only been strengthened by the activities of the C. S. A. R.—are looking with some misgiving at the new Chautemps Government, wondering whether, in the absence of a more spectacular change after the model of 1926 and 1934, Big Business is not using its influence to slide the center of gravity in Parliament more *gradually* towards the Right—with the help of men like M. Bonnet.

The need for a more representative government will become more and more apparent as M. Bonnet meets increasingly difficult financial problems.

But, above all, there is a growing feeling that France must have a representative government which would impress Germany and Italy, where the luxury of a 5-day Cabinet crisis in France, with its party squabbles, is interpreted only too readily as a sign of division and weakness. There has been persistent propaganda in the press of the Right to the effect that the inclusion of even one Communist in any French Government—even the widest possible National Government—would shock the British Conservative Government so much that there would be a breach between France and England. Actually, the British Government realizes—or if it does not, it should—that the French ally would, internationally, carry far greater weight and authority with a government "from Reynaud to Thorez" than with a stop-gap Radical Cabinet, with little support in Parliament, and even less in the country at large.

LO, THE POOR RAILROADS!

They have suffered heavily from a combination of the depression and subsidized competition

By F. E. WILLIAMSON

THE financial position of the American railroads is as serious today as it was at the close of the World War. This is, then, a good time to inquire into the causes and their possible remedies.

First as to causes. What about financing? Is it true that the railroads are being strangled by debt? Are they overburdened with fixed charges? Does "water" exist in their capital structures?

These and other questions of a similar nature bob up every time the subject of railroad financing is discussed. They are asked because there are people who firmly believe that the answers, whatever they may be, hold the key to the entire situation. Let us see what the facts in the case really are.

In 1906, when railroad credit and financial strength were at their highest, net debt—that is, bonds and equipment obligations—amounted to 57.5 per cent of the total property investment. In 1936, with the railroads in distress, the figure was 44.2 per cent, before allowing for depreciation, or 40.7 per cent after depreciation.

From the beginning of American railroad history up to the post-War period, the rail traffic of the country consistently doubled in volume every fifteen years, on the average. To handle successfully the greater volume of business, the railroads had to increase their plant. This, of course, meant that they had to borrow money to make improvements. The money was not forced on them by bankers seeking profits. It was needed and used wisely.

At the 1906 peak, 17.2 per cent of the railroads' gross revenues was required to meet fixed charges, which are interest and leased road rentals. In 1936, despite the vastly larger and improved transportation plant as compared with that of thirty years earlier, fixed charges were 16.4 per cent of the gross revenues.

It should also be noted that, in the depression of the 'nineties, railroad fixed charges were a heavier burden by 20 per cent than in the last depression. But this did not stop the railroads from recovering and later enjoying the very heyday of their prosperity.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has estimated the original cost of railroad carrier property, plus the present value of land and rights, working capital, and material and supplies, at $25,926,231,224. On January 1, 1937, the total railroad capital actually outstanding was $21,961,000,000, made up of $9,930,000,000, in stock and $12,031,000,000, in funded debt. Allowing for intercorporate holdings, the net capital outstanding in the hands of the public was $18,336,000,000, of which amount $7,096,000,000 was in stock and $11,240,000,000, in bonds.

As the actual value of the investment in plant and equipment is about seven billion dollars *more* than the total par value of outstanding railroad stocks and bonds in the hands of the public, it cannot be said in truth that the carriers, in the aggregate, are over-capitalized or over-burdened with fixed charges. These facts are most certainly an indication that debt and fixed charges are by no means the principal reason for the straits in which the railroads of this country now find themselves.

If, then, improvident financing is not to blame for the present crisis in railroad affairs, what are the underlying causes? A glance first at the situation as it exists today and a brief review of circumstances leading up to it should furnish the answer.

Never before have the railroads operated at such high levels of efficiency and economy. Never before have their services been so swift, so dependable, so complete, so safe. Never before have their progress and achievements been so appreciated by a public which, just a short time ago, was inclined to take them for granted and displayed only a casual interest in their problems.

Yet, in spite of these favorable elements, the railroads are a sick industry—so much so that 96 companies, comprising 71,386 miles of line and representing 28 per cent of the total railway mileage of the United States, are in the hands of receivers and trustees. Furthermore, other systems are unpleasantly close to bankruptcy.

In four of the last six years, the railroads, as a whole, did not earn as much as 2 per cent on their investment, and in the best of these years—1936—they made only 2.57 per cent. Based on present calculations, the 1937 return will amount to approximately 2.3 per cent. Out of this meager return, plus whatever other income the railroads have, must be paid interest charges on bonded indebtedness, rent on leased lines, and other fixed or necessary obligations. What is left over is net income available for improvements, dividends, and surplus. It is little wonder that, in the words of the president of a large road, railroad stockholders have become "the forgotten men and women of the country."

Within the last few months, the railroad situation, seemingly on the way to improvement during the first half of 1937, has become acute. Railway purchases, so vital to many businesses in every State, have been drastically curtailed. Orders for new equipment are virtually at a standstill. The number of railway employes has been reduced.

This is not a bright picture of the status of one of the nation's greatest industries, which, besides being the principal agency of transportation on this continent, is so important as an employer of labor, buyer of commodities, and taxpayer.

Post-War Developments

On March 1, 1920, when the Federal Government returned the railways to private operation, neither their physical plant nor financial position was of the best. Shortly thereafter, it became evident that, to meet the transportation requirements of the country, the capacity of the rail plant had to be increased and improvements made. In fact, the Interstate Commerce Commission, in December, 1922, instituted on its own motion an investigation into the adequacy of railroad facilities and services—an investigation which was not pressed to a con-

clusion after the carriers had so greatly improved in these respects.

In the face of serious obstacles, railroad managements, in 1923, embarked confidently on an ambitious program of betterment. Among other things, more powerful locomotives and larger and stronger cars were acquired; track and bridge structures were strengthened; grades and curves were reduced. To December 31, 1929, a total of about six billion dollars was spent, with an addition to net debt of only about $950,000,000. At the beginning of these major improvments, fixed charges were 11.3 per cent of the gross revenues; at the end of the period, 1929, the ratio was actually less—11 per cent.

The benefits from this program more than justified these capital expenditures, most of which represented a sacrifice on the part of the stockholders. Old periodic car shortages practically disappeared, even during the period of heavy traffic between 1923 and 1929; railroad service was revolutionized; immense savings were effected by the rail lines and business in general.

That there has been a constant improvement in service is shown by the acceleration of the speed of passenger and freight trains. Today, the United States has not only the fastest trains in the world for distances of 800 miles or more, but has also the greatest number of trains with scheduled runs of 60 miles or more per hour.

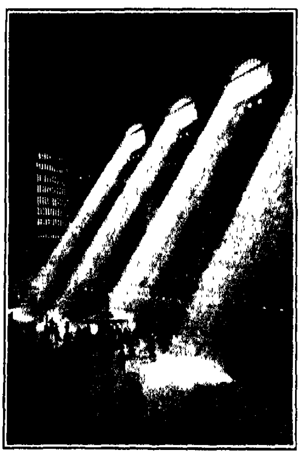
Freight trains now run half again as fast as they did in 1920, while freight train lengths have increased 25 per cent. By operating on what were once virtually passenger train schedules, overnight delivery of freight from points as far away as 500 miles is afforded many localities. Business has thus been enabled to operate on a small inventory basis, resulting in substantial savings to both business men and consumers.

So dependable has freight service become that today there are factories which unload material directly from freight cars to assembly lines without the necessity of storing it. This is another illustration of how improved freight service has remade production and business methods.

Greater efficiency was another result of the large capital investment in plant and equipment. The average gross ton-miles per train-hour—the best single measure of operating efficiency—rose from 16,188 in 1922 to 29,186 in 1936, or an increase of 80 per cent.

Unit fuel consumption and loss and damage to freight shipments are two items in which notable savings have been effected. In 1922, 163 pounds of coal, or the equivalent thereof, were required to move 1,000 tons of freight and equipment for the distance of one mile. This same amount of work was done in 1936 with only 119 pounds of coal, or a saving of 27 per cent over 1922. Passenger service recorded a similar improvement, with 17.9 pounds of coal being used in 1922 to move a passenger train car one mile and only 15.3 pounds being required to accomplish the same result in 1936. Due to improved methods of packing, loading, and handling freight, loss and damage payments by the railroads have dropped from 1.15 cents per dollar of freight revenue in 1922 to .64 cents in 1936—a reduction of 44 per cent.

It is such increased efficiency and economy which have made it possible



SUN TEMPLE: *The Concourse of the Grand Central Terminal in New York City.*

for the railroads to operate under low rates. Freight rates have gone down from an average of more than one and a quarter cents per ton-mile to an average of less than one cent per ton-mile. Likewise, passenger fares have decreased from an average of more than three cents a mile to less than two cents. From these average rates, it should be remembered, the entire cost of the service performed and of the maintenance and improvement of equipment and facilities and the payment of taxes must be met.

A common criticism has been that railroad managements, in some mysterious way as yet unexplained, should have foreseen the coming decline in traffic, and should have used their resources to retire debt during boom periods. Wherever possible that is done. However, public policy has not been such as to allow railroads in good times, or in periods of inflation, to earn sums sufficient to make significant debt retirement and accumulation of reserves, a fact so frequently overlooked.

There is, however, a glimmer of hope to be found in the latest annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. While it does not actually reverse its position, the Commission hints that the railroads should be permitted to accumulate funds in better days to cushion the shock of depression periods. The Commission said:

> It will be generally agreed, not only that the railroads are constitutionally entitled to an opportunity to earn a reasonable return on the fair value of their carrier properties, but also that it is imperative that they be able, in general, to earn such a return under what may be called normal conditions, if the system of private ownership of railroads is to function at all satisfactorily. It will also be agreed, although perhaps not so generally, that if a reasonable return cannot be earned in times of depression, the railroads should have a somewhat corresponding opportunity to earn more than a reasonable return in times of prosperity, so that the average may be fair.

Because the railroads at one time practically monopolized the transportation field—a condition that by no means prevails now, with trucks dipping heavily into the cream of the traffic—and because they are engaged in a business affected with a public interest, the Government undertook their regulation. This prerogative has been exercised for the past half century in increasing degree, until today the regulation is strict, severe, and detailed in character, covering every aspect of operation. The railroads cannot discontinue or extend any service without the consent of Government. They are regulated as to the hours their employees shall be permitted to work, and the conditions under which they shall labor. Rates, fares, and charges and their practices in connection therewith are fixed by Government. They are even told how to keep their accounts. They are forbidden to obtain traffic by offering preferential inducements to shippers. They must, nevertheless, be entirely self-supporting.

Subsidized Competition

Contrast this with the public policy toward other forms of commercial transportation—the airlines, water carriers, and bus lines. They enjoy, in many respects, a degree of freedom

denied the railroads, and in one way or another are subsidized by money coming from the taxpayer's pocket.

Take the case of commercial aviation. To foster and promote this newest agency of transportation, the Federal Government furnishes the beacons, the special radio and weather services, and the emergency landing fields. Airports are usually provided by the cities. As if this were not enough, the Government gives the airlines the entire six cents which you pay to send an air mail letter, and it hands over several cents more per letter from the general funds of the Post Office Department.

But what do the railroads get for handling mail? Every time you use a three-cent stamp on a letter going by railroad, Uncle Sam pays the rail companies an average of about half a cent, retaining the other two and a half cents to cover the cost of collecting and delivering the missive.

In so far as water transportation is concerned, the Government builds and improves inland waterways at enormous cost. The people who use them, however, are not asked to pay tolls. The waterways must be free, it is argued, to provide "cheap transportation"—cheap, perhaps, for the small percentage of people who are so geographically located that they can ship by water route; but expensive for the taxpayers as a whole and especially the great army that uses the railroads or other agency of transportation.

Government is considerate, too, of the trucks and busses. It has built, at a cost of billions of dollars, rural highways and city streets, over which these commercial vehicles may travel. And this, of course, does not include the millions of dollars spent each year to maintain and improve them. Railroads, on the other hand, must own and construct their own rights of way, pay interest upon their cost, maintain them at their own expense and pay taxes upon them. Although tolls at bridges and tunnels, motor registration fees, gasoline taxes, and the like are an attempt to recover from the users of improved roads all or part of the costs met in the first place by the government, the railroads' competitors on the highways do not contribute their proportionate share toward the general support and operation of government.

This public policy as to transportation—or rather this lack of a policy—is the direct cause of the prevailing inequalities and many of the problems which today beset the railroads. Such governmental discrimination makes it exceedingly difficult for the rail carriers, even in normal times, to compete for tonnage and earn for their thousands of investors a fair return on their money.

Competition in the field of transportation is keener today than ever before. This, together with other factors, has resulted in a surplus of facilities which available traffic cannot long sustain. Nevertheless, there are movements, strongly pressed, to add to this excess capacity at the expense of the taxpayer. For instance, Congress is being urged to consider the construction of more super-highways at a cost of eight billion dollars. Again, among other things, cheap transportation is advanced as an argument in favor of the proposal.

But cheap transportation cannot be achieved this way. Instead, it is the certain course to needlessly high transportation costs for all. The effort has been, and will continue to be, enormously expensive in its direct burden on taxpayers, and no less so in its indirect effect of increasing the cost of necessary transportation by artificially diverting and dividing tonnage which otherwise would move in those channels best fitted to handle it, service and true cost considered.

What is needed is a national transportation policy, based upon sound principles and sanely administered. Various attempts have been made to formulate one, but progress has been painfully slow. Common fairness and good business judgment demand that the policy finally adopted should treat alike all forms of transportation. If one is to be regulated, then all should be. If one is to be subsidized, then the beneficent hand of government should be extended to the others. "Finis" should be written in large letters to favoritism in the transportation field.

Important as these factors have been in contributing to the current difficulties of the rail companies, there are other major elements. These have created such a narrow margin between income and operating expenses that railroad credit today is seriously impaired.

During the depression, traffic declined astonishingly and gross and net revenues dropped to perilous levels. Revenues from freight handling were about half what they were in 1929, and passenger revenues were only a little more than one third of what they were before the crash. Since this low point neither freight nor passenger revenues recovered to the 1929 levels and are at present again substantially depressed. Many lines operated at a loss year after year. Some were aided by loans from the RFC.



OLD GLORY: *The famous Locomotive 999, which set a world's record of 112.5 miles an hour near Batavia, New York, in 1893.*

Rising Costs

Even more disturbing than the shrinkage in the volume of traffic was the rising cost of railway operation—an element largely beyond the control of railroad managements. Since about the middle of 1933, when the depression hit bottom, the prices of materials and supplies, for which the railroads normally spend a billion dollars a year, have increased 40 per cent; taxes have gone up 25 per cent; wages of railway employees have advanced 18 per cent.

As an illustration of rising railway expenses, the cost of things which the railroads need, other than fuel, is now approximately $275,000,000, greater annually than in 1933. The price of fuel is $78,000,000, more.

The railroad tax bill is enormous,

and is constantly increasing in size. In 1906, the tax accruals of the railroads amounted to 2.97 per cent of the entire gross operating revenues of these lines. Last year, this figure reached 8 per cent. In other words, out of each dollar received in 1937, approximately 8 cents had to be set aside for the municipal, state, and national tax collectors. But not one penny of this was earmarked for the special benefit of these carriers, and, ironically enough, some of it was spent to aid the railroads' competitors.



NEA

While the Railroads Are Campaigning for a Rate Boost

Average wages have also moved upward. The average annual earnings per railroad employee have climbed from $592 in 1906 to $1,765 in 1937. Wage negotiations last year boosted the pay of the non-operating employees by five cents an hour and the wages of the men who operate the trains by five and a half cents an hour—an increase of $135,000,000 a year in the railroad payroll. Then, too, it should not be forgotten that the 10 per cent wage deduction in 1932 was restored in 1935, thereby adding another $175,000,000 annually to railway expenses.

While costs have been mounting, freight rates and passenger fares have gone down. By the end of 1937, the average revenue per ton-mile—that is, the average amount received by the roads for hauling one ton of freight for the distance of one mile—was 10 per cent less than it was in 1932. The average revenue per passenger-mile, calculated on the same basis as that per ton-mile, was 20 per cent under the 1932 figure.

At the prevailing level of prices, taxes, and wages, the railroads' operating expenses have been increased, since 1933, by approximately $665,000,000. Railroad revenues, on the other hand, are less by more than $200,000,000 than they would have been if the traffic had been carried at the average rates of 1933. In short, the rate level, as this is written, does not meet today's costs, and this has been aggravated by the elimination of the emergency rates at the end of 1936. It is for these reasons that in November of last year application was made to the Interstate Commerce Commission for increased freight rates in all sections, and higher passenger fares in the Eastern Territory.

Railroading, it should be borne in mind, is a business—an important and complex one. The running of a railroad is not unlike the conduct of any other business sustained by private capital and operated as a private enterprise. The railroads manufacture but one commodity — transportation service. They must sell it at prices which will net them a small margin of profit, or, if they are to remain solvent and continue to serve the public adequately and satisfactorily, at prices which will at least permit them to pay all of their expenses. The same economic laws which apply to business generally apply to railroading.

It follows, then, that, if the railroads are to remain in business and escape government ownership, they must be permitted to make ends meet. This, of course, is impossible if expenses are to continue to go up and income to go down. Only adequate revenues will enable the railroads to climb out of the financial pit into which they have been cast.

There are those who believe that the real need of the railroads is relief from debt through processes of scaling or forced reduction. That will help, no doubt, in some individual cases, and will be applied in these cases. But this is no remedy for the industry as a whole. It needs an enlightened policy that will allow the roads, in normal times, to make surplus earnings as other industries do; that will stop the uneconomical diversion of traffic through various forms of subsidy to other means of transport; that will call a halt on restrictive legislation, the sole effect of which is to load the carriers with a burden of increased expenses with no corresponding benefit to the public.

It is a truism that there cannot be a prosperous nation without prosperous railroads. Economic recovery depends, to a marked degree, on the good health and future prospects of the rail carriers. For this reason, it is imperative that the railroad situation be remedied as quickly as possible, so that the railroads and the country can go forward with confidence once more.

CORRESPONDENTS IN SPAIN

An uncensored account of a censorship which is not as black as it's painted

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

THERE has recently been considerable discussion of the press censorship in Spain, particularly on the Government side, and the question is frequently raised as to what extent news dispatches emanating from Madrid, Valencia, or Barcelona can be trusted. Are they tampered with? Are correspondents under coercion to write, not as their judgment dictates, but as they are desired to write? Are they drawn into the mesh of a propaganda machine and made part of it? For more than a year, and from the very first days of the Spanish rebellion, I have been coping with this censorship problem, at times trying to make the censor see reason as I saw it, at times acting as spokesman for other correspondents. It is possible therefore that I can throw some light on these and kindred questions.

The censorship had (and has) its high spots and its low spots, and it would be impossible to generalize about it. There were times when it was completely, incredibly stupid, such as when it sealed up all means of communication with the outside world at the most critical moments, with the worst possible consequences from the Government's own viewpoint. There were times when it was intelligent and fair. The censorship difficulties were not so much due to the chief censor at Madrid or (after the Government's removal to Valencia) at Valencia, as to the 57 or so brands of politicians who stood in the background and who seemed to have not the slightest notion of foreign reaction to news or the lack of it. The correspondents learned that while they fought the censor, the censor was battling it out with these politicians.

The version published in the States that the censorship was in the hands of clever propaganda agents from Russia does not correspond to the facts. There was nothing clever about the way the censorship was managed nor about the handful of foreigners, some mere adventurers, whose services during the first months were employed because they happened to understand foreign languages and it was difficult to find Spaniards properly equipped in that regard. One of these once had been the keeper of a resort of low reputation. I did not find one Russian among them although there was a Russian-born German. Later, at Valencia, they were all thrown out and replaced by competent and high-class Spaniards who knew foreign languages. After that the situation was much improved.

Like most censorships, that of governmental Spain—and in even greater degree that of rebel Spain according to overwhelming testimony—was predicated upon the theory that neither the correspondent nor the papers which he represented had any rights. Yet the correspondent, it would seem, has the obligation of presenting the news—barring information of military value to the enemy—as correctly as he can; and having that obligation, has also the corresponding right. The press and its readers likewise have the right to accurate information. For any government to deny that such a right existed would be equal to denying the value of foreign opinion. But a government which, like the Spanish Republican one, was at particular pains to impress foreign opinion and obtain its favorable verdict, was under a special obligation to permit that opinion to have the proper data on which to base its judgment. I fear that the censorship, or rather the powers behind it, did not take this viewpoint—and that was not honest. I suspect, on the contrary, that most correspondents sensed this, and the feeling that they were frequently working under difficulties must have proved irksome. I likewise suspect that they felt completely free to act within their rights and discharge their obligations insofar as opportunity offered.



United Feature Syndicate

"TELL 'EM OUR SIDE'S WINNING": *This is the way Americans felt about the news . . .*

On the other hand, it cannot be said that the correspondents were ever coerced, or that any attempt was made to educate them and incorporate them in a huge propaganda machine. I have ample testimony that there was nothing so calculated to get a correspondent's back up as any suggestion that he send out news in such form as did not correspond to his judgment. Nor was he pampered and made much of. At Valencia an occasional excursion was organized to one of the fronts for limited parties of four or five, at times when it was rather essential to get there. But there were many correspondents, even among those most favorably disposed to the Government, who could not get about to distant parts at all. The Spanish press bureau, as was quite proper, sometimes arranged for rooms for visiting correspondents (at the correspondents' expense, naturally) when rooms were otherwise unobtainable. They were thus saved from having to sleep in the street. And that was about all the attention they got, except for the very occasional "trained seal" with something of a literary name.



Pix

. . . from Teruel, where the rebels were staging a counter-attack. However . . .

No Pampering

On the contrary, the correspondent found himself facing conditions which made work most difficult. He was entirely on his own in the gathering of news and this, for the new man, made it hard. During four months there were perhaps a total of three or four news bulletins handed to correspondents at the Valencia press bureau. Later this situation was somewhat improved. Bulletins came, but often very late in the night—so late that to some correspondents they were quite useless. When important speeches were made the correspondents were not allowed to send stories from their notes, but were compelled to wait until the official versions, in Spanish, came. These usually arrived very late in the night; and thereafter there was another long wait until the official English version could be written. Consequently, correspondents were kept fuming and fretting and wasting their time for from six to eight hours or more. And when the speeches finally got through, the hour was usually so late, particularly on the Continent and in England, that the papers did not use them. Thus the very important speech of President Azana early last year, which was particularly designed to impress foreign opinion, got through so late that most papers, including my paper, the London *Times*, did not use a line of it and the overly meticulous censorship had cut its own throat. Something like the same thing, although not in the same degree, happened in the case of Azana's speech delivered on the anniversary of the Republic, in July.

Indeed, far from the correspondents being pampered, it sometimes seemed that the ministries in Valencia either were not aware of their existence, or regarded them with disdain. There is a tendency in Spain to regard the journalist as a second-rate sort of person, largely because the Spanish press and, consequently, its editorial staffs have traditionally been under the thumbs of whatever government, Right or Left, happened to be in power; thus, whatever independence they enjoyed was of the by-your-leave kind. The concept of the completely independent journalist does not seem to have entered the governmental mind, and so it is likely that foreign correspondents suffered from the implications of this situation.

If the reports of correspondents were on the whole favorable to the government it was certainly not due either to pampering, coercion or being educated to write as they were wanted to. It was entirely due to their integrity and to their sense of devotion to truth as they saw it.

All that precedes describes a rather negative situation of which the correspondents were the victims. In fairness it must be said that it was to some extent—although only temporarily—remedied later on, particularly when the Foreign Minister, at the instance of the correspondents, met them in a series of press conferences.

On the other hand I believe the correspondents were treated with extreme indulgence as to their personal views. Although occasionally one popped up who was known to be unduly critical of the governmental side, that fact did not, so far as I have discovered, in the slightest degree affect the treatment he received. It may have happened that some correspondent or another was made to feel displeasure for an overt offense, or for an attitude of hostility which surpassed the bounds of decorum, but even such a one was treated with a great deal of tolerance.

There is a superabundance of testimony of mistreatment and manhandling of correspondents on the Franco side. At least fifty were expelled. Some of them were jailed and menaced with death. Some were compelled, under pain of death, to sign false statements. Except in the cases of a few favored ones, they were ordered and shunted about rebel territory by the chief censor as though they were flunkies. There was no respect whatever for their persons. Certainly there was nothing comparable to this on the Government side, for the persons of correspondents were respected and I do not know of a single expulsion except in the case of one suspected—wrongly, I am certain—of activities having nothing to do with journalism. At Valencia, however, there was one case of a correspondent whose hostility to the Government, and whose conduct co-related to that hostility, were well known. He was briefly detained and questioned, per-

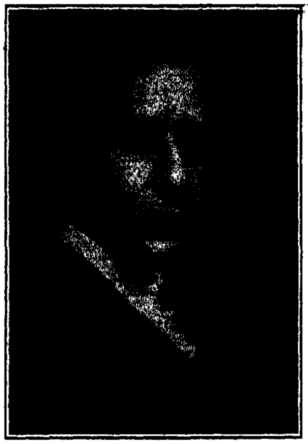
mitted to return to his hotel and finally to leave at the invitation of the continental paper which he represented. I heard no correspondent suggest that the authorities could well have acted otherwise.

The Angelopoulos Case

But there was one case in Valencia which aroused the indignation of most of the foreign correspondents there, namely that of Alkeos Angelopoulos, correspondent of the International News Service, which he had previously served at Addis Ababa in the Abyssinian campaign. He was taken from his hotel bed at two o'clock in the morning by armed police and kept in a secret prison for about ten days, for the first day or two without even such conveniences as a mattress or chair. He was regularly taken before a form of investigating committee in another part of the town at about three o'clock in the morning and there put through rigorous questioning. The question referred to his associations with persons suspected of spying, and also to his associations with other correspondents whose integrity was brought into doubt. He was kept in solitary confinement, receiving no visit from friends or other interested persons during all this period. The request of correspondents that they be permitted to visit him was refused. Their protests were met with the explanation that he was being held, not as a journalist but as an individual suspected of illegal activities. This explanation did not satisfy the correspondents at Valencia, who pointed out that not only was this manner of treating a person under suspicion illicit and indecent and shameful, in that it had no regard for his most elemental rights, but that it was in no way reassuring to the remaining correspondents, who did not know when any other one of them might be similarly treated whenever members of the secret police with excessive imaginations might suppose them to be engaged in anti-governmental activities. Angelopoulos was finally released and his agency requested to withdraw him. Although a statement regarding his case was issued, it showed no straw of evidence against him—merely the suspicion of the police. And I'm sure that the correspondents who knew him and worked with him and questioned him closely were convinced that the suspicion was without justification. But aside from this case I know of no authentic correspondent who was molested—certainly none for attempting to assert his rights. The correspondents, who considered themselves under the Foreign Minister, and not under the police, finally worked out a formula whereby, should any correspondent fall under suspicion in the future, his case would first be placed in the hands of the Foreign Ministry for preliminary investigation.

Getting Out the News

Is the news getting out of governmental Spain? In general, yes. I know of agency men who go so far as to say that they are getting all the news out through the censorship and have no need to supplement it in other ways. My judgment, however, is that there are many hiatuses. Most of the high spots do get out, but sometimes in very sketchy form. However for the proper understanding of a situation the low spots and the in-between spots are often quite as important as the high spots. Indeed I believe the reputations of *The Times* of London and *The New York Times*, are built upon their recognition of the fact that "the news behind the news," as often as not, is the real news. It is this "news behind the news," so essential to an accurate understanding of events, that the censorship frequently dams up, particularly when it presents a situation not entirely favorable to the Government.



Times Wide World

. . . Herbert L. Matthews of THE NEW YORK TIMES went to see for himself and found . . .

The great mistake of the Spanish governmental censorship—as of all censorships—is their hypothesis that all news must be "favorable." There is nothing calculated so quickly to shake confidence of the foreign press and its readers as the feeling that they are getting only what the government of the country in which the news originates considers suitable. Indeed, completely "favorable" news soon becomes, of its own inherent character, "unfavorable" news. The editors abroad look upon it askance and turn to other sources. They take the word-of-mouth reports of chance travelers, (there is nothing more untrustworthy) listen to the opposition radio stations, are taken in by rumors, etc., and in the end give a picture that is greatly exaggerated and far more "unfavorable" to the country of original news source than an accurate statement from that country itself would have been. A notable example of the censorship's failure to give the complete story was the occasion of the formation of the new government in May. This was the consequence of a profound revulsion in the government and the facts of this revulsion were most important to know. But here the censorship clamped down on the real story, or allowed only an inkling of it to get through, with the consequence that opinion abroad was mystified. Of course, in the sense that the "high spot," namely, the fall of one government and the formation of another, did get through, it might be said that "the news" was reported. Another example was that of the Barcelona riots, in May, just preceding the fall of the Government. At Valencia not a word was allowed through for several days with the consequence that, bad as the situation was, the reports in the foreign press made it immeasurably worse. Having no news from Spain they took the rebel radio reports and the irresponsible statements and rumors brought out by travelers.

My own experience provides a good example of how an airtight censorship works in such a situation. I was tipped off that something was brewing in Barcelona and so went down there, being the only staff man there during that trouble. The first day, after running a gauntlet of barricades to the chief censor's office and another gauntlet of barricades through narrow and now blacked-out streets to reach the radio office, I managed to send out a rather accurate story of what occurred. On the second day I did the same, but the minor functionaries in the radio office set their judgment above that of the official censor and sabotaged them, so that they did not arrive until 24 hours or more after being filed. The result was that the paper which I represented, along with others, having no other source of information, printed in-

accurate news, such as that the French consulate had been assaulted, that French marines had been landed to protect it, and that an Anarchist government had seized the power, all of which being quite untrue, did the Government infinitely more harm than if the real news had been allowed to pass.

Spanish authorities, whether Monarchist or Republican, seem to have a "shut the door" complex which impels them to seal all kinds of communication with the outside world the moment there is an important crisis, and precisely when it is of the greatest importance, from the government's own viewpoint, that the real truth be known. This has done it much harm.



Pix

. . . the city still in the hands of the loyalists, hunting out stray rebels.

Censorship Destroys Confidence

On the whole, I conclude that the Spanish governmental censorship has failed in accomplishing the very thing that it was most to its interest to accomplish, namely the establishing of confidence abroad in the news emanating from governmental sources. Notwithstanding, the high spots of the news have always got out, while the stories have been the honest reports of the correspondents, written without coercion and on their own judgment, within the limits allowed by the censorship, and not the product of a propaganda machine.

I have said that the censorship also had its high spots. The liberality with which correspondents were treated often depended upon the degree of political pressure behind the scenes. I recall the case of one agency correspondent who asked permission to send out "just one uncensored report" on a certain situation of interest abroad The request was granted and the correspondent telephoned his report, which the censor did not see until after it was sent. Incidentally news is almost invariably telephoned to Paris or London by the correspondent himself, a censor listening in, so there is no possibility of tampering with the message. I also found that if the correspondent played fair with the censor, the censor did his best to play fair with him. The occasional man who resorted to tricky or shady procedure would be caught at it sooner or later, and he would discover that he had done himself no good by his conduct.

It must also be said in fairness that the censor frequently stretched a point in favor of correspondents.

By way of example: I have seen a published statement that news of the capture of Malaga was held up for hours. Let me recite my own experience. The fall of Malaga was reported in the foreign press on Sunday, February 7, of last year, on the basis of misleading rebel reports. But all of that day it was still in the hands of the Government forces. I have interviewed persons who left Malaga as late as noon of the following day, Monday, and the rebels had not yet entered there. In fact they did not penetrate Malaga until early afternoon of that day. In governmental circles in Valencia there was a great deal of confusion on this point, and the Government itself did not know the truth. The failure to let reports of the fall of Malaga get through was not due to any attempt to hold up the news but to lack of information. As a matter of fact, late Monday I had a definite report from a private and confidential source that Malaga actually had fallen. The censor, who on the basis of his own information did not yet know whether Malaga had fallen, nevertheless allowed me to send the news on my assurance that the information was positive.

I must also, in fairness, cite an instance of considerate and courteous treatment in connection with my departure from Spain last summer on a vacation. It is another "high" spot which offsets part of what I have previously said and shows how difficult it is to generalize. Realizing that border guards who did not know English might prove a suspecting and troublesome lot, I informed the home secretary that I was departing at a certain border point on a certain train, and that I would have with me quite a few documents which I expected to find useful in the preparation of articles. I requested that he notify the authorities that I was on my way so that I would not be treated exactly as a spy. When I arrived at the station I found that the chief in charge had received a telegram ordering my baggage to be passed without any examination whatever. I really had not expected quite so much courtesy.

I must also mention that in Barcelona—although not in Valencia—I was in emergencies frequently allowed to telephone uncensored messages from my home with the understanding that I present the censor a copy of my transmitted message the next day. I tried not to abuse this privilege and that fact resulted in my getting through, rapidly, many a story with which I might otherwise have had difficulties. For instance the governmental crisis of May I covered from Barcelona instead of from Valencia in a very frank series of stories.

It Was Worse in France

Although much more might be said about the censorship in Spain, enough has perhaps been said to indicate that it is in no degree worse than most censorships. And indeed, despite the shortcomings which I have here mentioned, some correspondents who have covered the Great War affirm that it is immeasurably preferable.

THE AMERICAN WAY

Joe Smutts would like to spend, and does, much more during his life than he actually earns

By W. CARROLL MUNRO

THE national program of recovery centers around a frantic effort to raise the standard of living of an ever-increasing number of our citizens. And the standard of living is predicated upon the theory that the average man should own a car, a house, a pot containing two chickens, a bank account, and innumerable other gadgets including a college boy. It is a standard compiled and approved by politicians, professors, and the National Association of Manufacturers. And it is a standard based, not on what man produces, although that, of course, is a necessary corollary, but on what a man can get, if he pursues the American Way of Life.

Generally that Way of Life is supposed to combine the best things of our material civilization. And the best things are easily identified in the advertising columns of metropolitan newspapers and national magazines. Beautiful gadgets for the most part and very utilitarian. At least one-third of us are the proud owners of many of them. But they have cost us dearly, and on occasion caused us no little concern. No sooner do we pay for one than some ingenious inventor adds another to our list. And it is always the added starter in this gadget race that loses out. We just can't meet the payments every month.

For the average consumer is periodically insolvent. That is one fact that is apparently overlooked in calculations concerning the American standard of living. Economists, and statisticians never get down where the consumer lives and find out what he really buys. They chart his income arbitrarily, so much for food, so much for clothes, so much for rent. That's fine as far as it goes. But what about the consumer's automobile? Can he pay for a new one every year or so, and still maintain a proper balance of expenditures. If the economists don't know the answer to that one they don't know the answers to any of the consumer's problems.

Seeking to dispose of many of the question marks surrounding the consumer—who he is, what he earns every year, what he buys, how much he can actually afford to buy, how he "makes up" the difference, the size of his family, his family's needs—*Current History* made an investigation of the "average American spender." For purposes of this article he shall be called Joe Smutts.

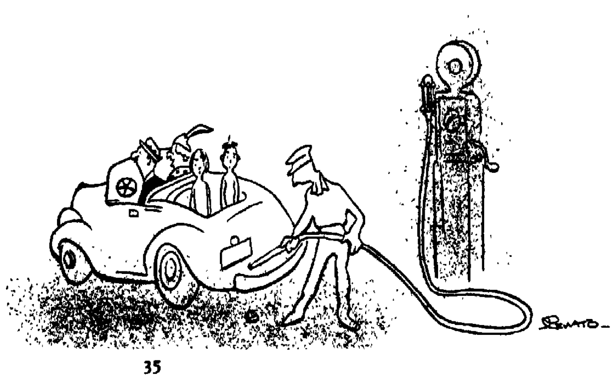
Mr. Smutts lives in a manner that will very easily upset, if not wreck altogether, the favorite graphs of the economists, who, if they paid less attention to charts and more to chats, would have found some very interesting information. First of all they'll find he's not a bit dismayed by the names he's being called. He rather fancies himself as one of the "ten million guinea pigs," or, one of the "one hundred million shills." He enjoys his joke, and maintains his peculiar pride, and of course, his price.

Some million salesmen look up Mr. Smutts and his consumer friends at least three times a year and chat with them about the price of toilets, refrigerators, and those thousand other things they're permitted to buy for a little hard earned cash. And the manufacturers chart the average consumer too, and they graph his family, although he can slip through a column of figures quicker than a cold germ can squirm through a porcelain sieve. But that's the way they arrive at the average standard of living which is necessary in calculating the sale of any product, although, despite the pseudo-scientific calculations, it remains an arbitrary thing divorced from reality as any competent consumer will readily testify.

Inside Dope

You've seen Joe Smutts often enough doing his Sunday driving. He's the little bird in the Ford who tries to beat the lights. Two kids on the back seat and a woman in front wearing a Duchess of Windsor hat. Joe went to work when he was twenty. He was married and had two kids before he was twenty-five. And now he's nearly forty with a steady job paying him $1,500 a year. He's doing fine. Very few of his friends earn much more than that, while most of them are lucky to squeeze out $1,200 every year.

And since money really counts, Joe's spending habits are the most important things in these United States. Ambitious men devote sleepless nights, as well as days, thinking up new selling gags to use on Joe. Some unique and different way to sneak another dollar from his bankroll. But he's wise to them although whichever way he turns they've rigged a resistance sapper for him to see. They hammer at him from the advertising columns, and when he listens to the radio he's sure to hear some smoothie yapping about his teeth and gums. And every now and then he gets a mail box full of junk, notes and letters and cards telling him what to buy, appealing to him as a man of discriminatory sense to hurry down and buy it now before they're all sold out. That's funny, and now and then Joe gets a laugh out of the appeals. He,



Joe Smutts, should put on his hat and coat and rush right out for a tire or a tube of toothpaste. Nuts to that. If they want him they can come and get him. Or wait until that day he sneaks into the store to look around.

Even so they want to be fast on their feet for Joe can stall a salesman quicker



than the Missus can stall the car. He plays dumb while they pour the old sales oil, although he's got a wrong name and address ready for them if they get too hot. "Joe Jones," he says without a quiver. "Sure send the salesman over. Always glad to see him." And then Joe gets really crafty. "How much again," he asks, and then touches off the bomb, "I can do better down the street. Beat their price and I might talk business."

Budget Balance

That's the way Joe shops. He's out to beat the rules for the sake of solvency. And he rarely ever pays cash. The credit marks behind his name in all the agencies resemble a Chinese puzzle. He's fast pay. He's slow pay. He never pays. They send the hottest collectors after him and he sends them back with about one-tenth the money they warned him was the absolute minimum. And it was after a nasty interview with one of the speedier boys that Joe's wife got real mad and bawled him out. They talked it over then, and Joe decided to keep a budget.

The first stop after that was a bank where Joe had once been inveigled into joining a Christmas club. He had also failed to make all the payments, and he remembered with a good deal of embarrassment the reproachful look of pity the clerk had cast in his direction the day he had arrived to draw out his slim deposits. However the clerk was very solicitous as he shoved a bundle of budget literature under the grille into Joe's waiting hands. And it was a curious admixture of stuff, including little pamphlets full of pep-talks about saving, charts and graphs breaking down average incomes, tables of figures showing why and how much to pay for an automobile, what to expend for repairs, information on housing, depreciation, life insurance, fire insurance, theft insurance ad infinitum.

Joe worked his way through the stuff without cracking a smile. Some of the items were startling, some curious and still others wonderful to behold.

First of all Joe discovered that he was better than average. With $1,500 a year he was right up near the big bulge of humanity in the middle of the heap. The great middle class, the backbone of the country. That was it, the great backbone of the country, and as far as Joe could figure the backbone did most of the heavy work. Still it was not without pride that he made this discovery.

But the budget was waiting. The Missus picked it up, studying the sheet and reading the instructions. Rent, she told him crisply, was exactly one quarter the income. He figured it out at $375 and put it down. And the Missus jumped at him triumphantly. Of course Joe knew they were paying more. He scornfully reminded her of the dumps they had examined together. The $30 per month houses that weren't big enough, that couldn't be heated, that were in an undesirable neighborhood. And to clinch his point he pretended that he was ready at once to go out and find a cheaper house for the sake of the budget. And that was the end of that item.

The cost of fuel was less controversial. The budget allowed $120 per year or just enough to warm up a house during a mild winter. But food was not so easy, at $520 per year. The Missus laughed at that one. And Joe wanted to know if the fund included steaks. They'd skimped the food bill so often that even with two growing kids $10 a week looked like a banquet allowance.

Clothing was next with a $300 total, $100 for Joe, $100 for the Missus, and $100 for the kids. It made them both suspicious. If this was an average budget it wasn't meant for them. And yet it sounded reasonable enough. After all $100 was not too much to pay for decent clothing. A suit for the man, summer and winter clothes for the woman, shoes for the kids, and socks and shirts and underwear, and overcoats. Those were necessities.

Incidental Expense

And then electricity and gas, including the expense of operation for a mechanical refrigerator, an electric toaster, electric iron, and a radio. Plus the tubes and bulbs, plugs and fuses, and a yearly telephone bill. After that came furnishings and doctors, and dentists. This was something of a joke for Joe had two cavities and the Missus three and the kids hadn't been to the dentist in four years. Neither one could afford to be sick although Joe had been down once with appendicitis and the kids both arrived in the world with a hundred dollar price on their heads. And that's where the kids came in under the heading of miscellaneous expense. It was the upkeep, the day by day financial drain, and the desperate hope that, perhaps, they might get on to college. Joe was determined about that. Today a college education was a necessity for every American boy, in fact, the magic key to the American Way of Life. And yet there was nothing saved to date, and little possibility that anything could ever be saved from his salary for education.

After that it was "Books, Magazines and Newspapers," and "Barber and Beauty Shop," and cigarettes at $75 for a single year. They couldn't give the cigarettes up, nor would they deny themselves a movie once a week.

The next item made Joe hold his breath. It was the toughest one of all, although he had owned too many automobiles to kid himself about the cost. There was no sense dodging. A car was a necessity in his life. It was part of his business, and the greatest part of his pleasure. On weekends it took the family to the country, and a motor trip was the cheapest way in the world of spending his vacation. And the little pleasure rides after a fellow was finished work. And then the hundred little errands to which a car was indispensable. Joe owned one of the cheapest models if not the cheapest. He turned it in regularly since from experience he

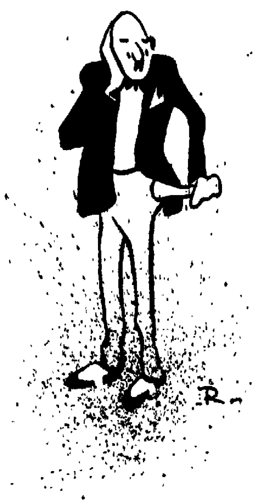


knew that a used car cost as much in the long run as a new car. On the average he paid $25 monthly installments to a finance company. Still that was only the beginning. Ten thousand miles a year at 2¢ was not excessive driving when all things were consid-

ered. That's how the car knocked the budget into a cocked hat. And it seemed incredible to Joe that he was paying out some $500 a year for his car. That was one third his annual income.

The Old Routine

In the end he didn't have to total up the tentative yearly budget to get the answer. Even a $2,500 yearly income wouldn't have covered it, although he was getting by on $1,500. Without further comment Joe gathered up the budget and threw it into the garbage can. The next day he was back at the old routine chiseling the tradesmen, stalling the bill collectors, and robbing



one pocket to fill another. And he went as far as to buy a new radio, a lovely gadget, absolutely the latest thing. Joe couldn't resist it, although he spent a bad six months paying the bill. It was finally managed by cutting food purchases, postponing a dozen pending payments, and passing up the Missus's Spring wardrobe. But that's the way Joe Smutts and his wife and kids get by.

Few people who have ever tried to run a home will sneer at the tentative figures that Joe Smutts inserted in his budget. Individually and collectively they are, or have come to be known as necessities. Gadgets are indispensable. Today the home lacking a radio, an electric toaster, an electric refrigerator, gas range, and all those other expensive items is, if we are to believe our economic planners, little better than a gloomy cave. And Joe Smutts and his wife are of that very mind. They are skimping to buy the gadgets, and they are chiseling their children and themselves out of a reasonably secure future to replace them when they're worn or out of style. And Joe's no fool. He's living the American Way with his car, and his house, and his gadgets and he knows as well as the next man that they don't add up.

It's not necessary to cull through the budgetary items to tell Joe's fortune. A rough calculation will suffice. Assuming that he goes to work at twenty and can reasonably anticipate an active working life of some forty years, Joe's economic value will hardly exceed a grand total of more than $60,000. Charged against this are forty annual budgets, compiled in the American Way of Life and each one totaling at least $2,500. Beyond that initial $100,000 coverage additional provision must be made for ten unrewarded years when Joe and his Missus are waiting to pay the last installment on their lives. Of course it is presumptuous to assume that the children will care for the old folks then. They too will be married and busily engaged in carrying on the fight to pay for all the new, and different, and absolutely the latest mechanical gadgets.

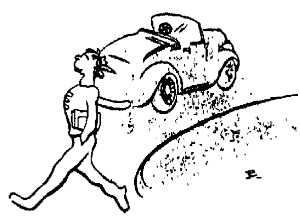
Decline in Prestige

Unfortunately, as any fool can see, the income and the theoretical expense will never balance, although that's not Joe's fault. With Joe, as with ten million others, each day means something new in economic improvisation not for the sake of food or clothes or shelter but for a music box, an electric ice machine, and most important of all an automobile. Periodically, these wildcat consumers miss a trick, dummy the wrong account, or surrender altogether. The the finance company replevins the car, seizes the ice machine, and the American Way of Life sharply declines in prestige.

And it couldn't be otherwise. As has already been pointed out the average consumer's lifetime economic expectancy will hardly amount to $60,000 even if he works steadily for forty years. With this sum he must contrive to purchase more than $100,000 worth of goods in order to maintain the American Way of Life. It can't be done. Even dividing the $63,000,000,000 national income equitably among all the wage earners will fail to solve the problem by many billion dollars.

However, facts and figures have little validity where the average consumer is concerned. He pays hard cash for luxury gadgets that in a balanced economy would go only to the higher salaried class. And, most criminal of all, he fakes the necessary purchases of food and clothes and shelter.

"Buy!" the business man exhorts the befuddled consumer. And the poor unfortunate is assured that it's his patriotic duty to absorb the endless line of unnecessary gadgets. For only thus will factories go full blast and all men be employed and indirectly all consumers benefit through increased



wages of their own. But about the rising prices contingent to such an economy the consumer has still to hear, for that's the mathematical fallacy deliberately suppressed.

Recently the Government announced that a building boom was in the making. The average consumer was about to buy a house, notwithstanding the fact that he was already buying a car that accounted for any money he might have to spare for shelter. Nor does it matter that the planners are anxious to admit that the consumer's rent money plus, of course, a nominal fee, will more than suffice to carry a home. What counts is the nominal fee. How much is this nominal fee the consumer wants to know. And he'll probably find out soon enough—so much for taxes, depreciation, and the hundred other items familiar to all home owners. Still such formidable expenses hold little terror for the hardened consumer. No doubt he will succumb to the high pressure salesmanship of the building boomsters. He'll buy the house, but, and this is important, he wouldn't sell his car to pay for it, nor his refrigerator, nor his other gadgets, because if he did luxury factories would shut down, men would be thrown out of work, and the whole country would go to wrack and ruin. And what then would become of the American Way of Life? Nothing probably, until Joe Smutts dies of starvation at the wheel of his new car.

GERMAN LAWS AGAINST THE JEWS

A complete and factual survey of the legal basis of anti-Semitism

By CURT L. HEYMANN

HITLER'S racial philosophy and anti-Semitism are widely known and have often been quoted from his book *Mein Kampf*. Less known, however, is the fact that his anti-Jewish slogans evolved from an "International Anti-Semitic Congress" held at Dresden in the '80s of the last century. And also not generally known is the fact that of the 25 points of the Nazi Platform adopted in 1920, not less than nine refer directly or indirectly to the Jews. Since these points constitute the program of the party and since it was resolved in 1926 that "this program is never to be changed," the nine points in question may be quoted here, especially as they represent a "sacred formula" for the regime's anti-Semitic legislation:

(4) None but members of the people may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, irrespective of religion, may be members of the people. No Jew, therefore, is a member of the people.

(5) Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be subject to the law for aliens.

(6) The right to determine the leadership and laws of the State is to be enjoyed only by citizens of the State. We demand, therefore, that all public offices, whether in the Reich, in the States, or in the municipalities shall be filled only by citizens.

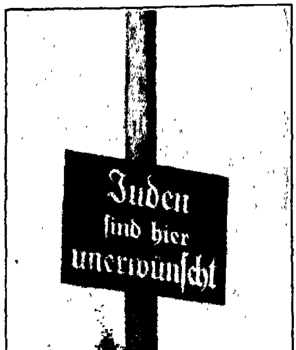
(7) We demand that the State shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and the livelihood of the citizens of the State. If it is not possible to maintain the entire population of the State then the members of foreign nations (non-citizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

(8) All further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequent to August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the Reich forthwith.

(9) All citizens shall enjoy equal rights and duties.

(17) We demand land reform . . . abolition of land interest and prevention of all speculation in land.

(23) Of the German press we demand: All editors and contributors of newspapers appearing in the German language must be members of the German people. . . . Non-Germans must be forbidden by law to participate financially in German newspapers or to influence them.



European

"JEWS ARE NOT WANTED HERE": *This grim sign symbolizes all the anti-Semitic laws of the last five years.*

(24) The party . . . opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without and is convinced that permanent recovery of our people is possible only from within. . . .

It may be observed that in these nine points direct reference to the Jew is only made in two instances, namely in points (4) and (24). The rest refer to "citizens," otherwise omitting discrimination of race or creed. The reason for such careful wording is, however, obvious. It must be borne in mind that with this program the party was breaking ground and that at the time of its drafting, thirteen years before Nazism attained power. Hitler's anti-Semitic campaign was still in a preparatory stage. Even at that early date, the racial tendency of these "demands" is evident. Citizens, as we by now know, are Aryans only. Wherever the word "citizen" appears "Aryan" should now be substituted for it. Non-Aryans, namely Jews, are to be eliminated. Only Aryans constitute the racial state. They alone shall fill state jobs and be placed in a position to make a livelihood. They alone must be editors of and contributors to the German press and they alone shall enjoy equal rights and duties. Whereas non-Aryans are deprived of all such privileges, point (8) is directed against the influx of Eastern Jews, whose immigration set in after the war, and point (17) is primarily directed against Jewish land ownership and Jewish land-speculation companies.

The "Jewish Question" Created

There had been no "Jewish question" since the turn of the century.* The democratic principles of the Weimar regime, no doubt, gave way to anti-Semitic feeling, but it was actually the Nazi party program that made it an issue.† Atrocity propaganda created the Jewish "problem" and on January 30, 1933, Hitler rode into power upon an unprecedented wave of anti-Semitism. Eight weeks later, on April 1, the one-day boycott of the Jews was observed throughout Germany. It was launched as an answer to anti-Nazi demonstrations here, in Great Britain, and elsewhere and was meant as a "defense measure" against foreign defamation. It not only failed in this purpose, but created abroad an increased impression of internal lawlessness as the authorities did not provide Jewish subjects with the protection to which the law entitled them.

*Even Hitler admits this in *Mein Kampf*: "In 1918, there was no such thing as systematic anti Semitism. I still remember the difficulties which we met everywhere as soon as one mentioned the word 'Jew'."

†Again Hitler in *Mein Kampf*: "The (Nazi) movement succeeded above all in raising this problem (the Jewish question) from the limited circle of higher or middle-class strata, and in transforming it into the driving power of a great popular movement."

This was exactly what Nazism tried to prevent. The regime had always boasted that it would acquire power legally. Once the "Jewish question" had been created, it too had to be settled by law. Enactment of anti-Jewish legislation was made possible by suspension of the Reichstag (which met for one day on March 23, 1933) and the abandonment of its legislative power, which, for four years, was transferred to the Hitler Cabinet. Thus all articles of the German Constitution which guaranteed civil and political equality to all citizens regardless of race and creed were abolished. Thus, laws were created which were not the product of a legislative body, representing the citizenry, but emerged as dictatorial decrees from the mastermind of the newly created *Fuehrerstaat*.

The Nazi regime went a long way until (in its own opinion) it solved the Jewish question when the Reichstag, assembled for a special session at Nuremberg in September 1935, in connection with the "Party Day of Freedom," decreed a series of laws that put Jews beyond the legal and social pale of the German nation. What have since become known as the "Nuremberg Laws" bear a striking resemblance to the nine points of the original party program quoted above. What took some fifteen years of political development until the final rubber-stamp of enforced legality could be attached to it, is in fact the ultimate touch to that program of action, drafted—as one must admit—with a striking prophecy and executed with deliberate inhumanity.

The Nuremberg Laws provide:

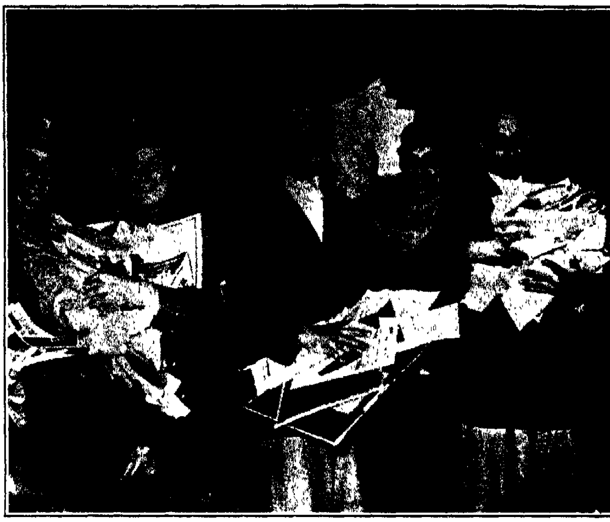
(1) That German citizenship with full political rights depends on the special grant of a Reich citizenship charter to be given only to those of German or racially related blood who have proved by their attitude that they are willing and fit loyally to serve the German people and the Reich. This deprives Jews of German citizenship but leaves them the status of State members (*Staatsangehoeriger*).

(2) That marriages between Jews and citizens of German or racially related blood, as well as extra-marital sexual relations between them, are forbidden and will be punished by penal servitude or imprisonment; that Jews must not engage feminine domestic help of German or racially related blood under 45; and that Jews likewise are forbidden to show the German national flag, but may under protection of the State show the Jewish colors of white and blue. (Violations of the last two provisions are punishable by imprisonment up to one year or a fine or both.)

The Jewish Problem Liquidated

The Nuremberg Laws dimmed the last hope of German Jewry, but since they purported to represent National Socialism's final liquidation of the Jewish problem, the Jews themselves—forced to live under the swastika—were ready to accept them at their face value and even to see in them what their originators saw in them—a solution. But future developments showed that these decrees were anything but a solution, that it was not the law itself but its application, and that (because of application and interpretation of the law) the fate of the German Jews was still hanging in the balance.

On November 15, 1935 (hardly two months after the Jewish restriction laws were adopted at Nuremberg), the Government issued the first two executive orders laying down preliminary provisions for their enforcement. They dealt respectively with the establishment of Reich citizenship on the basis initiated at Nuremberg and with the execution of the law "for protecting German blood and honor," viz. intermarriage. It became evident that these orders affected about 1,500,000 persons left by the Nazi ideology outside the security of German citizenship, because they comprised not only the 450,000 full-blooded Jews professing the Jewish faith, but in addition 300,000 full-blooded Jews of the Christian faith or no faith, and 750,000 part "Aryans" whom the Nazis hitherto regarded as Jewish but of whom only about one-third needed to be classified under the new regulations.



International

BURNING NON-ARYAN LITERATURE: *These publications, banned by the Nazis, probably include many Nobel-prize works.*

Nor did the law, which according to Nazi practice turned out to be merely a milestone on the road to the liquidation of the Jewish question, set a limit to those whom it degraded to an inferior status. To the contrary, the "ghetto laws" exempted some two to three million persons of 25 and 50 per cent "Jewish blood" who formerly were called "non-Aryans." It has never been disclosed exactly how many Christians have by the "parent and grandparent clause" thus been deprived of their German citizenship. But the statement of James G. McDonald in his letter of resignation as High Commissioner for Refugees bears full weight under the circumstances.* The fact remains that despite the multitude of anti-Jewish laws the decree of November 15, 1935, does not define the term "non-Aryan," and that moreover, under Nazi law, everyone is suspected of "non-Aryanism" unless he proves otherwise.

To this end, racial experts are provided by the State to solve doubtful cases, and as far back as 1933, in a wise forecast of things to come, the Minister of the Interior decreed: "If Aryan descent is doubtful an opinion is to be obtained from the expert for

*"The decision to disqualify as 'non-Aryans' even those whose grandparents had not been Jews, provided some Jewish ancestor could be discovered to have lived after January 1, 1800, undoubtedly augmented the number of 'non-Aryans' subject to discrimination."

racial research attached to the Minister of the Interior." To make sure that no person of doubtful origin remained active in the life of the German community, even officials who had held office since August 1, 1914, had to swear to the following:

> I declare officially herewith: I do not know of any circumstance—despite careful scrutiny—that may justify the presumption that I am not of Aryan descent; in particular, none of my paternal or maternal parents or grandparents was at any time of the Jewish faith.
>
> I am fully aware of the fact that I expose myself to prosecution and dismissal if this declaration proves untrue.

The Aryan Paragraph

The so-called "Aryan Paragraph"—created to eliminate the German Jews from the public and cultural life of the nation—represents the basis of anti-Jewish legislation, because it intended, first of all, to sustain all other laws, decrees, ordinances, regulations and explanations issued previously or later to curb Jewish activities. This decree was mainly directed against Jews in the professions, but above all was to be applied against their employment in the civil service, which as a rule in Germany comprises many more groups of workers than elsewhere, and, for instance, includes public health and welfare workers. The law "for the reorganization of the civil service" was promulgated on April 7, 1933, and affected in the first instance some 12,000 Jewish officeholders and about 10,000 dependents.

Section 3, Paragraph 1, of this law says, "Officials who are of non-Aryan descent are to be placed in retirement; in the case of honorary officials they shall be discharged from official positions." Section 8 provides that in regard to these officials placed in retirement or dismissed in accordance with Section 3, they shall not receive a pension unless they have completed at least ten years' service. Section 9 contains further discriminatory provisions in regard to officials placed in retirement.

On July 2, 1933, the provisions of this law were tightened. A new law definitely barred all Jews or persons with Jewish family affiliations from holding any kind of office in Germany. Under it, no person of non-Aryan descent is eligible for appointment as an official of the Reich, the States, municipalities, or municipal associations or any kind of public or legal corporation, institution or endowment. The same prohibition was applied to persons of Aryan descent married to persons of non-Aryan descent, and Aryan officials who marry persons of non-Aryan descent were to be dismissed. (The "marriage clause" of the Nuremberg Laws later prevented this at any rate.) Similar provisions were decreed for the Reich railroads, the Reichsbank* and incorporated religious organizations.

In the beginning, certain exceptions were made regarding Jewish war veterans and non-Aryans who had held office under the Empire. Likewise those "who were already serving as officials on August 1, 1914, or who during the World War fought at the front for Germany or her allies, or whose fathers, sons or husbands were killed in action in the World War" were exempt from the general ruling.† But such concessions failed in practice. In fact, supplementary laws, restricting liberal provisions, first in the case of civil servants, then in the case of the professions, were ordained in swift succession. The following paragraph of an ordinance of June 23, 1933, for example, shows to what extent the caprice of the law-maker may go:

> In the Social Insurance and Reich Welfare, examination by a non-Aryan physician may be refused by anyone before the beginning of the examination. In this case care must be taken that the examination is made by a capable physician of Aryan descent.

At another instance a local administration was authorized to request the ruling of the Reich Minister of Justice on the war qualification of applicants if it should "hesitate to grant the rank of a combatant at the front, despite the fact that it is so certified in the war registers." Moreover, the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" in its final form was—with an eye to non-Aryan veterans—supplemented by the edict that officials could be retired for the purpose of "simplifying the administration." And finally, paragraph 4 of the aforementioned "Law on Citizenship and on the Protection of the Purity of the German Blood" prescribed that *all* remaining Jewish officials be retired the following December 31. This marked the end of the passing exceptions and the definite exit of the Jew from the payrolls of the Government.

The "purification" of the German civil service by legislative measures, however, represents only a fraction of the entire anti-Jewish legislation of the first five years of Nazi rule, especially if one takes into account the number of persons affected by them. If we disregard for a moment non-Aryans and consider only half a million Germans of the Jewish faith (0.0 per cent of the entire populace), of whom 261,058 were breadwinners, then—according to the census of 1925—these Jews were engaged as follows:

Agriculture and Forestry........	4,974
Industry and Handicrafts........	63,276
Trade and Transportation.......	160,106
Civil Service & Liberal Professions.	14,745
Public Health & Welfare Work...	10,626
Domestic Work	7,331
TOTAL............	261,058

Of these, as stated above, only 12,000 Jewish officeholders were discharged under the civil service provisions, leaving still some 249,000 outside the reach of the original "Aryan Paragraph" and its affiliated legislation. The law, too, disposed of them. It was extended, as we shall see, to every sphere of life, to every branch of economic and cultural activity, to each society and to every private or business organization. Anti-Jewish legislation has been virtually stretched to the remotest corner, and what represents itself today as a code within a code covers the last possible loophole in this flood of ukases.

As was to be expected, the anti-Jewish drive of the regime did not limit itself to the civil service. The purge was extended simultaneously to the liberal professions, and the Aryan Paragraph was applied to judges, arbitrators in civil and labor courts, jurors and court officials because they were considered State employees. Jewish judges were dismissed with the explanation that no Aryan could permit himself to be judged by a non-Aryan, and the law went further and decreed that "admission to the bar may be refused to persons who . . . are of non-Aryan descent, even if there exists none of the reasons enumerated in the Regulations for Lawyers."

Purging the Lawyers

Statistics of the practicing legal profession in Prussia of July 1934 seemed at a glance to offer some support for the theory that restrictions against Jews were not being imposed so drastically. Closer examination, however,

*Dr. Schacht as president of the Reichsbank rebuffed the decree by forbidding his employes to fill out questionnaires inquiring about their race or creed

†Ninety-six thousand German Jews served in the army in the World War. This is 17.3 per cent of the German-Jewish population and equal to the ratio of the total number of Germans in the army to the total populace. Eighty thousand of them were in the front lines. More than ten thousand (11 per cent) were volunteers. More than twelve thousand German Jews died for their country. This is 12.5 per cent as against 13.5 per cent for all German soldiers. Thirty-five thousand Jewish soldiers were decorated for bravery, 23,000 were promoted and over 2,000 received commissions. One hundred and sixty five Jewish aviators served at the front; 30 Jewish aces were killed in action.

will show the contrary. There were at that time 8876 Aryan members of the bar and 2009 non-Aryans, the latter including anyone having a Jewish ancestor within three generations. Two hundred of these were mostly office practitioners, doing legal work but not being allowed to appear in court, so that in reality they became merely superior clerks. But since it is difficult in Germany to practice law without being a notary, the real state of the case appeared in the statistics of those persons licensed to practice as notaries. Of these 4364 were Aryans and only 852 non-Aryans. The Nazi legislators did away with practically all of them.

Herr Kerr, then Reich Commissioner in the Prussian Ministry of Justice, decreed in April 1933 that "the judicial administration can forbid a lawyer to act as counsel pending decision whether use shall be made of the faculty of withdrawing permission." The appliance of this law offered almost unrestricted possibilities, but the exercise of the calling of notaries, reading as follows, was an even more deadly blow to them:

> Maintenance of public order and security will be exposed to serious danger if Germans are still liable to be served with documents in legal proceedings which have been drawn up or certified by Jewish notaries. I accordingly ask that Jewish notaries be urgently advised in their own interests to refrain until further notice from exercising their calling. In this connection the attention of notaries should be drawn to the fact that, should they refuse to comply with this recommendation, they will expose themselves to serious dangers in view of the excited state of public opinion. Notaries should be recommended to inform the competent presidents of provincial courts that they will refrain from exercising their calling pending the issue of further regulations regarding conditions applying to notaries.

Final steps for the racial purification of the legal profession were quickly taken. The regime dissolved the German Bar Association and replaced it by the National Socialist Lawyers' Society, and non-Aryans were not admitted to it. The law of April 7, 1933 forbade all German-Jewish lawyers (with a few exceptions) to practice their profession, and the *Anwaltskammer* (Lawyers' Society) consequently published a communiqué, listing only those German attorneys who, after investigation of their German descent, had received a certificate of identity from the commissar.

On August 9, 1933, Dr. Freisler, leader of the National Socialist League of German Jurists, threatened to boycott Aryan lawyers who would employ Jewish colleagues, and wherever Nazi legislature might have left loopholes, they were tightly closed by application of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. Even those lawyers who had been front fighters and were granted exception of the law were finally restricted from executing their profession by the practice of the courts. They were at last deprived of their



International

MORE ANTI-SEMITIC NOTICES: *The top sign reads, "Who buys from a Jew is a traitor." The second one, "No admittance for Jews." And the bottom one, "Wives and girls, the Jews are ever corrupt."*

privileges by a circular order of October 2, 1935, thus completing (after a drive of two and a half years) the coordination of the German judiciary and legal profession.

Jewish Doctors Ousted

The racial policy of the Third Reich did not affect medicine and dentistry as swiftly as the legal profession. But by now, the effect is hardly less drastic. It was first the younger non-Aryan generation of physicians and dentists which suffered from the blows of Nazi legislation. The Prussian Minister of Public Instruction decreed that non-Aryan medical students could not expect to receive permission to practice and the universities followed suit. The *numerus clausus* was introduced, under which the number of Jewish students may not exceed 1½ per cent of the total enrollment, thus automatically reducing the number of non-Aryan medical students to a fraction. It was then decreed that medical students may take the State examination, but that the doctor's degree would be conferred only if they would renounce their German citizenship and thus "acquire the same rights as foreign students." That was indeed an ingenious decision, coming close to the wisdom of Solomon—because neither Jews nor foreigners are admitted to medical practice in Germany! And, moreover, German medical students must first serve a year as hospital internes—and no Jews are permitted to become internes.

As physicians and dentists already in practice could not be curbed legally, indirect measures had to do the trick. They were expelled from the National and Private Health Insurance Service, depriving them of the basic source of their income. "The work of panel doctors of non-Aryan descent must cease, and further admission of such physicians as panel doctors to the National Health Insurance Service is forbidden," the decree of the Reich Minister of Labor read. As in the case of non-Aryan lawyers in the employ of Aryan employers, the Commissioner of Physicians ordained: "Aryan physicians must be substituted by Aryan physicians only. . . . The same principle applies in the case of employing an assistant. . . . Common practice between Aryan and non-Aryan is prohibited."

The law was again tightened by supplementary orders issued by Dr. Wagner, Nazi Commissar for the medical profession, on Aug. 19, 1933.

Some concessions were made in the first wave of brutality and Jewish physicians and dentists were admitted to panel practice if they had been front soldiers or had lost an immediate member of the family in the war. But the term "front soldier"—as in the case of the legal profession—has been applied rigidly and often arbitrarily, and even those admitted to practice suffered under many handicaps. The physicians' association of Cassel concluded a contract with the city under which the city obligated itself to send no panel patients to non-Aryan physicians. One of these, possessor of the Iron Cross of the First Class, brought action in court to upset the contract. The Court ruled against him.

The anti-Jewish drive against physicians continued with such vehemence that it became a boomerang to the lawmakers. An extraordinarily large number of physicians and dentists were unable to qualify as Aryans, and on December 18, 1935, the concession had to be made that "if the proportion of 'non-German-blooded' physicians should be below the proportion of such persons within the population, a 'nationally and morally reliable' Jew may become a doctor." Thus, for a while, despite various restrictions, Jewish doctors were able to carry on until all of them, under the Compulsory Insurance Law, which went into effect on January 1, 1938, were definitely excluded from panel practice. It was the heaviest loss they could suffer, and in Berlin alone it meant the end of earning a livelihood to some 800 Jewish doctors and physicians who were reported to have been engaged, at least in part, in such panel practice. Of the 52,000 physicians in Germany at the beginning of 1933, some 8000 were non-Aryans, who—unless they were well-known specialists—are hit by the Nazi ban. Now, even the fate of such specialists, according to the laws adopted by the Reich Cabinet last December, remains in the hands of the Reich Chamber of Medicine.

Education—Purely Aryan

What was decisive for the health of the German nation was of even more importance for its educational systems. German youth had to be saved from non-Aryan influence, and the field was to be reserved for the tutors of German stock—professors, lecturers, instructors and teachers in schools, colleges and universities alike. The legal purging process moved in two directions: elimination of non-Aryan teachers and restriction of Jewish pupils and students.

The percentage of Jewish university teachers was higher than that in the general field of education, despite the fact that a university career for Jewish scholars was hard to achieve. Of 4958 university teachers in 1925, about 200 (4 per cent) were Jews, whereas of 21,700 higher officials (in the category "education and instruction") only 270 (1.3 per cent) were Jews. But it was not the higher percentage of Jewish college professors that led to their complete ousting. It was partly due to the fact that of the forty German Nobel Prize winners eight were Jews (Ehrlich, Franck, Haber, Einstein, Wallach, Meyerhof, Warburg, and Willstaetter) and three (Heyse, Hertz, and von Baeyer) were non-Aryans—much more "alienism" than was good for Germanic sciences!

German instructors for German universities! was the announcement of the Government, followed by a number of laws curbing "alien antagonists." Where exceptions were first made and non-Aryans remained with universities, the German Students' Organization (*Deutsche Studentenschaft*) ordered students not to attend their lectures. On December 22, 1933, it was announced that admission to new colleges for teachers would be closed to persons of non-Aryan descent. On November 5, 1935, it was ordained that non-Aryans would no longer be permitted to retain the title of professor in Germany.

As to public schools, amendment to the law (issued December 24, 1933) provided for the removal of Jewish representatives from the Prussian School Administration, and rabbis were eliminated from local committees of education, putting an end to the last possibility for the Jews to have any voice in school administration in Prussia. The decree repealed the law of 1920, which was based on the imperial law of 1906, and provided that in every district where at least twenty Jewish children attended the common schools the rabbi with the longest service should belong to the board of school inspectors and also to the board of directors.

On April 25, 1933, the law "against the alienization of the German schools and high schools" decreed in Section 4:

> In making new admission care should be taken that the number of German nationals who . . . are of non-Aryan descent does not exceed, among the number of pupils attending each school and the faculty, the proportion of non-Aryans to the total population. This proportion shall be uniformly fixed for the whole of Germany at 1.5 per cent. In reducing the number of pupils and students because of the overcrowding of the professions, the proper proportion should be observed between the total number of pupils and the number of non-Aryans.

The curb on Jews, the Government emphasized, was necessitated by the overcrowding of the professions. It was termed as "economic necessity," and an official statement called attention to the percentage of non-Aryans in the higher callings while "the corresponding number of non-Aryans, especially Jews, who in Germany make their living by manual labor is disproportionately small."

The quota law, restricting Jewish students in colleges and universities to 1 per cent, reduced their number to about 1300. Jewish children since Easter 1936 have been isolated in separate public schools in accordance with the decree of the Minister for Culture of September 10, 1935. The separation is not made on the basis of religion. Any child who has either a Jewish father or a Jewish mother is compelled to attend a Jewish school irrespective of whether he has been baptized or not. The decree provides for separate schools if there are twenty Jewish or half-Jewish children in a community. The teachers must be Jewish except where a Jew is not available.

German Kultur *Curbed*

The anti-Jewish curb was swiftly extended to the cultural fields. Germanic *Kultur,* according to Nazi ideology, is the highest exponent of Aryanism, and it was intolerable for the regime that non-Germans should have any part in it. Legal provisions created a cultural ghetto for the Jew. A Reich Chamber of Culture was created on September 22, 1933, supervising literature, press, radio, theatre, film, music, and the arts. Membership was made compulsory for everyone active in these fields and admission was refused to non-Aryans by application of a revised Aryan Paragraph, reading: "Admission to a Chamber may be refused, and a member may be excluded if facts justify the presumption that the person in question does not inspire the confidence or possess the ability necessary for the carrying on of his activity." To be sure, the Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda ruled that non-Aryans did not possess the necessary reliability and capacity for cultural work.

To be more specific, each Chamber issued its own ordinances. Dr. Paul Goebbels ordered removal of all non-Aryans from the German stage on March 5, 1934. In the field "Theatre and Music" approximately 2.4 per cent Jews were employed, and it was estimated that of 50 leading actors and actresses 10 were Jews. The film law of June 30, 1933, excluded Jews from any part in the production of German films. (The prohibition also applied to American moving picture concerns producing in Germany.) It expelled by a stroke of the pen not only stars and minor artists, but also production managers, stage managers, composers, scenario writers, camera men, sound masters, supers, and the like. Since

August 17, 1935, when the all-inclusive Jewish Cultural Association under the Reich's patronage and control was formed, no Jew can practice any arts except under the supervision of this organization.

Most striking has been the legislation on the German press and a number of ordinances were decreed to safeguard the German *Schrifttum* from non-Aryan influence. Point 23 of the aforementioned party program formed the basis for a flood of laws that finally removed the Jew from journalism and literature. The creation of the Reich Press Chamber was thoroughly in line with Hitler's earliest intentions, and the initial press decree of October 4, 1933, ordering that only he "who is of Aryan descent and not to a person of non-Aryan descent, and who possesses the qualities requisite for the task involving the exercise of a spiritual influence upon public opinion" may be an editor, became fundamental.

The Jew has been ousted from the Reich's armed forces. The Minister of National Defense decreed on March 12 1934, that the Aryan Paragraph is "to find appropriate application to officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the defensive forces." Some 120 commissioned officers, ranging from first lieutenants to lieutenant-colonels were affected by this order, either by reason of Jewish ancestry or because of marrying women who on the same grounds were classified as non-Aryans. There were, however, few, if any cases in the rank and file, because since conscription ceased great precaution had been taken not to enlist Jews. After conscription was restored, the Nuremberg Laws, exempting Jews in peace time from military service, took care of them.

The law banned Jews as land owners and from land inheritance. In an effort to make German peasants "a new landed nobility," the law of September 29, 1933, proscribed that "only a respectable person who is a German citizen and has German or cognate blood may be a peasant," and that "only a German citizen can be a peasant."

Nazi legislation banned the Jew wherever possible "legally." It was comparatively simple to apply the law against non-Aryans wherever they held salaried jobs or practiced their professions in official or semi-official positions which could be classified as such. It was, however, a more complicated procedure for the state to expel him from his free-lancing activities in Commerce, business, and trade.

There were in these fields mainly two "legal" possibilities which were employed by the Third Reich: first, indirect application of the existing anti-Jewish legislation, and second, creation of new orders and "instructions" by other than government authorities, such as the Nazi Party and its manifold affiliated bodies.

Membership in the trade unions is compulsory—and denied to Jews. The Labor Front is the only authorized labor union, embracing employers, employees and manual laborers—but non-Aryans are barred. The Manual Trades Guild is compulsory for all artisans—but Jewish manual training school graduates cannot qualify for membership. Thus, actually, as a sequence to the letter of the Aryan paragraph, an unwritten Aryan paragraph is in effect.

The ways and means to eliminate the Jew from commerce and business through boycott methods are widely known abroad. Less known are the efforts to "legalize" such action. The direct way to accomplish this was the creation of official and semi-official Councils which included the Aryan clause in their statutes. As to the indirect methods of this legalized boycott, a few quotations may serve as illustration:

Last December, a ruling of the Ministry of the Interior forbade the establishment of new Jewish clothing firms in Berlin. Officially the decree merely provided that permission must be obtained to open new firms, but it was announced that permission would not be given to Jews. At the same time, an order reduced by 10 per cent the quota of manufactured goods that Jewish-owned factories and business concerns might purchase henceforth. Pawnshops in various parts of the Reich were forbidden to accept articles from Jews in pawn or to redeem pawn tickets purchased by Jews. In many places Jews are forbidden to do business in market places or at fairs.



International

COMMERCIAL EXCLUSION: *After exclusion from all the professions, the Jews are barred from participation in commerce.*

The economic "liquidation" of Jews that was well under way through party pressure and—as outlined—other "unofficial" methods in 1934, became a part of the Government's official policy in 1935. In October of that year, Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, announced new laws to limit the economic activity of Jews in order to obtain "a clean separation" between Jews and Germans and thereby halt what was euphemistically termed "individual actions" against Jews. Thus, the circle was closed and the Jews were driven from their last preserve on which they had been maintaining a precarious hold—business.

Exit the German Jew. He must go, and when he declares his readiness to emigrate (one of the few rights gladly extended to him), then once more the law takes care of him: The Currency Law, under which one-fifth of his property is allowed him, while four-fifths is taken directly or indirectly by the National Socialist Government.

COTTON FINDS NEW MARKETS

Growing surpluses and keen competition force cotton to search for new markets

By HOWARD STEPHENSON

THE world grew cotton last year as it has done for ages past. Men eagerly plucked it, baled it, and stuffed it into warehouses. Then they found to their dismay that they had acquired 20 million bales more than they needed. Nature had been too bountiful.

By next August it is estimated that the United States, which produces about 45 per cent of the world cotton crop, will have a surplus of ten and a half million bales. Cotton is the most abundant of the world's crops. The Cotton-Textile Institute believes that 99 out of every 100 persons, the world over, make use of cotton. But American cotton exports have decreased. So has our own per capita use of cotton. We must do something about that surplus or risk economic disaster.

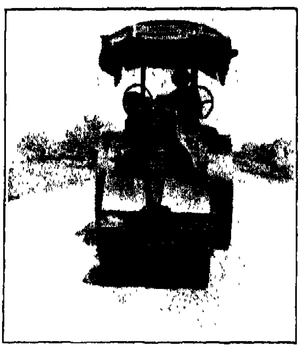
Political pow-wows, government subsidies to desperate cotton growers, frequent changes in policy toward cotton, foreign crops doubled since 1925—these things indicate that we are having a severe case of the jitters, entirely justified by the facts.

We even find it hard to smile at the political clowning while the cotton mountain grows. Perhaps the simplest and certainly the strangest proposal yet made with a straight face was that by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, who recently urged that the WPA donate a new 60-pound mattress made of "good, clean cotton" to every poor family in the land. Old mattresses would have to be turned in to the Government for destruction.

The Senator made the front pages of the newspapers. But real news of what is being done to meet the cotton crisis is breaking. Cotton fabricators are taxing themselves a cent a bale to support a gigantic marketing enterprise. They have obtained government assistance. Research laboratories have been opened to them. Other industries are receptive. Merchandisers and retail distributors have been enlisted. National surveys are under way to determine the country's ability to absorb more and more cotton. The cotton men are out to prove that they have a better answer than plowing cotton fields under or burning poor folks' mattresses.

An investigator, gloomily watching Negro workers pile up cotton bales at a Southern warehouse in 1935, noticed that the bales were wrapped with jute.

"Why not wrap them in cotton?" he asked. A check-up revealed that here was a market, right in the cotton fields, for a hundred thousand bales of cotton a year! The cotton fabricators and the Department of Agriculture went to work on the problem, developing a suitable bagging made of cotton. Part of the 1937 crop was bagged in cotton. More will be, in 1938 and future years. For over a century growers had been wrapping cotton in a competing, imported material. Until a man with an X-ray mind came along, the obvious opportunity was overlooked.



COTTON ROADS: *Rolling a bituminous surface reinforced with cotton fabric.*

War on Jute

This incident inspired the cotton men to examine much more closely the inroads of rival products. They found out that jute is also used for fertilizer bags. The largest fertilizer-market in the United States is the cotton acreage! So now they are working on cotton fertilizer bags. In their own mills, throughout the textile trade, jute was in universal use, as wrappers, as upholstery burlap, as twine. Cotton consumption, the fabricators quickly decided, ought to begin at home! If cotton were to replace all the jute and jute burlap used in this country, it would account for close to a million bales. Something for the cotton men to think about.

The cotton mountain would melt like a snowpile if an ambitious program to reinforce roads and airport runways with a layer of cotton fabric is carried through on a national basis. It takes years to test such a road. The first was laid, with a cotton membrane under a bituminous surface, on a 200-foot stretch near Prosperity, South Carolina, in 1926. W. K. Beckham, maintenance engineer for the State Highway Department, attests that it is still in prime condition.

The Department of Agriculture allocated $1,300,000 in 1936 for a demonstration of the feasibility of cotton roads under varied weather conditions. Several States have done experimental construction. There are now well over 500 miles of cotton roads in 22 States. A mile of roadway uses up eight to 10 bales of cotton. Here is the potential market: 45,000 miles of bituminous roads which now have to be resurfaced each year, plus 2,000,000 miles of dirt roads. Apply cotton membrane to half that mileage and where would the ten and a half million bale surplus be?

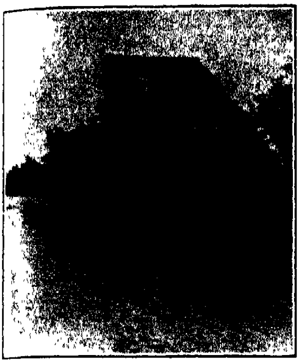
Twenty States have been given a total of 87,000 cotton-covered, cotton-stuffed mats by the Federal Government, for test use on "green" or freshly laid concrete pavements. Cotton is under test in construction of airport runways, and of ditches for irrigation, soil erosion and malaria control projects. In the ditches as on the roads, cotton is used as a lining, the surface being bituminous.

An advantage of the cotton lining is that the bitumen grips the cotton, under the pounding of traffic, and doesn't wear off, squeeze or flatten out. In engineers' language, raveling and erosion are prevented.

Cotton Houses

But obviously we can't carpet roads with cotton in time to use up this year's surplus. Cotton men are digging into

other new possibilities, with the aid of the Mellon Institute of Pittsburgh. One line of attack is the construction of low-cost houses. At Northport, Long Island, two test houses have been erected, with a cotton covering for the outside wall surfaces. Architects, hous-



STONE OVER COTTON: *Cotton fabric makes a pliable and durable base for the new bituminous road.*

ing officials and builders are keenly interested because of the importance of utilizing inexpensive materials in the large scale housing program which President Roosevelt has lately advocated.

In the average passenger automobile, according to the Ford Motor Company, about 89 pounds of cotton are now used. One job for the Mellon Institute researchers is to find ways of adding more cotton to cars. Cotton is now used for tire cord, upholstery fabric, brake bands, hose connections, webbings, wire and cable insulations, mudguard extensions, timing gears, fan belts, and a dozen minor parts, not to mention the use of cotton in making the lacquer for the paint job. About five pounds of raw cotton are consumed for the 4.2 pounds of cotton cord fabric in an auto tire. The coming of balloon tires boosted it from 3.7 pounds.

But with balloon tires came the closed car fashion. Steel turret tops stole the market from pyroxylin-coated cotton fabric used for open car tops. Just now there are signs of a trend to the convertible style car, which makes cotton men rejoice. But steel also replaced the fabric tire covers of a decade ago. Now rayon threatens the tire business. It is in use in high-speed, heavy-duty truck and bus tires, though it has not yet invaded the passenger car tire field to any great extent.

Against these losses, cotton pits the amazing new market in trailer construction. Trailer tops are too large for satisfactory steel turret tops, hence cotton fabric is used. Coated canvas side walls for trailers are popular because they are sturdy and heat-repellent.

But in another sector, another enemy opens fire. Paper is the new threat. Millions of square yards of osnaburgs and narrow sheetings, once used for making bags for all sorts of commodities, have retreated before the Kraft paper bag. Paper bags are cheaper. That is their justification. In 1925, only 10 per cent of the national cement supply, for instance, was shipped in paper bags. In 1936, the figure had risen to 42 per cent. Cotton men claim that cotton bagging is cheaper in the long run because it can be used 10 or 12 times, while paper can't. The new cotton promotion campaign will attempt to convince cement shippers of this.

The paper towel has defeated the old-fashioned cloth roller-towel in industrial use. Paper is edging into the window shade market. Low priced curtains are the newest of paper's conquests.

"Wherever paper gets its foot in the door," said Charles K. Everett of the Cotton-Textile Institute, "it has always been successful in gaining each year a larger volume at the expense of cotton."

Rayon Competition

Still another enemy of cotton is gaining strength. Rayon has captured so much of cotton's territory that millions of pounds of rayon yarns are now being woven in cotton mills. Here are some 1936 figures from the Textile Economics Bureau on rayon production:

PRODUCT	POUNDS OF RAYON CONSUMED	PERCENTAGE OF MARKET TAKEN FROM COTTON
Hosiery, circular-knit underwear, flat-knit underwear, gloves	57,000,000	95 plus
Dress goods	145,000,000	50
Linings	19,000,000	80
Marquisettes, bedspreads, tapestries, draperies, upholstery fabrics	16,500,000	75

Jute, paper, and rayon are three relentless enemies of cotton in industry, each armed with the deadliest of weapons—lower cost. Cotton men have some hope of driving jute competition back, very little as to paper and rayon.

Had they done nothing about this dwindling market, the mountain of surplus cotton would be twice as high as it is. But here are some specific things they are doing in 1938:

Covering underground pipes with cotton "shirts."

Packaging fruits and vegetables for small retail sales in cotton bags.

Reinforcing roofing materials with cotton.

Mounting wood veneer for wall coverings on cotton sheetings.

All this is pioneer work, shrewdly organized and promoted. But one $20,000,000-a-year customer simply walked in and planked down his order. This customer is a relatively new industry, the towel and uniform supply trade, oddly miscalled the *linen* supply trade. Industrialists have learned that uniforms for factory workers are a practical safety device! In oil refineries, cotton uniforms lessen the danger of absorbing poisonous gases through the pores of the skin. They also save the workers' clothes. In many plants in various lines of manufacture, girl workers are now clad in attractive colored cotton uni-



COTTON CURVE: *The cotton fabric membrane can be taken around sharp curves without bunching of fabric.*

forms, with perky little serviette caps to match. Factory and office workers are supplied with personal towels, fresh ones being delivered each week. Cotton tablecloths and napkins for hotels and restaurants make up another important part of this trade.

Styling Cotton Cloth

Cotton men look upon all these advances as a series of minor miracles. But the show piece, the biggest and most spectacular of all successful attempts to extend the use of cotton has been made with a major weapon—style.

The Mother Hubbard, the calico dress, the plain kitchen apron of other days wouldn't recognize their children in 1938! Slinky evening dresses, cotton lace creations, suits of water-repellent corduroy, smocks, house-coats, pajamas — every imaginable feminine garment, in every hue and pattern. And on the men's side, tropical suitings, seersuckers, a special new "air-conditioned" cloth and a dozen more!

Next June cotton will show off in a big way. National Cotton Week is probably the most thoroughly organized of the merchandising "weeks" on the commercial calendar. Here are the plans for 1938:

Displays, fashion shows, individual and group promotions will be put on by 40,000 retail establishments, including great department stores in metropolitan cities, specialty shops, chain stores, mail order houses and right down to crossroads general stores. Manufacturers of sewing machines, washing machines, soaps and soap products, laundries, pattern companies and dry goods wholesalers will help with sideshows. Behind the scenes will be the cotton fabricators.

Fashion shows featuring cotton goods wearing apparel will be staged in about 25 cities. Some 600 traveling exhibits will be shown in 45 states.

"We shall have the collaboration of internationally famous fashion designers and stylists," Mr. Everett of the Cotton-Textile Institute announced, "and cooperation of mill technicians and research experts. We have established close liaison with thousands of merchandising and promotion experts in wholesale and retail establishments and the cutting-up trades, maintained through distribution of swatch books showing cotton style trends.

"We maintain constant contact—through literally tons of educational material and the shows and exhibits—with key consumer groups, women's organizations, college and high school teachers, home extension workers and other avenues to the consumer's interest. The story of cotton's qualities will be carried directly to the consumer through the fashion pages of newspapers and magazines, in motion pictures and over the radio."



COTTON HOUSES: *This week-end house at Northport, Long Island, may be the first step toward cotton building materials.*

Larger Bed Sheets

As an example of the effectiveness of this type of industrial promotion, Mr. Everett cited the clever campaign already carried out successfully, in changing the buying habits of the American housewife in the purchase of bed sheets. The 90-inch sheet used to be the accepted standard. Now it is the 108-inch sheet, which was formerly limited to higher-priced goods. It is now offered by all types of stores, including the chains and the mail order houses. A 108-inch sheet, of course, contains one-fifth more cotton than a 90-inch sheet.

Bed-sheets, like a good many other household cottons, aren't white any more. The cotton men have become color conscious. The bath towel has become as much a part of the decorative scheme as are curtains, draperies, slip covers and all changeable articles in other rooms of the house.

One manufacturer took the humble dish towel as his pet project. Last year he began styling dish towels with printed floral and geometric patterns. Result: His mill has not yet caught up with orders. Another brand new idea, introduced in the fall of 1937, is a glazed finish chintz which will come back from the laundry without losing its crispness and sheen. A new chemical process impregnates the fabric instead of coating it. Chalk up a victory for the research men!

Per Capita Consumption

Color, style, acceptance by the "smart set," production methods that will permit cotton apparel to meet the mass market—these are some of the weapons the cotton men have forged for their vigorous 1938 fight to extend the uses of cotton and mow down the surplus mountain.

Their goal is to bring the per capita consumption of cotton back to what it was a generation ago, when women wore petticoats and men's underwear didn't halt at the knee and the shoulder. In the period 1910–1914, according to the Cotton Research Foundation, the per capita consumption was 27 pounds. By 1935 it had fallen to 20 pounds. If the 1910–1914 average had been maintained in 1935, this would have resulted in an additional domestic consumption of 1,860,000 bales—quite a chunk off the top of the cotton surplus mountain.

The population of the United States has increased by 40,000,000 since 1910. Cotton has not kept pace. But the cotton men are fighting, on the industrial front, the fashion front and the household front. The cotton surplus is a challenge. They are meeting it realistically. They think they have a fighting chance.

JAPAN'S "BIG PUSH"

A second installment of a gruesome story, describing the great advance in the South

By CAPT. ANDREW TOLSTOY

TOWARD the end of October it became apparent that Japan was shifting the center of pressure om North China and was massing oops at Shanghai for delivering the nal blow. The 22-mile-long Shanghai ont had remained virtually unanged since September 14. The hinese, contrary to the counsel of ieir foreign military advisers, contined to bring up more fresh troops and ere proudly displaying their successil defense of fortifications in the imiediate vicinity of the International ettlement—the so called "show winow of the war." The Japanese Army as being derided for its inability to ierce the Chinese lines, but it was uring this very period that Japan was tually winning the war.

By prolonging the stand and by iassing 600,000 men on a narrow rip of land, where they could neither e maneuvered nor munitioned nor d, China was playing into the hands f the invaders. Fortifications are valuble only when, shielding a numeriilly inferior force, they make it posble to inflict heavy losses on the atickers and to keep the superior force f the enemy at bay. Here the situaon was reversed by the effort to eate a new Chinese Great Wall built f human flesh. Poorly armed and unained provincial troops, buttressed ere and there with Chiang Kai-shek's est divisions, were exposed on lownds and subjected to methodical, ierciless annihilation by Japanese aval guns, land artillery, and air ombers. Col. C. E. De Watterville, presentative of the International Red ross, placed the Chinese losses at hanghai at 350,000 men with 175,000 illed. Japan could not possibly hope r a better opportunity to destroy her e, and continued to postpone the long ralded big push—the general assault Chinese positions.

From a strictly military point of iew, these costly frontal attacks, for iattering the defense lines, were really nnecessary, because the same results ould have been accomplished by nding troops in the rear—which the ipanese could have done without much difficulty and probably without losses. However, this purely academic approach to the problem did not suit the Japanese generals, who saw their prestige at stake; and they demanded that the Chinese first be crushed on the very spot where they made their defiant stand. For them no victory over the Chinese is complete unless it is accompanied by a demoralizing humiliation.



"SCORCHED EARTH": *Destruction precedes and follows Japan's advance.*

Shanghai Falls

On October 25, after a fierce battle lasting several days, the Japanese captured Tatchang, and by breaking the defense line there forced the Chinese to relinquish Kiangwan, the North Station, and the whole of Chapei, which they had defended since the outbreak of hostilities. The front receded to the west and re-formed along the banks of Soochow Creek, the Chinese still clinging to the International Settlement. One Chinese "Lone Battalion" continued for three days to defy the conquerors of Chapei behind the walls of a warehouse. This heroic but purposeless gesture came to an inglorious end when the battalion was disarmed and interned in the foreign settlement.

By November 1 Japanese forces, estimated to exceed 225,000 men, pressed forward and succeeded in crossing Soochow Creek at several points. Finally, on November 6 Japanese troops landed on the shore of Hangchow Bay, about 30 miles behind the already wavering Chinese lines, and the next day pushed toward the Hangchow-Shanghai railroad and the banks of Whangpoo. The Chinese were unable to localize this threatening movement, and on November 9 their defense lines collapsed and the last remaining contact with the International Settlement was lost.

The battle of Shanghai became a closed chapter. Its aftermath—the stand made by 10,000 Chinese troops in the native section of Nantao—was another unsuccessful gesture of a "Lone Battalion" on a larger scale. It did not delay the Japanese advance and had the same inglorious end—soldiers discarding their uniforms and rifles in order to gain the safe refuge of the French Concession.

On November 10 the Japanese swept southwest of Shanghai and, after joining the forces that landed on Hangchow Bay, routed the Chinese troops

caught in between. The northern sector of the original Shanghai front (Liuho-Kiating-Nansiang) remained intact until November 13. On that day, repeating the operation which proved so successful on their left flank, the Japanese landed a force at Paimoukow—on the south bank of the Yangtze, 22 miles above Liuho. This threat from the rear brought about the general retreat along the whole front, which was already rapidly approaching the famous "Hindenburg Line." This fortified line was running from Fushan, on the river, southward through Changshu, Soochow, and between a maze of small lakes to Kashing and toward Hangchow Bay.

Defense Lines Crumble

On November 15 a swift dash brought the Japanese to Pingwang, lying beyond the fortified positions. It meant that the line was penetrated at that point, before the retreating Chinese Army had time to reach it and man the forts. The labyrinth of small lakes, which was expected to impede the Japanese offensive, actually speeded up their progress. For, on approaching the lakes, the Japanese were met by the populace, waving Japanese flags and offering for sale the boats and junks. The Chinese command did not destroy nor even shift these vessels to the far shore, leaving them at the disposal of the invaders. This seemingly small detail is revealing: apparently the Chinese population outside of large centers is not as anti-Japanese as it was claimed—and some Chinese are not averse to selling a boat at a profit, even if the boat is to be used for the destruction of their army. It also goes a long way toward explaining the situation in North China, where small and scattered Japanese garrisons keep in subordination 70 million Chinese, maintain order, and indulge in such unnecessary luxuries as forcing the population of Peiping to celebrate Japanese victories.

On November 20 Soochow was captured, and the entire "Hindenburg Line" was abandoned after lasting only three days. The Japanese were rapidly approaching the last remaining line of defense, starting from the Kiangyin forts, which protected the boom across the Yangtze, then running through Wusih, on the railroad, and to the northern shore of the Great Tai Lake. Beyond that line stood Nanking, from which the Government was feverishly evacuating its offices and archives 600 miles further inland. When the Japanese reached the shores of Tai Lake, they likewise found all boats and junks ready to serve them, and soon every vessel was flying the Rising Sun flags. Thus, this body of water, calculated to protect the Chinese positions, served only to expose their right flank.

This last line of defense was smashed on November 25, and the ensuing disastrous retreat defies description in terms of military operations. It was a complete rout, devoid of any vestige of organized resistance. A handful of Japanese, which could be easily wiped out, would put an entire Chinese division into a headlong flight. Neither the relative strength, nor the advantageous position, nor the superiority of fire power play any role whatsoever under such circumstances. It might appear baffling to the mathematician, accustomed to deal with figures, but such are the results of a decisive moral victory. The remains of the destroyed Chinese army, no longer able to fight back, became an easy target for the pursuing Japanese bombers. The enormity of losses suffered by the Chinese came to light, when in the last week's drive on Nanking, the advancing Japanese columns counted 84,000 Chinese dead in the field took 10,500 prisoners and captured the following booty: 110 heavy and 40 field guns, 40 anti-aircraft guns, 290 howitzers and trench mortars, 10 tanks, 6 airplanes, 3200 machine guns, 120,000 rifles, 77,800 hand grenades and 4,700,000 rounds of various types of ammunition.*

The Scorched Earth

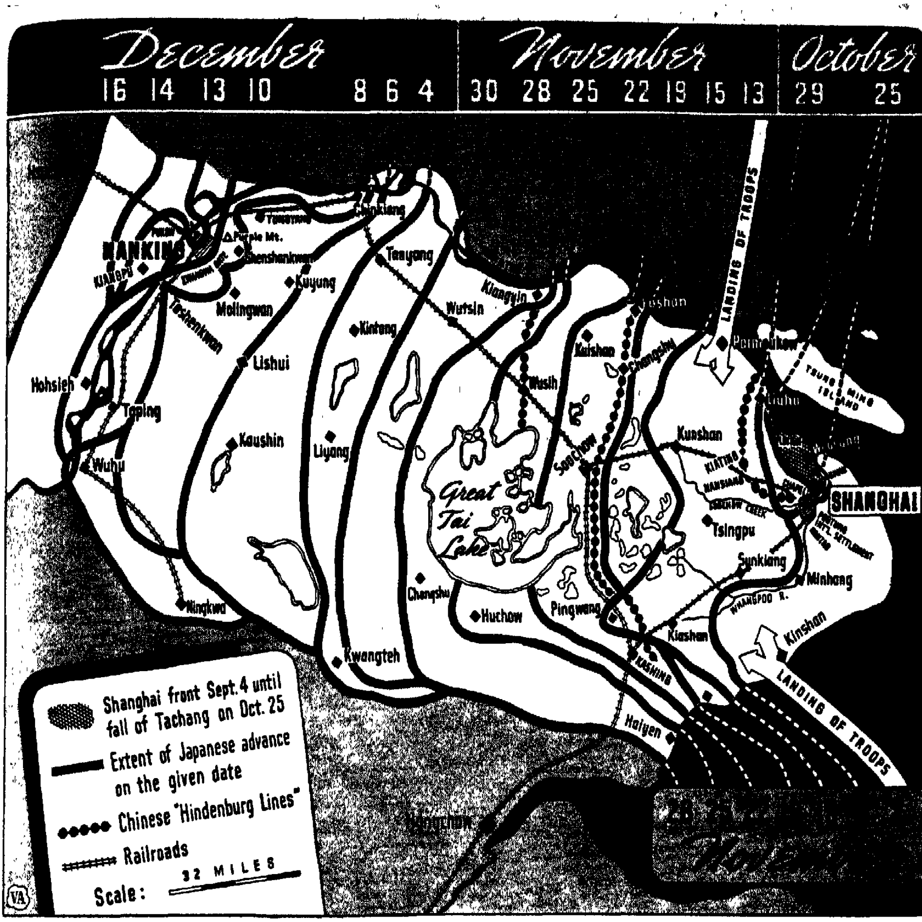
The fleeing Chinese troops were deliberately setting fires along their route of retreat, leaving in their wake smoking ruins of villages and towns, completing the destruction left undone by Japanese bombers. This devastation, called by them the policy of "scorched earth," was not motivated by efforts to impede the advance of the enemy; it was merely an expression of the ever present desire to save face and of bitter hatred towards the Japanese.

Kiangyin forts, which withstood five days of siege, fell on November 30 and the Japanese began the demolition of the boom that blocked the passage of their warships. On December 1 the capture of Kwangteh indicated a thrust toward Wuhu in order to cut off the logical line of retreat up-river from Nanking, thus rendering the defense of the capital unthinkable. However, the same group that advocated the policy of "scorched earth" prevailed on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to make the last stand at Nanking. The face saving, they argued, demanded this suicidal gesture—the sacrifice of one more "Lone Battalion" on a gigantic scale.

The Agony

On December 7, the rapidly converging Japanese forces took positions along Tungyang, Shenshankwan, and Molingwan, forming a semicircle 10 miles from Nanking's walls. Their advance patrols appeared in front of the southeastern Kwanghwa Gate. Giving credence to the persistent rumors of his illness, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek departed from Nanking, leaving to General Tang Sheng-chih the hopeless task of defending the doomed capital. The Japanese ultimatum to surrender remained unanswered at 12.30 p. m. of December 10—the stipulated time limit. This was promptly followed by the final assault on the Chinese positions. Purple Mountain, dominating Nanking, was captured, and the Japanese batteries installed there had the entire city within their range. Heavy guns, pounding the 30-foot-thick ancient walls, were slowly but surely demolishing the last barrier. The town of Wuhu on the Yangtze, 60 miles above Nanking, was captured the same evening, and the retreat up-river for the remaining 140,000 Chinese troops was cut off. On December 12 Kwanghwa Gate was scaled, and the Japanese penetrated 100 yards inside the walls. Simultaneously five Japanese gunboats cleared the already broken Kiangyin boom and steamed toward Nanking, in order to close the last escape for the Chinese across the river. On the next day the break-up of the Chinese army was complete. While some units fiercely contested every inch of Japanese advance, others fled in boats to the north shore, and those unable to make their escape were discarding rifles and changing their uniforms for civilian garb. No one directed the defense: General Tang Sheng-chih and the majority of the officers deserted their troops. On December 14 the Japanese fleet arrived off Nanking and Hsiakwan Gate, and the last remaining northern exit was captured. Still unaware of being trapped within the walls, scattered groups of Chinese soldiers continued to resist until they were anni-

*The main significance of this, perhaps somewhat exaggerated list of captured arms, lies not in the quantity but in the nomenclature, because it is known that provincial troops did not possess these modern weapons. Hence the inescapable inference that Chiang Kai-shek's own army, the mainstay of China's armed forces, was also badly defeated, if not altogether wiped out of existence.



THE GREAT ADVANCE: *The map shows the successive and rapid waves of the crucial Japanese drive which captured China's key cities and paralyzed her government and industry.*

hilated to the last man. Those who surrendered were dispatched forthwith. This cold-blooded butchery took enormous proportions, when thousands of disarmed Chinese soldiers, interned in the refugee zone were dragged out and shot. Not satisfied with this, the Japanese searched every house in the city, hunting for men of service age and executing all those suspected to have had any connections with the Chinese army.

On the Northern Front

Japan, after concentrating her main efforts on the Shanghai front, made on the whole, very little progress in the North. On November 9, after 24 hours of bitter street fighting, Taiyuan, the capital of Shansi, had fallen, and the two Japanese columns, converging upon it from the North and from the East, effected a juncture. They advanced about 40 miles beyond Taiyuan, consolidated the territories enclosed between the railroads, mopping-up the stragglers but remaining inactive along the Shantung border. The negotiations were still pending with Governor Han Fu-chu, who, holding as a pawn the extensive Japanese properties in Tsingtao, was in a very good bargaining position. The long-protracted parleys came to an abrupt end when, on December 20, all Japanese-owned factories, cotton mills, and buildings, valued at $87,000,000, were dynamited and burned to ashes by the Chinese in Tsingtao. Replying to the challenge, the Japanese crossed the Yellow River at two points on December 25 and two days later captured Tsinan, the capital of Shantung. Brushing aside the feeble resistance the Japanese marched southward along Tientsin-Nanking Railway, their eastern column proceeding toward Tsingtao and completing the occupation of the rest of the Shangtung province.

Japanese troops, which captured Nanking, after a brief period of rest, resumed the march north along the Nanking-Tientsin railway, aiming at Suchow, the strategic town where the main North-South line crosses the Lung-Hai railroad, which runs westward from the port of Haichow to Sian. This movement rendered the entire line of heavy fortifications—the famous Chinese "Hindenburg Line"—useless because its forts, paralleling the Lung-Hai railway, were built to withstand attack from the North and are of little value against an enemy approaching from the South. When both Japanese armies meet, the vast area of North China conquered by General Terauchi will be joined to the Shanghai-Nanking enclave held by Gen. Iwane Matsui, resulting in a solid Japanese occupation of a territory comprising 400,000 square miles and inhabited by 115 million Chinese. This is the immense objective of Japan's great advance.

LABOR IN AMERICA

The record of the railroad Brotherhoods is a bright chapter in labor's progress

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the seventh of a series of articles taken from a book by Mr. Harris to be published by the Yale University Press later this year. The eighth and concluding installment will appear in the April issue of Current History.

DESPITE the increasing competition of pipe-lines, trucks, buses, passenger cars, and planes, our railroads remain the key industry in the American system of transport. Their grand total capitalization amounts to $18,883,941,857—a legendary sum still requiring an Einstein, blessed with the hands of a Gargantua, to squeeze out the water. In 1936 such carriers employed 1,065,000 men, paid out $1,848,000,000 in wages and salaries. And during the past two years while the CIO's strong surges towards industrial unionism inspired furious controversy about the "labor problem," the union-management relations of our railroads have been constantly held up as an ideal towards which other unions and other management might well aspire.

The situation is not without irony. Some fifty years ago when Gould was raping railroads and Vanderbilt milking them and Rockefeller turning their secret rebates into a formidable racket, *The New York Times,* in a single issue of July 26, 1877, referred to striking engineers, firemen, brakemen, and others as "hoodlums, rabble, bummers, looters, blacklegs, thieves, tramps, ruffians, incendiaries, enemies of society, brigands, rapscallions, riffraff, felons, and idiots."

They were, of course, nothing of the kind. They were simply workers who wanted to earn enough to keep themselves and their families in food, shelter, and clothing. They also wanted to retain, without the retaliations of black-listing, their feeble and feckless organizations, which were then not even trade unions, in the sense that they practiced collective bargaining, but merely were mutual insurance and fraternal groups.

Yet even such prerequisites to subsistence living and to self-respect were denied to their employees by the railroad dynasts of that day. The latter were probably the most anti-social, irresponsible crew ever to appear on the American scene, with their archtype Gould boasting that "I can hire one half the working class to kill the other half." They were "promoters" in the worst connotation of that term. They were committed to the theory that labor is not a collection of human beings, but only a commodity, its price to be fixed purely by current speculative needs of the proprietors, who "disturbed, deranged, disrupted" the national economy like a maniac rider roweling his horse. Their roads weren't built so much as they were swindled and bribed into being by means of fake companies, fake bonds, even fake fraud. Their dividends, paid on monstrously inflated stock, were continued even in the midst of the panic which their devious financial maneuvers helped largely to fasten upon the country in the decade from 1875 to 1885.

In 1877 they discovered that, in order to maintain their credit and to keep up dividend payments threatened by their own excesses of paper manip ulation, they had to lower expenses. Then, as now, labor comprised about 63 per cent of operating costs. Hence in June and July of 1877, the Pennsylvania, the New York Central and Hudson, the Erie, the Michigan and Southern, and other lines announced a 10 per cent pay cut. President Garrett of the Baltimore and Ohio gave notice on July 11, that beginning on the 16th, or four days later, all wages of more than $1.00 a day were to be reduced by 10 per cent.

Such slashes were the signal for spontaneous strikes that ricocheted from the Atlantic Seaboard west to Illinois, south to Missouri. All over the country locomotives were silenced and train movements snarled and clotted.

As a whole the populace was at first on the side of the strikers. Almost everyone had been mulcted, one way or another, by the railroad buccaneers. Western settlers had found the choicer lands pre-empted by railroads which had acquired millions of acres for nothing as government grants. Farmers had been compelled to fork over "all the traffic will bear" rates for hauling their grain, their livestock, their dairy products. The widows and orphans and other small investors had been gouged out of their eye-teeth by the creation of new shares through a pen stroke. Even the militia summoned by West Virginia's Governor Mathews to quell disorder along the B. & O. line refused, after a first short skirmish, to fire upon the strikers, and mingled with them.

Summer's Blood Bath

It was only when Federal troops, called out for the first time in American history to settle a labor dispute, decamped along strategic points of the B. & O. route that "law and order" was at last restored. It was restored by firing volleys into crowds of strikers and sympathizers.

In Pittsburgh the slaughter became a summer's blood bath. A thousand Philadelphia Hussars were imported by the Pennsylvania Railroad to "clean out" the Smoky City, where the resentment of the strikers against wage cuts had acted like a percussion cap, setting off the pent-up fury of the hungry and the homeless against conditions, causing them to riot and loot. When the Hussars arrived they were met by hostile crowds that surrounded them at the company roundhouse whence the besieged militia had to shoot their way out, killing 21, wounding 29, among them women and children, and losing several of their own number.

For a brief time the railroad owners, the "James Boys in frock coats" walked in fear and trembling. When nothing happened, save imprecations, they began to persuade legislatures to appropriate taxpayers' money to build state armories where, it was hoped, National Guardsmen could be trained to put down "labor violence" with more dispatch and better discipline than they had previously displayed.

The frequency of strikes, the rebellion of men against 14 and 16 hour days, the insecurity of a three or five day work week, the refusal of the roads to install rudimentary safety appliances were all linked with spasms of agrarian revolt against excessive and discriminatory rates, and against the financial sway held by the eastern

railroad capital over the markets and mortgages of the West.*

Meanwhile, the American people, with their ingrained tendency to curtail too great power of any kind as soon as it assumes obvious proportions, decided that the "Robber Barons" were getting away with altogether too much. Propelled by granger and labor agitation, supported by the public at large, the famous Act to Regulate Commerce was passed by Congress in 1888. It set up a five-man commission to prevent unjust discriminations among shippers. It has been almost annually followed by legislation further limiting private control of our rail carriers. In 1893, the Safety Act; in 1898, the Erdman Act; in 1903, the Elkins Act; in 1907, the Hours of Service Act; in 1908, the Ash-Pan Act, in 1909, the Transportation of Explosives Act; in 1910, the Safety Appliance Act; in 1911 the Boiler Inspection Act; in 1913, the Valuation Act; in 1916, the Adamson Law; in 1918, the Federal Control Act; in 1920, the Transportation Act; in 1926, the Railway Labor Act up to the more recent Emergency Transportation Act of 1933, along with various amendments and refinements of previous legislation, all signify the attempt of the public, through its government, to determine fair and reasonable returns on investments by fixing rates and by substituting orderly methods of adjusting employer-employee differences for the friction and strife of lockout and strike.

The public, of course, has a very special and direct stake in the safe and uninterrupted operation of our railroads The theory behind gifts of land to them, and loans which were often gifts, was that they performed a function instinct with a public trust. Certainly a large part of New York City's population would starve to death if train service were paralyzed for three or four days.

It is an evolution of attitude which has accompanied, almost step by step, the development of the air conditioned aluminum alloy 1000 m.p.h. streamliner from the old iron monster with boilers that "went out" (i.e., blew up) with dreadful regularity,† twisting human entrails with the wreckage of hot twisted metal.†

It is also a case study of how labor uses its political power to wrest concessions and to abolish grievances in the economic sphere. . . .

*The Populist movement itself was in large part an uprising against the might of the "octopus," the American railroad empires.

†Between 1888 and 1892, for example, 316 persons were killed and 2,582 injured in train accidents, a large proportion caused by defective locomotive boilers.

The Memberships

There are 128 sub-divisions of American railroad labor, divided into seven broad categories. Executives, officials and various staff assistants comprise 1.1 per cent; professional, clerical and general, 15.7 per cent; maintenance of way and structures, 21 per cent; equipment and stores, 27.8 per cent, while the remaining 34 per cent come under the heading of transportation in both its stationary and mutable aspects.*



BIRTH OF A TRADITION: *Railroad workers participating in the famous Baltimore strikes of 1877 were mowed down by the state militia, one of the earliest instances in which strikers were fired upon by government agencies.*

Out of a total of 1,065,000 employees, more than half belong to unions which are organized almost exclusively upon a craft basis. There are 20 altogether, four of which—with a membership of 133,700—are affiliated with the A. F. of L. The famous "Big Four," the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers (59,108), Firemen and Enginemen (60,886), Trainmen (116,274), and the Order of Railway Conductors (49,953) have remained outside of any larger labor alignment. Often acting in concert, they have preserved their own autonomy and rights of self-determination despite the pleas and pressures of Gompers, of Green and latterly of C.I.O. chieftains to link fortunes at least on some paper or "joint council" foundation.

Without exception, the Big Four came into being as benevolent associations, not as agencies for collective bargaining. For during the last half of the 19th century, railroading as an occupation held such high hazards that insurance companies refused to consider engineers, firemen, trainmen and the like as "acceptable risks." Such workers therefore formed their own insurance firms, paid premiums regularly to protect their families in case of injury or death. And this feature resulted in the accumulation of such vast sums that the Brotherhoods have become heavy investors in almost every sphere of American enterprise, managing their funds with foresight and integrity. In 1922, for example, the engineers were able to build their own skyscraper in Cleveland, Ohio, at a cost of $1,250,000. They also own the Coal River Collieries in West Virginia where, as employers, they have often been in conflict with Mr. John L. Lewis on the question of unionizing union-owned mines!

The Big Four, counting among their number thousands of the highest paid workers in the country, and being "men of property" who collectively own millions in gilt-edged securities, have been for years noted for their conservatism. Anxious to keep their funds intact in order to pay their insurance dividends, they have been hesitant to go on strike since nothing else depletes a union's reserves with such disheartening speed. Instead they have depended on arbitration, and exploited the fact that their calling renders them indispensable to modern commerce by invoking government aid to gain wages, hours and other demands. In 1916, for example, the Adamson Law making the eight-hour day mandatory on rail-

*Tabulations as of July, 1936 from U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

roads was rammed through Congress by President Wilson to avert a strike threatened by the Brotherhoods, along with other unions, unless they were granted this working-time maximum.

When America entered the World War the government took over the railroads. Perhaps more flim-flam and nonsense has been written about this topic than anything else in recent American history. In the first place, the only reason that the government had to take control was that such carriers, conditioned to bitter and unceasing competition with one another, seemed unable to visualize the unitary nature of the transportation problem in war time. Faced by the exigencies of moving vast masses of men, munitions and other Martian materials over a great continent, the government found that the unbridled rivalry among railroads rendered it inexpedient to rely upon either their efficiency or their patriotism. A central coordinating body, implemented by the ultimate powers of government, was required to enforce order and cooperation. Hence in 1917 Congress created the Federal Railroad Administration to direct the nation's traffic on rails. On the whole it did an excellent job, modernizing railroad equipment to the tune of $400,000,000, and returning it to private hands in better shape than it ever was before.

Fortuitous Circumstance

Government operation during 1917–1920 was the best break that American railroad workers ever had. The F.R.A. had inherited a labor force dissatisfied with its failure to keep its income in step with fast-rising living costs and angered by executive rebuff of efforts to hike its real wages. Its morale was shattered, its loyalty at low ebb. The first thing that the F.R.A. did was to raise pay rates after conducting some very intelligent studies into real earnings as compared with prevailing prices.

But its most long-lasting and valuable contribution was the setting up of well-designed, well-oiled machinery to resolve controversies between labor and management. The various Railway Adjustment Boards, with their equal representation from both sides, with government acting as balance wheel, decided thousands of cases in which conflicts were resolved, usually by unanimous vote. Moreover, the F.R.A. in its various commissions and bureaus was catholic in its view. It recognized the existence of the "common" unorganized laborer, outside the pale of the Big Four's aristocracy of skill, granting the former sizable advances.

When the War ended and the A.E.F. was carried home to civilian life the government prepared to hand the railroads back to their private owners. The workers, however, found no rapture in this prospect. They had been given decent and humane treatment; they were in no hurry to relinquish it. Although wage boosts had not fulfilled their first high hopes, the underlying "atmosphere," the whole new complex of relations engendered by government control, had been distinctly pleasant. They had been at least regarded as men, as people of dignity and importance in the scheme of winning the war.

Sentiment for government ownership was crystallized in the Plumb Plan, named after its author Glenn E. Plumb, brainy general counsel for the organized railroad employees. Briefly it proposed a form of guild socialism under which the government was to purchase, through a bond-issue, all basic railroad properties after putting their valuations "through the wringer," and then leasing them as a non-profit corporation. Earnings were to be used for paying interest, and operating expenses, and for retiring bonds within 50 years. All savings over and above such outlays were to be divided between the government and all employees, from chief executive to track-walker, in accord with an elaborate pro rata scheme.

To "push, popularize, publicize" this idea a Plumb Plan League was formed with Samuel Gompers doing the honors as president and Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the engineers, doing the work. The organization, with more zealotry than precision, claimed a following of six million drawn from railroad labor in general, the A. F. of L., the Non-Partisan League, the Farmers National Council and other sodalities of agrarian discontent. The League established headquarters in Washington, button-holed Senators, pushed Representatives into a listening corner, and created a weekly newspaper "Labor"* as Big Bertha in its educational battery.

Gone "Plumb" to —

Yet the Plumb Plan's proponents were licked before they started. It was not alone the Bolshevik menace which the press obligingly discovered as the motive propelling its backers. Nor yet was it entirely the pressures exerted by railroad financiers upon Congress. Government control of railroads had been, after all, a war-time, an emergency measure. And soon after the Armistice was signed, the American people, with a sudden shudder of revulsion, turned away from anything identified with the war. And by the time Distinguished Service Medals began to be displayed in pawn-shop windows, and very cheap they were, even then, the nation's deepest desire was that return to normalcy that Warren G. Harding crystallized into a slogan and the presidency.

After six days of hearings, of cross-examining the Plumb Plan's advocates, the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce tossed it out of the window with the statement that it "was more firmly convinced than ever that government ownership is not, and ought not to be, the solution of the problem" and that "the so-called Plumb Plan is impossible."

In the attempt, however, to allay employer-employe tensions already evoked by the impending return of the roads to private operation, Congress in 1920 passed the Transportation Act, part of which called for the establishment of a Railway Labor Board, precursor of present-day apparatus for railroad durity. It had nine members appointed by the president with the Senate's consent. Carriers, labor and the public, each had three representatives.

No similar body in American annals ever faced a more complex and troublous task. The Board was charged with the obligation of fixing "just" wage-scales and working rules for 1,950,000 railroad employees of extremely diverse occupation. It had to meet the issue of wage-increases that had been postponed through 18 months of dickering. It had to begin its job amid the turmoil of post-war readjustments when the forecasting of the country's economic future was any crystal-gazer's guess. It had to conciliate workers smarting under the summary rejection of the Plumb Plan by the House Committee. It had to overcome the suspicion of management that it might develop into that bogeyman of business, "government interference" that really interfered. It had, finally, to adjudicate differences between management and labor when all other moves for mediation had failed.

From its first day it encountered the intractability of muddle. Almost immediately, for example, it had to define and rule upon the question of

*The publication survived the purpose of its founding and today is one of the two leading labor journals in the United States.

a "living wage," a quandary needing a Solomon's judgment. For during the war while wages in other industries, like building, and steel and motors, had been keeping pace with rising prices, the income of railroad workers, in terms of buying power, had steadily declined. Yet they had been genuinely patriotic, carrying out their duties in letter and spirit. They had refrained from capitalizing on their crucially important position to make more money by going on strike.

As soon as the Railway Labor Board was set up, however, they looked to it to make up for their losses. The board was bombarded with statistics by the able and astute W. Jett Lauck, then consulting economist for the unions. His compilations showed that, in view of the period's inflationary prices, an annual wage of $1700 for example would have to be boosted to about $2100 to render pay envelopes "real." His figures marched like a Roman legion over the long road of testimony stretching before the Board. His estimates were countered by accountants and statisticians for the railroads who declared that the latter would be bankrupted if they granted any such increases which, in toto, amounted to a billion dollars.

After weighing the pros and cons of perhaps the most exhaustive arguments about the "living wage" ever heard, the Board handed down its decision of a $558,000,000 general raise. Even so, nobody was particularly pleased although union leaders acknowledged that at least the Board had tried to do the "right thing."

"While the decision," said President Carter of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, "of the labor board did not come up to our desires, or our expectations, yet I cannot recall a single instance where a wage . . . settlement of any kind proved to be absolutely satisfactory to everyone concerned; and just as long as we have wage bargaining I feel confident that the same situation will exist. . . ."

In part, of course, such opinions were voiced to counteract in advance any move by employers to reduce payrolls. Yet that move was made almost at once. In the summer of 1920 the pale sun of post-war prosperity suffered a sudden eclipse. Retrenchment in business generally reacted quickly and unfavorably upon railroad revenues. Instead of earning the 5½ per cent intended by the Transportation Act, returns were cut to 3½ per cent. The ratio of operating expenses to income mounted to 94.37 for the fiscal year, the highest on record. By January 1921, Class I railroads alone were in the red for $958,399,000. Only three alternatives seemed open to officials for restoring profits.

Saving Strategy

They could raise freight and passenger rates. But this was inexpedient since



The Louisville Times

The Mountains Labored . . .

the railroads, to meet the higher wage bills of the Board's recent award, had passed the cost onto their customers by already boosting all rates from 25 per cent to 40 per cent. The shipping public was inclined to believe that such excessively high charges were partially responsible for the business recession. The second possibility was to augment the volume of traffic—a feat coterminous with curing the collapse itself. The third course was to cut expenses; and since labor still constituted about 63 per cent of all operating outlays, the railroads assumed the role of Indian giver. They went before the Board and in effect demanded that they be returned the wage-raises they had but a short time before allowed. Their employes were furious. They had seen the roads gain inordinate profits and they felt that they themselves, having just obtained some approximation of their proper due, were once more being compelled to "take the rap."

And after countless and tumultuous sessions, the Board determined that the railroads had just cause for lowering wages. It therefore ordered pay reductions all along the line, reductions that in many cases canceled out the gains that labor had recently achieved. And in so doing, the Board dug its own grave and then expired from "labor complaint" in the form of the "Big Strike" of 1922 which was a direct outgrowth of the Board's "cut wages" verdict.

Despite the sad fate of this experiment, however, the principle of the government as arbiter in railroad industrial relations was too important to be abandoned. On May 20, 1926, President Coolidge signed the Railway Labor Act, designed to cure the defects of previous legislation, and which was amended in 1934 to enlarge the scope of "government meddling" by laying upon the industry the legal obligation to arbitrate and "confer out" disagreements between managers and men.

Currently the National Mediation Board (set up by the Railway Labor Act) enters the stage whenever a road and its employes, or several roads and a union or unions, are unable to get together on wages, hours, work conditions. The Board's various "adjustment" branches iron out obstacles when the railroad interprets an existing contract to mean one thing, and the union construes it to mean something else, usually the opposite.

Moreover, as its trump card, the Board can fall back upon a clause in the law creating it which calls for a second "emergency" board to be appointed by the President if and when the regular machinery of mediation breaks down.

During the past four years the National Mediation Board has functioned with notable success; and its very existence encourages officials and union leaders to settle their controversies by themselves since the prospect of "having to go through it all again" is seldom alluring.

So far the Board forms the most fool-proof technique for the peaceful and "common sense" adjustment of capital-labor disputes that we in America have yet devised.

Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

EVER since the end of the World War, art throughout the western world has become dynamically and melodramatically nationalist. It would almost seem as if art suddenly rediscovered itself, in terms of a nationalist birthright which it had neglected, forgotten, or discarded. In Mexico and the United States that development was most happily and challengingly conspicuous. In the former country, artists turned back to Mexico's past, to the Indians who constituted the nation's heritage, and in drawings and on walls and canvasses depicted the Indian's struggle against his oppressors and gave dramatic form to his odd and interesting but everlastingly simple way of life. In the dance and in music and folklore, Mexican artists searched the country up and down and far and wide in quest of native materials out of which indigenous themes could be wrought. Forgotten aspects of Aztec, Mayan, and Toltec civilizations were unearthed and under the leadership of Dr. Gamio and the famous Mexican composer, Tatanacho (Ignacio Fernandez Esperon), this folklore, musical and Terpsichorean, was introduced to contemporary Mexico. Best known of all, in this struggle for native identity, were the paintings of Orozco and Rivera, who caught on their canvasses as well as in their murals something of the Mexican spirit in its more arresting and striking forms. In the United States poets like Mary Austin and others turned back to the American Indian but on the whole our Indian heritage did not prove a very fertile source of inspiration. In Mexico Indian *mores* triumphed over European, and today almost every Mexican of any note has Indian blood in his veins and finds in Indian culture the secret of his way of life. In the United States, on the other hand, Indian culture was swept away along with the Indians themselves, with the result that all that can be discovered of it is on the reservations where the lingering Indian tribesmen are now segregated. Wherever the Indian has not met that fate, however, which means in many other Latin-American countries, painters and sculptors and writers have tended to return to the aboriginal types for the content of their art.

In the United States, the return has been to the old European-American types who first settled the continent, along the Atlantic Seaboard and then as trail-blazers in the West, and there we have the work of the midwestern artists of today; Benton, Wood, Currie, and others, as the best example of that tendency. The day when American artists went to France, to study and starve in Paris studios, and spend their lives as futile imitators of Cezanne, Matisse, and Picasso, has passed. Today American artists, as Thomas Craven has so well shown, have said farewell to Paris, flung aside their adoration for French technique and French abstractionism, and decided to study under American artists, in American studios, and work out a technique of their own in terms of the materials at hand, before them, around them, about them.

Palestinian Art

If we turn away from the Mexican and American developments in this direction, about which so much has been written already, we find in many other countries similar developments which merit consideration. One of the most notable of these has been the development of Palestinian art within the last two decades. One of the best painters produced by modern Palestine, and at the same time one of the best authorities on Palestinian art, is Elias Newman, who in a number of articles has described the struggle which Palestinian artists have been forced to wage before they arrived at their present position of comparative maturity. Mr. Newman shows how the first stage in modern Palestine's struggle to achieve an art of its own was represented by the tendency inaugurated by Professor Boris Schatz of developing first rate craftsmen in metal, wood, and ivory. Through the "tiny hammered brass plaques, the delicate silver and filigree jewelry, the olive wood boxes, and the ivory wood carvings," Mr. Newman writes, "Professor Schatz succeeded in giving Palestinian art a quality which was not advanced or original but which was inspiringly intimate. It was Professor Schatz who succeeded in building the Bezalel Museum and the School of Arts and Crafts in Palestine in which the best works of art conjured out of his influence are now housed. After Professor Schatz's influence receded, Palestinian art entered its second phase, its romantic phase, when the land was pullulating with new immigrants, vital with vision and energetic to the finger-tips, and when artists came from all lands determined to make Palestine not only their home but also the home of their art. At first those artists were concerned with the physical difficulties of the environment: the transparency of atmosphere and the relative brilliance of the sun, which made it necessary to readjust the sheer technical aspects of their approach. Once those difficulties were mastered and resolved these artists set themselves to work upon the extant scene, the life they saw before them, the people they met every day in the streets, on the roads, in the synagogues, on the outskirts of the desert. There was a kind of primitivism about their work—not the primitivism of the untutored or the amateur, but the primitivism of the situation, of the environment, a primitivism remarkably akin to that which is to be found in Mexican art which abounds with a fidelity to the simple, the unadorned, the natural, no matter how ordinary, no matter how unexceptional it may be in terms of the life of the time. What they were all aiming at was the same thing that contemporary American painters are aiming at, namely, a discovery of the meaning of the environment, of the people who constitute the vital expression of the environment, and, above all, a realization of the spirit that gives unity to them as a whole. In the United States that unity finds form in a series of amazing types, agrarian and industrial, which vitalize the spirit of the country better than all the Pollyanistic drawings which bedizen the more popu-

lar magazines and the outlandish caricatures which serve as inspiration for the more radical periodicals.

In Palestine, because the environment was newer, and because the challenge of it was greater, it is not surprising to discover a more rapid growth of nationalist orientation than in other countries. After all, Palestine represented to the Jews not something that was new, not something that was unexpected, but something which was old, anciently old, which suddenly had become new, had become realized, fulfilled, as a dream is sometimes fulfilled long after its memory is withered. For centuries the Jews had dreamt of this nation of their own, where the things they had cherished might be given new birth, more concentrated form, more luminous and incandescent realization. And in the work of these artists of the second phase in Palestinian art development something of that aspiration found fulfillment, just as in the work of David Pinski, Sholem Asch, and other Jewish writers it found, in literary form, another aspect of that fulfillment.

A little later, as Mr. Newman points out, a disillusionment occurred, resulting in confusion and despair. As many Palestinian artists found the Palestinian environment unrewarding in appreciation as well as emolument, they sped back to Paris, or where you will, to retain their interest in modern art in what was then its most dynamic form. But Paris in those days, receding as it was in art influence, did little to solace their craving for unity and solidarity with the basic forces in the universe. They soon discovered that they wanted more than that, but when they returned, as most of them did, to Palestine, they learned, as Mr. Newman has so well described, that by that time they had become "strangers in their own homeland."

The third period in Palestinian art is more fundamental. It goes back to the roots of the land and finds its best expression in the work of those Palestinian artists who try to capture just that aspect of Palestinian life which is most significant in terms of its meaning to life as a whole, regardless of race, nation, or class. It would be useless for me at this point to stress the significance of the Tel-Aviv Museum and other museums which have been dedicated, more or less, to that purpose. What is important at this interval to stress is that the third period in Palestinian art begins when Palestinian artists refuse to go to France, or to any other European country for inspiration, but insist upon focussing their attention upon Palestinian materials, the Palestinian environment, Palestinian people, Arabs as well as Jews, and it is out of the strange, fantastic amalgam which resulted that an art of their own evolves, freed from French influence, English influence, and the influence of all other European countries. Palestinian art, whatever its deficiencies and there are many, is one



"Street in Tel Aviv": *An oil painting by Elias Newman from the collection of Dr. A. J. Rougy, New York.*

of the most significant developments of a cultural nature in the world today.

There was a period, as I indicated, and as one would expect or suspect, when Palestinian artists, discouraged with the lack of enthusiasm their works received, reverted to more familiar and less adventurous national forms. Today those artists have turned to the soil, and to nature, that eternal spring of inspiration, for what they have to say on canvas or on walls. That root-fact, exemplifying itself in the work of Rubin and Newman, two of the best of Palestinian painters, explains much of what has never been explained before about Palestinian art. Painters in the old days were almost inevitably rooted to the soil, or at least to certain aspects of it, or to people who were inalienable parts of it, and up until the time when cities absorbed and consumed the energies of men the soil continued to exercise its preponderant influence over art. In more recent days, to be sure, when cities have become more dominant, that emphasis has decreased. For that reason, the return to it on the part of the new Palestinian artists is a healthy, heartening note.

Rubin, the best known of the Palestinian painters, who has been described as the "Gaugin of Palestine," has been the most popular of the Palestinian painters with the American public, which has visited his American exhibitions, praised his work, and bought his canvases. Rubin is a romantic, lyrical artist whose work is imbued with the spirit of Palestine, the rhythm of the country, the magicality of its atmosphere and setting. He catches in his paintings the surfaces and contours of the country, the nuances of color which makes Palestine such a land of enchantment, and makes it live more vividly than life itself. His depiction of trees, of roads, of out-of-the-way places, isolated haunts, curious retreats, wayside inns are so simple, so intimate, one can almost feel that one is there with them, in them. He creates a fondness for the land, for the mysterious aspects of its life, its historic memories mellowed by struggle and conflict, its spirit embedded in rock and tree and hill. He does not look toward France or any other country, for inspiration, suggestion, or recollection. Palestine is his concern; Palestine is his interest; Palestine is what he delineates, depicts, and vivifies. The microscopical houses sequestered in the hills, the checkerboard walls which give to Tiberias the exoticism for which it has been anciently famous, the indescribably, indefinably blue sea of Galilee caught unawares at dawn—all these Rubin transmutes into something ineffably strange, but eternally familiar. In a word, he makes of strangeness a thing which is strange in detail, but intimate in essence.

Another artist who deserves appreciative mention in connection with the exciting history of modern Palestinian art is Elias Newman, who, incidentally, is an American citizen who has adopted Palestine as his preferred country. Mr. Newman's work is distinguished for its understatement, its pristine simplicity. There is about it a reserve, a leniency, a resilience which endows it with a certain subtle quality which eludes description. His works in water color are remarkable for their modulations of tone and the nuances of suggestion which they reveal. Like Rubin, he has an obsessing affection for trees in all their altitudinous intersectionary forms, as they stretch across flat desert territory, overhang houses, embroider villages, and vitalize the simplest

house or farm. A student of Moorish architecture as well as Judaic, Mr. Newman, who had a brother who served in the famous Jewish legion under Lord Allenby, who captured Palestine from the Turks in the World War, became fascinated by Palestinian landscapes and horizons when he first visited it in 1925. Since that time he has dedicated his extremely rich talent to the significant task of interpreting the country in terms of its unsurpassable strangeness and wondrousness, and along with Rubin he stands out as one of the finest and most distinguished of the Palestinian painters of the past decade.



"THE RIVER LITANUS": *A water-color by Mr. Newman from the collection of Judge Z. Harakabi, Haifa, Palestine.*

Turning away from Palestinian art to the art of this country, something should definitely be said about the significant work which is being done by the Art Teaching Division of the WPA Federal Art Project in its attempt to eliminate the gap which has existed between the American artist and the American public. This country, owing to a considerable extent to its lack of an aristocratic heritage, has revealed less interest in art and artists than any other important country in the world. Young people grow up in the American environment, in American schools, without any sensitive appreciation of art values, without any understanding of what art means, and without any appreciation of art's significance as a world force. The WPA Federal Art Project, realizing that fact, has set itself to the task of educating the public as to the importance of art values. It is, to quote Miss Sophia Steinbach, one of the ablest exponents of the Federal project, "teaching hundreds of thousands of Americans to share the pleasure of creative experience by practising it themselves. Thus robbed of its professional isolation, art activity has become an important part of the daily lives of average Americans in all sections of the country."

In short, what the Federal Art Project is trying to do is to get people, however humble, however undistinguished, to become interested in developing their talents, no matter how slight, in order to realize something of the creative experience which any person interested in art invariably and inevitably feels when he is trying to create an art object. What is most amazing and most gratifying of all is the fact that the populace itself has backed the Federal Art Project with such unequivocal and overwhelming enthusiasm. Forty-eight cities and towns in the past year have established community art centers and succeeded in raising funds by popular subscription to maintain them. The new centers, in California, Montana, and Oregon, are scheduled to open in the next few months. Holger Cahill, the national director of the Federal Art Project, has succeeded to a large extent in his work because he previously succeeded in convincing Washington that the art work in our schools was puerile, and that our art teachers in most cases had "never had an opportunity to see an original work of art."

The Federal Art Project has been more successful than most of the other WPA projects because it has gone direct to the community for its support. Throughout the South, for example, it has organized over thirty art centers, all of which continue to exist because the community is interested in perpetuating them. In a word, it is the community and not the government which continues to keep them alive.

In New York City itself, over thirty thousand children and seven thousand adults have been attending within the last year art exhibits organized by the Project. The result has been that there has been a need for larger centers to take care of the ever larger crowds which flock into the exhibits. In that connection, it is very likely that the Queens center, which is just five minutes from the site of the World's Fair, will become one of the most popular art centers of today. This Queens center, situated in a borough of homes, adapts itself, in *rapport* with its environment, to the family *motif*. In Harlem, to turn to another center, it is the Negro *motif* which predominates. While racial art is not stressed, the Harlem center, nevertheless, provides an unparalleled opportunity to observe the role of racial influences in the art of the nation. It gives an opportunity to the Negro, who has been so ingenious and fertile in the dance and in music, to develop his talents in the plastic arts, wherein his work has hitherto been less conspicuous. In that connection it is important to point out that already Harlem WPA art activities have helped encourage the development of one of New York's most promising younger artists, Charles Alston, who has been in charge of the mural project at the Harlem Hospital, and who, aside from that, has produced some of the most interesting and imaginative work of the present day.

In addition to the activities above described, the Federal Art Project is interested in the Community Centers of Arts and Crafts, which attempts to make every person a participant in the art experience. It aims to give everyone something of the joy of creation, the joy of making something of his own.

DAVID DIETZ

Realm of Science

SUNSPOTS continue to be one of the chief topics of conversation in the world of science. During 1937 a rapid rise in the number of spots on the sun took place, one of the most rapid in two decades. The present year began with a continued increase in sunspot activity.

During the last two weeks in January, the increase in solar activity was accompanied by unusual displays of the aurora borealis or northern lights in latitudes far south of those in which these phenomena are usually visible. At the same time, magnetic storms of great intensity occurred, disrupting trans-Atlantic wireless communication and interfering with long-distance telegraph and telephone lines.

The connection of sunspots with auroral displays and magnetic phenomena has been known for a long time. In recent years, however, attempts to connect weather phenomena and even business cycles and the general conduct of the human race with sunspots, have been revived.

Dr. Harlan T. Stetson, well-known astronomer of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has given much time to this problem. It is well established that periods of sunspot maxima are also periods in which the earth receives more ultra-violet radiation from the sun. It has been suggested that either this ultra-violet light itself or its secondary effects upon the earth's atmospheric or electrical conditions, influence mankind, so that periods of sunspot maxima are periods of greater nervous activity.

Dr. Stetson points out that the curve of the Dow Jones stock market averages since 1925 is almost an exact fit for the curve of sunspot numbers during the same period. In support of the hypothesis that sunspot activity is reflected in human activity, he points out that the industrial agitation of the early part of 1937 with its numerous sitdown strikes came during one of the most rapid rise in sunspot numbers in two decades.

While the effect of sunspots on human beings is still a matter of pure speculation, we are on firmer ground when we turn to the physical nature of the spots themselves.

The researches of many astronomers, notably those of Dr. George Ellery Hale, the honorary director of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, have established the fact that sunspots are mighty whirlpools in the gaseous surface of the sun. Above these whirlpools, in the thinner gases which compose the solar atmosphere, huge hurricanes rage. Winds, thousands of times stronger than any known on earth, cause huge masses of gases, often larger than the earth itself, to move about like puffs of smoke. Sunspots range in size from diameters of 500 miles to as much as 150,000 miles.

It has also been established that sunspots are huge cannon, bombarding the earth with streams of electrons, the fundamental particles of negative electricity. Because of the electrified condition of many of the gases in the solar atmosphere, the whirling sunspots act as electromagnets.

From these powerful magnetic fields, the streams of electrons emerge. Dr. Carl Stormer, professor of pure mathematics in the University of Oslo, Norway, pioneered in the study of the behavior of these electron streams.

He showed that when they got in the neighborhood of the earth, they were deflected by the lines of force of the earth's magnetic field so that few of the electrons could get through at the earth's equator while most entered at the poles.

This explains why the aurora is frequent in polar regions, infrequent in the temperate zones, and never seen at the equator.

Transplanting Muscles

Disabilities following infantile paralysis can sometimes be corrected by the transplantation of muscles and tendons, Dr. Leo Mayer of New York told the Pan-American Medical Association at its 1938 meeting in Havana. The same method can also be used to correct the damage following many industrial accidents and to correct weakened abdominal muscles.

"In infantile paralysis," Dr. Mayer explained, "it frequently happens that though some of the muscles of an extremity are paralyzed, others retain their normal strength. This produces a muscular imbalance.

"For instance, if the muscle on the inner side of the foot becomes paralyzed and those on the outer side remain strong, the foot will turn into a position resembling that of a severe flat foot. The outer border of the foot becomes elevated and the paralyzed individual walks on the inner border of the foot.

"To correct this infirmity and to establish a normal gait, one of the strong muscles is transplanted or shifted to the inner side of the foot in such a way as to replace the action of the paralyzed muscle."

Dr. Mayer emphasized the fact that in these types of operations, the muscles and tendons must be so transplanted as to utilize the gliding apparatus of the paralyzed muscles. This gives the transplanted tissues the same freedom of action which the original muscles possessed before paralysis set in.

Research Accelerated

America led in scientific research in the world during 1937, spending $100,000,000 in this field, according to Dr. William A. Hamor, assistant director of the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research of Pittsburgh. Dr. Hamor has just completed a survey of world conditions in research for the American Chemical Society.

He found that every nation in the world has increased its activities in the field of scientific research. He also found that many European countries, fearing war and realizing the importance of their chemical industries in times of war, are building underground bombproof power plants to furnish power for their chemical industries.

Particular progress is being made in the preparation of new synthetic chemicals and these are opening a new era for solvents, plastics, paints, pharmaceuticals and perfumes, according to Dr. Hamor.

Small countries as well as large ones are making progress in research, he finds. Switzerland is leading Europe in pharmaceutical research. The demands for insecticides for fruit trees has led to the reorganization of Palestine's sulphur industry. German chemists are aiding Brazilian authorities in an effort to find a use for surplus coffee.

Numerous advances made by American chemists are cited by Dr. Hamor.

Highlights of the Law

GUERRA EVERETT

"THE court will rise." Courtly phrases and manners appeared magically in the astonished surprise of a New York City Federal Court holding criminal sessions; aggressive lawyers were deftly repressed; jurymen intently held ear; attorneys replaced idlers in the benches. Willis Van Devanter, retired Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was presiding at the trial of a criminal case.

"I Am Still a Judge"

To eager newspaper men who crowded around, the 78-year-old veteran of momentous causes would vouchsafe no opinions on controversial topics, saying only "It must be remembered that I am still a judge." Meanwhile, in Washington the Fates continued to revolve, threatening the heart of the reverend and learned Justice Cardozo, inducing Justice Sutherland to retire, at the age of 75, from "regular active service" under the Act of March 1, 1937, and elevating Solicitor General Stanley Reed to the supreme bench. The selection of Mr. Reed was received with general satisfaction simply because his professional qualifications are eminently juristic. Bar and public alike anticipate that he will not turn justice into wormwood, nor omit "to take into consideration the times, as well as the circumstances, of facts."

While these notable events are transpiring, groups of lawyers and legislators are quietly at work repairing the general structure of the law, correcting deficiencies and simplifying confused procedures and techniques. The outstanding accomplishment is recorded in a "Letter from the Attorney General transmitting the 'Rules of Civil Procedure for the District Courts of the United States,' adopted by the Supreme Court of the United States pursuant to the Act of June 19, 1934, Ch. 651" (75th Cong. 3rd Ses., House Doc. No. 460, Washington, G.P.O., 15 cents). The rules were drafted by a commission of jurists appointed by the Court many months ago, and are modeled on the Wisconsin plan, prescribing one form of civil action and procedure for both cases in equity and actions at law. Now that the form is the same the lawyer must discriminate accurately between the substance of law and of equity.

Another new product of cerebration is the monumental New York City Administrative Code enacted by an extraordinary session of the State Legislature and compiled by a Board of Statutory Consolidation.

The codification of all Federal administrative regulations would appear to be a Quixotic undertaking, yet it is actually in process and scheduled for completion in June. Each bureau has been sent scurrying to examine its current regulations and prepare a tentative codification of them, indicating after each the passage of law upon which it is predicated, and some may be constrained to seek the passage of more law to conjure passages upon which to claim regulations to have been predicated. Many regulations are very old and their origins are lost in antiquity. Now, of course, all new regulations of "general applicability and legal effect" must be published in the Federal Register, but it is necessary to prove the authenticity of pre-existing regulations by the original promulgation. Wherefore the dust is flying in transfer-file vaults and the signatures of long-departed worthies are suddenly endowed with a value undreamed of in the amateur autograph exchanges. It is said that when we begin to codify the laws the days of growth, vigor, and adventure are at an end for the race. Did not Justinian usher in an era of Roman decadence? It was a wise old darky, however, who said "Don't be a persimmonist, be a possumist." Surely the full destiny of law is certainty, which must imply eventual codification. In the Code of Regulations an approach to uniformity is contemplated by the provision that the form must follow that of the United States Code of Laws.

Implementing the Judiciary

Deprecating the penchant of judges to concentrate on the essential function of hearing and deciding controversies and to be deficient in the attendant administrative duties, the *Journal* of the American Judicature Society, calling for reform, notes that:

> The opportunity now arises, through better knowledge of conditions and needs, and through the avowed desire of Attorney-General Cummings to surrender his department's authority in the judicial department. This proposal to transfer political power goes against all political traditions. It can be ascribed to nothing else than a realization of needs and a statesmanlike attitude.

The proposal mentioned has now taken form in a bill introduced by the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee to separate the Federal Courts for purposes of administration from the Department of Justice, which now controls the offices and personnel of the courts. A director, appointed by the Chief Justice and supervised by the conference of senior circuit judges, would assume these functions. The judiciary, indeed, is on the point of coming into its own in several directions. Proposals are pending in Congress for increasing the number of judges, for retirement reforms, and for the substitution of judicial discipline for impeachment. If a judge be wanting in respect of his office, the only remedy now is impeachment, a lethal blow. As juries refuse to convict when penalties are too severe, impeachment is seldom invoked until great notoriety has accrued against a judge for continued misconduct. Meanwhile he may wreck the interests of litigants and the fair reputation of the court. A system of judicial inquest and admonition is suggested enabling the Chief Justice to discover and correct the rare cases of inefficiency and impropriety.

Reforms in Cuba are a little different, and some brethren at the Bar, meditatively sipping a daiquiri, consider them eminently more practical. One new law artlessly ordains that secretaries of entities, societies, foundations, corporations, companies, groups, chambers, etc., of any class or nature and for whatever object must be lawyers, and personal appearance of parties in any court, tribunal or notarial office is abolished—the party will have to see his old family lawyer about appearing for him. Thus is the cycle complete; the charters issued to the companions of Columbus, the great conquistadores, authorizing expeditions into the New World invariably prohibited entirely emigration of lawyers into the new provinces.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

The Religious Horizon

IN A day of dire predictions as to the future of the Church, it is encouraging to find an occasional note of optimism. One heartening note is found in the statistics recently made public by Dr. Herman Weber, editor of the *Yearbook of American Churches.* Carefully compiled (and "more accurate than any other"), these figures reflect the true condition of religious life in America today. Protestant and Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues are attended each year by more than 30,000,000 persons. Church membership is growing at the rate of almost three-quarters of a million each year. In the past 75 years the number of Church buildings has increased sevenfold. There are, according to U. S. Census reports, 232,154 houses of worship in the United States, and the debts against them amount to only 11 per cent of their total value. During the period from 1800 to 1934, while the population increased by twenty-two-fold, the total membership of churches increased eighty-fold.

Those who are deeply concerned over the welfare of the Church may take heart from these figures. The Church is not dead. Nor is it decaying. It may not be measuring up to all its responsibilities, but it is unquestionably moving forward progressively. This statement is made despite the statistics and charts presented at the recent conference of the National Committee for Religion and Welfare Recovery, which showed an increase of 61 per cent in our national income for 1936 as compared with 1932, but a decrease of gifts since 1932 for the support of churches of 30 per cent. During the same period expenditures for armaments, automobiles, beer, cigarettes, jewelry, radios, theatres, and whisky showed increases varying from 25 per cent to 31 per cent.

Robert Munson Grey, in *I, Yahweh,* a first novel (published by Willett, Clark & Co.) has written one of the most original and important books of this generation. Some conservatives may regard it as atheistic and blasphemous. There is, however, in this "autobiography of God," something deeper than appears to the mind of the superficial reader. Joseph Fort Newton, prominent Episcopal clergyman, said of it: "*I, Yahweh* took a day and half the night; there was no laying it down . . . it made me want to be a Christian for three whole days. Nay it will haunt me for many a day ahead." The difficult and daring technique of making the Divinity the voice of the conceptions which have combined to give Him the character which men now ascribe to Him is, from the point of view of the student of religion, entirely permissible and defensible.

Imperfect God

The God whom the Jews gave to the Western world, Yahweh, is not a God of perfection, but a very human God. *I, Yahweh* gives the obverse picture to the usual conception of the unfoldment of God's nature to man, and shows the Divinity being instructed in the various attributes. Amos teaches him that He should be more concerned with righteousness; Hosea, that justice should be tempered with mercy; and so forth. The three things which the book did for this writer were: (1) to stimulate a rereading of the Bible; (2) to realize how far from true religion, both as to conception of deity and as to the practice of virtue, the majority of present-day Christians (cleric and lay) really are; and (3) amazement at the "haunting persistence" of religion. *I, Yahweh* will undoubtedly cause a great deal of comment and discussion. Such a new approach to history—from Abraham's days to Hitler and the coronation of George VI in 1937—as seen by Yahweh himself, is bound to shake some out of their smug complacency. Because, without overwhelming with moralizing or interpretation, it shows us the kind of people we actually are; it reveals the truth about ourselves and the petty, finite, discredited, almost impotent god we still insist on making in our own image. And the truth is bound to hurt and bring recriminations from those who feel hit the hardest.

Russian Realizations

This strange persistence of the Christian faith is being recognized by Soviet Russia. *The Baptist and Reflector* quotes this statement of the Russian Commissar of Education: "For the moment we will change our fighting tactics against the Church. During the past twenty years we have used every sort of force in our fight against religion. That period is at an end. The new period will witness a spiritual fight against religion. This fight will call for even greater effort than violence. Above all we shall need a large number of highly trained and cultured propagandists. When the second period shall be closed, then the third and last period will be entered upon, in which religion in the Soviet Union will exist only as an historical memory."

As yet this "second period" is still in the future. During the preparations for the first "free" election under the new Soviet Constitution in December the anti-religious campaign reached a new high. Heads of both branches of the Greek Orthodox Church, Archbishop Sergei Krutisky, the acting patriarch, and Patriarch Vitaly of the Living Church which split with the established Church early in the Revolution were denounced. They are charged with crimes varying from terrorist plots against Soviet leaders and espionage for foreign powers to gross moral corruption. The official organ of the Red army and navy asserted that "liquidation of Church spy-nests created by foreign secret services on our territory have exposed a working plan of sabotage in crocks." The Gorky *Commune* supplemented this by a four-day anticlerical series describing these alleged anti-Soviet activities of priests. On January 10, 21 Bishops (including the two mentioned above) were denounced as saboteurs and terrorists.

Russian Opiate

The new Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of religious worship, but not freedom of religious propaganda. Increasing official pressure on religions has been evident for some time in the closing of more churches. The official press constantly carries articles berating the Communist Party, the Young Communist Party, and the League of Fighting Godless for slackness against the Church. All which seems to indicate that religion in Russia, even after twenty years of persecution and suppression, has greater vitality than the Bolsheviki realized. "The opiate of the people" (or rather the taste of the people for "their opiate") persists. It is apparently indestructible.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

(The explosion and destruction of the large munition plant in Segni, Rome, causing more than 200 casualties and damages amounting to several million lire, as reported in the American press on January 30, may have been a manifestation of internal opposition to Mussolini's war activities. This seems highly probable in view of the reports, sent secretly from Italy, of other acts of sabotage in war equipment factories.—Ed.)

Revolutionary Sabotage

Acts of sabotage have been committed in the Breda factories at Milan where observation and bombing airplanes are manufactured for the Italian Government. Forty of these machines, intended for General Franco in Spain and ready to be taken over by the army, were found to be seriously damaged. Police and factory management have been investigating workers and outsiders suspected of having incited the employees to commit these acts. About 600 men have been arrested so far. Many are still being held. Absolute silence has been imposed upon all factory employees. The arrested have been questioned by functionaries of the Political Information Bureau, established especially to assist the OVRA (*Opera di Vigilanza e Reppressione Antifascista*). This is known as the terror organization of the police.

The Political Information Bureau, with headquarters in Milan, has its offices on the top floor of the building of the *Questura* (Police), and is headed by functionaries who have shown special zeal in repressing political opponents of the regime. The chiefs of the P.I.B. of Milan are Nuvoloni and Ghiringhelli. In the offices of the P.I.B. the antifascists are subjected to extremely brutal treatment.

On December 20th last, Luigi Vitale was arrested in Milan while carrying a leather sack containing gramophone records of the firm "His Master's Voice." These records were intended to be offered as Christmas presents to customers. On one of the faces of the disks was a song and on the other, an antifascist speech.

Many pamphlets signed by the Italian Groups of the *Giustizia è Liberta'* were distributed during the Christmas holidays. At night other small leaflets were pasted on the walls of the popular quarters of the city.

In other cities the fascist police made many arrests. In Verona a manufacturer named Romolo Valesi, a man who is 75 years old, was arrested along with the sculptor Gottardi and a Mr. Tosi, a stationery manufacturer. Mr. Tosi had issued postal cards bearing the portrait of Todeschini, a former Socialist deputy, for the purpose of raising funds to transport the Deputy's remains to another city. Although permission was obtained from the local authorities to do this act, the Police prohibited it on the grounds that this would constitute an attempt to re-establish the Socialist Party destroyed by the Government.



Das Schwarze Corps, Berlin

ROUMANIA AND THE WORLD PRESS: *As long as we tolerated lice in our furs we were considered a cultured folk; as soon as we got rid of the parasites, we are barbarians.*

Lack of raw materials has compelled many factories to discharge numbers of workers. Unemployment, as well as the cost of living, is constantly increasing. The workers' wages, however, remain unchanged.

This explains the growing popular dissatisfaction. The number of thefts has been increasing for some time in impressive proportions. Incendiary fires too are increasing in numbers. During the last half of December and the beginning of this year, fires of incendiary origin in Monza, Rivarolo, Verona, Vercelli, Aprilia, Cremona, Bitonto, Udine, Conio, and Ascoli-Pisceno have destroyed farms, industrial establishments and private residences with a total damage of many millions of lire.

The Republican victory at Teruel has revived the hopes of the Italian masses which have always been opposed to Mussolini's intervention in Spain. The latest reports from Ethiopia confirm the gravity of the situation facing the workers and soldiers in Ethiopia through guerrilla warfare.

From *Giustizia è Liberta'*, Paris, January 14, 1938

Splits in the Fascist Party

Two incidents which happened a few weeks ago in Florence indicate that opposition within the Fascist Party, which exists outside of the Party also, is on the increase. What is new and characteristic in the present situation is that on one side taxes upon the middle classes have increased enormously, while on the other hand great luxury is noted among the upper strata. Expensive restaurants, which only a short while ago had few patrons, are now well filled. Although the price of furs has increased greatly, one can see many more furs than ever before. Those who display these luxuries are those who already enjoy the war profits, or are families of officers who have been or who are now in Spain.

At the same time the system of all kinds of fines has been greatly increased. Fines for cyclists who circulate without licenses have multiplied. In the evening many can be noticed at the prison doors who arrive there unable to pay the fines.

Recently in a workers' district in Florence a poster was placed on a wall. It was signed by a group within the Fascist Party of the district. The poster said, among other things, "The Capitalists display their riches once again. But the old Fascist Guard is still alive. It is necessary to get out the old cudgels to show that we will not peaceably submit."

Sometime after this a group of persons appeared suddenly in the Via Roma in the heart of Florence. They broke the windows of, and invaded a large clothing store. The streets were closed by the Gendarmes, but the looters were able to withdraw without

being arrested. At the same time posters were again placed which declared: "The store was attacked because of the unsocial attitude of the owner towards one of the working girls." The reporter of the *Nazione* who writes about such events happening every day in this town, published an article a few days later which attacked the attitude of the department store owner, but added that "perhaps other methods besides pillaging could have been found to punish a man of this kind."

—The Italian Correspondent to the *National Zeitung*, Basle, Switzerland, January 5th, 1938.

Tyrol Blood Brothers

It is known that upon the basis of its racial program Hitler Germany continuously claims the absolute right to



Daily Herald, London

THE PUPIL: *"White trash! Get! We've learned all you can teach us and we are drawing the color line!"*

"Unite all the Germans into one Great Reich," and to take under its protection all the German minorities of Europe. Mr. Frick, Reich's Minister of Interior recently declared: "We will never agree that Germans who are living under foreign rule should be persecuted merely because they are conscious of their Germanism." It is in the name of this doctrine that the Hitler Government demands the autonomy of the Sudeten Germans and protests against the policies of Czechoslovakia concerning the German minorities.

But why does the German Government tolerate the total decapitation of the German minority which is under the rule of fascist Italy while it is so exacting concerning Czechoslovakia? If there is anywhere a national minority which is greatly suppressed and persecuted it is the Germans of Southern Tyrol. This absolute rule is described in the recent publication of the Italian Senator Ettore Tolomei: *Archivio dell' Alto Adige*. It appears clearly that Mussolini and Italy did not hesitate to employ the most brutal methods to de-Germanize the Tyroleans. The hapless inhabitants, who have not one drop of Italian blood in their veins, are compelled to Italianize their names. Thus Pfeifer becomes Faiferini; Oberrauch, Sorafino; Plank, Bianchi; Steiner, Pietri; Fleischman, Macellari; Fischer, Pesce, etc. The use of German Christian names is prohibited in public. Italian priests refuse to baptize with such names as Walter, Irmgard, etc. No German Christian names are tolerated on the tombstones in the cemeteries. In 1935, Senator Tolomei reports, 1,041 decrees were issued Italianizing 3,000 names of German families. In 1936, 1,144 decrees were handed down to Italianize 368 German families. Naturally Italian is the only language taught in the schools. Moreover, the Government at Rome assists in the weakening of the German element in the province and favors Italian immigration. Hitler Germany looks on in indifference at this policy of annexation, depersonalization and de-Germanization of the 25,000 Germans of Bozen and Meran. Only in Austria is the anniversary of the annexation of Tyrol commemorated on October 11th by flying the flags at half-mast on all public buildings in Innsbruck. The silence of official Germany concerning the strangling of this little people of the Germanic race is very eloquent. Germans of South Tyrol are the hostages delivered to the mercies of Mussolini to cement the Berlin-Rome axis.

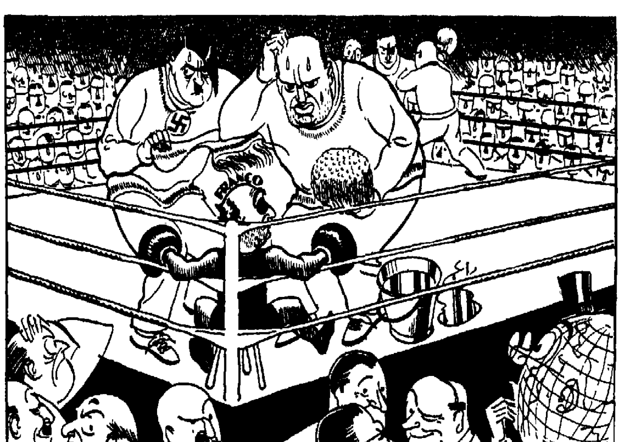
—*L'Oeuvre*, Paris, January 2, 1938.

Italian Finances

Pessimistic reports are circulating regarding the financial situation in Italy. These rumors are declared to be exaggerated, if not false, by the admirers of the fascist regime, and are said to be spread purposely by the enemies of Il Duce.

A German newspaper, however, which certainly cannot be suspected of intending to deprecate the prestige of Mussolini, recently published an article on the evolution of prices in Italy. It appears from this article that the increase in prices takes on disquieting proportions. This newspaper, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, publishes a table showing wholesale price indices of Italy as 77.8 in November 1936 and 95.1 in November 1937. The cost of living is represented by the index figure of 96.93 for November 1937 against 85.51 a year previous and 75.14 in January 1935.

The "political" control of prices established last April succeeded in stabilizing the prices of certain articles of prime necessity. However the prices of imported articles were already 73% higher in May 1937 than in September 1936. The advantage, which originally accrued to Italian exportation because of the depreciation of the lira, tends to disappear. For the first eleven months of 1937 the imports amounted to 12,655 million lire while the exports amounted to only 9,397 million lire. This represents an unfavorable trade balance of 3,258 millions of lire compared with an unfavorable trade balance of only 562 millions of lire in the same period in 1936. The *Frankfurter*



Glasgow Bulletin

Mussolini, and to a lesser degree, Hitler, are both beginning to worry lest they "lose face" with the setbacks experienced by General Franco in Spain after all their backing.

Zeitung concludes that these conditions will force the Italian Government to reduce its expenses. In fact, the Italian capitalists are beginning to resist Il Duce's efforts to finance his large enterprises. It has been reported that the new extraordinary measures, proposed to obtain capital, have caused energetic protests despite fascist discipline. These protests seem to have had some effect. Here is something which is liable to calm considerably the famous dynamic drive of the Duce.

—*L'Oeuvre*, Paris, December 31, 1937.

Il Duce's Pet Democracies

President Roosevelt's message can be considered as an answer to the recent attacks of Benito Mussolini upon Democracy. Il Duce's attack was made in the form of an anonymous article in *Popolo D'Italia* (December 31) concerning the Ludlow Amendment, the latter having as its obvious purpose the sabotage of every possibility of military intervention by the United States, as the amendment provides that no war could be declared without an explicit vote of popular approval. It was easy for Mussolini to predict that this amendment would be rejected.

From this it was possible for him to conclude "that a real democracy is impossible," as much as to say that democracy is a matter of abstract principles and not the question of the fundamental ability of the majority of the people to express themselves freely on basic policy and to put those policies into effect. On this point Roosevelt had to disillusion Mussolini, since the United States belongs to the category of Democracies which intend to live and to defend themselves.

The Italian dictator prefers (and from his point of view, who can blame him?) the democracy of small and weak countries. All his sympathies are concentrated on Switzerland. One must come to the conclusion that Mussolini is the patron of Swiss democracy. Alternately he praises and chides with an attitude of paternal benevolence. After having praised Swiss democracy in a previous article, he called it to task for an article dealing with the Ethiopian War published in the Swiss newspaper *Landboten* at Winterthur. "It is a great blessing" writes the Duce, full of indignation, "that the Italian people do not read the Swiss press because almost all of it daily insults Italy and fascism and the friendship of the two countries would be greatly impaired." It is unnecessary to point out that this assertion has no basis in fact as almost all of the large Swiss newspapers are reactionary and profascist. This statement made a sufficiently deep impression on Signor Motta (the president of Switzerland) who submitted the question to the Council and caused a humble apology to be published, forgetting that the Duce's article was anonymous.

—From *Giustizia è Libertà*, anti-fascist daily, Paris, January 7, 1938.

Society of Jews

Professor Alexander Couza, Minister without portfolio stated to the Italian journalists who asked him what would happen if the League of Nations would intervene in the Jewish problems which is now coming to the fore in Rumania:



Il Travaso, Rome

WILL THE HEBREW STATE HAVE COLONIES?

"Excuse me, but where are our colonies?" "All the States having democratic-masonic-parliamentary governments are your colonies."

"The League of Nations is a society of Jews established to dominate the nations. I consider the League a corpse which has not yet been put in the grave."

Cornelius Codreanu, chief of the *Iron Guards* declared: "In foreign policy I am against the Little Entente, against the League of Nations, in which I do not believe. We believe in the Rome-Berlin axis, toward which we orientate our ideas."

—*Le Temps*, Paris, January 16, 1938.

Rumanian Adventure

On December 28th, Octavian Goga formed his National Christian cabinet. Unless one deliberately intends to bury one's head in the sand, no one will be deceived as to the real program of the new government, despite its trappings of swastika racism, authoritarianism, admiration and imitation of Adolph Hitler, desire to work with Germany—which is considered as the pillar of European Civilization. Reassuring statements will undoubtedly be given us and there will be "transitions." Nevertheless it will be difficult to be deceived.

Mr. Goga has the Blueshirts at his command. Yet despite their German and Italian weapons, the Blueshirts do not represent a great force. The new cabinet will impose its innovations with the aid of an army and gendarmerie which have always been subservient to the King. General Antonescu was the lone general with authority and courage enough to resist the movement, but even he accepted the portfolio of National Defense.

The reforms have begun already. Large newspapers favorable to the National Peasant Party have been suspended. It has been officially announced that all Jews will be eliminated from administrative posts.

The most energetic and successful force militating in favor of the totalitarian idea in Rumania is the Iron Guard. Why haven't they gone over to the Government? The answer is that Mr. Goga is a man of the old personnel and the old clique. In 1925 he was Minister of Interior to General Averescu and had joined the Conservative Party. Mr. Goga will defend the established interests within the framework of racist ideas.

His role is comparable to that which Von Papen attempted to play in Germany at the beginning of 1933. The Iron Guards have aims going far beyond those of the National Christian Party of Cuza and Goga. They aspire for deep social changes. The armed organizations of the two parties have fought against each other—particularly in Bukovina—with hand grenades German weapons against German weapons. However they do not defend the same ideals. The Iron Guard is directed against the King, against the Dynasty, against Madame Lupescu, against the financiers, and all those surrounding them. The National Chris-

tian Party of Goga defends the established power.

A dangerous adventure begins. On the side of the opposition is the Iron Guard which believes that the logic of events will work for them as it did for Hitler against Von Papen and will soon bring them victory. Their chief Mr. Codreanu, professor of political economy at the University of Jassy—who has never published a single book and has been convicted of plagiarism—is a violent man. He has killed a policeman with his own hands. He believes that sooner or later he will be able to control the King.

Also on the side of the opposition, and they are especially important, are the masses of the National Peasant Party. More than any other organization, the Party expresses the sentiments and opinions of the people. The electoral agreement made between the National Peasant Party and Mr. Codreanu was made only as a temporary tactic move to compel the Palace to capitulate and to end the personal regime. They also have an organized militia, but one which lacks effective weapons, and which would be difficult to set into motion. In addition to this Mr. Maniu, their chief, a Transylvanian protestant of an honesty beyond all doubt, found no support in Paris. He begins to despair of Occidental powers. Hence the alliance into which he was forced to enter on the eve of the elections. Nevertheless, those who know him state that he will refuse to compromise his aims. Even in worse conditions he will not assist Papen (Goga) against Hitler (Codreanu).

What is the spirit, however, which induced King Carol to call Goga to power and to unleash events which may bring about the end of the Hohenzollern throne in Rumania? He refused to let the levers of power—the Army, Foreign Affairs, Police, Finance, and the Bank of Emission—out of his personal control. For seven years he has ruled by splitting the parties; by elevating some of the lieutenants against the leaders. The National Peasant Party broke up that game by its exceptional discipline. Defeated in the elections, the King turned towards the racists. He hopes to oppose the National Christians against the Iron Guards, as he formerly used Vaida Voevoda against Maniu and Tatarescu against Constantin, Bratianu and Titulescu. However in the long run he will be defeated in this business.

This is the future. For the present the first result of the royal initiative is that Rumania withdrew from collective security, i. e., from cooperation with France and England. It withdrew still further from Russia. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Bar Association of Bucharest, Istrati Micescu, had those Jews beaten who wished to participate in the elections to the bar. It would be strange to see such a man at the League of Nations meeting at Geneva. What will be the attitude of Colonel Beck and Mr. Stoyadinovich on such an occasion? What will become of the Little Entente, already considerably loosened since the Conference at Bratislava in September 1936? Will the isolation of Czechoslovakia become still more accentuated?



Glasgow Bulletin

Uncle Sam has resolved to increase his expenditures on warships very considerably, in fact to the extent of $1,000,000,000 (Japanese papers please copy).

One question imposes itself upon the French and Czechoslovakian governments: the rearmament of Rumania. These two governments would be unwise to continue to loan their money as if nothing had happened. Good words will not be sufficient to calm them. We have believed in the existence of Royal Fascism *sui generis* which has nothing in common with the two great totalitarian states. Today our mistake is obvious.

—*Pertinax* in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, January 1st, 1938.

Arabs in Franco's Army

The correspondent of the *Orient Arabe* (French newspaper in Djibuti, French Somaliland) reports that he received from well informed Spanish sources the news that among the prisoners who had surrendered to the Loyalist army in Teruel there were many Arab soldiers from Yemen and Lybia. These prisoners declared that the Italian authorities had sent them from Abyssinia to Spain, where, without their consent they had been incorporated in the armies of general Franco. The Arabs from Yemen said that they had not joined the Italian army in Ethiopia as soldiers, but had been hired as laborers.

—*Journal des Nations*, Geneva, January 18, 1938.

Italian Settlers in Ethiopia

The correspondent of the *Orient Arabe* (French newspaper published in Djibuti, French Somaliland) writes to his paper that alarming reports are coming from Ethiopia where famine is threatening Italians and Abyssinians alike. The inhabitants of Abyssinian villages leave their homes and join the armed bands which roam throughout the whole country for the sole purpose of attacking convoys to get food. Travellers arriving in Djibuti affirm that among the pillagers are many Italian, Eritrean, Somali and Arab deserters, who, unable to live on their soldiers rations, desert into the mountains with their arms and equipment. The peasants hide their meagre crops very carefully, and sell exclusively for Abyssinian thalers, the only money in which they have confidence, refusing to accept Italian lires. The Italian settlers apply in great numbers to the authorities to allow them to leave the country and agree to abandon everything they may have earned.

—*Journal des Nations*, Geneva, January 19, 1938.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Jan. 7-Feb. 3

DOMESTIC

JANUARY 7—President Roosevelt sends three nominations to the Senate, changing the diplomatic corps considerably. The nominations are as follows: Joseph P. Kennedy to succeed Robert W. Bingham as Ambassador to Great Britain, Hugh R. Wilson to succeed William E. Dodd, resigned, as Ambassador to Germany and Norman Armour, Minister to Canada, to be Ambassador to Chile.

JANUARY 8—The President at a Jackson Day dinner, declares a "no compromise" fight against autocratic control over the finances and industry of the country.

JANUARY 10—The Ludlow resolution, providing that a national referendum be taken before the country shall go to war except in the case of an invasion, is kept from consideration on the House floor by a vote of 209 to 188. The Speaker, Representative Bankhead, reads a note from the President attacking the resolution.

Lammot duPont, speaking at Washington, says that his company expects a decline of 23 per cent in sales during the first six months of 1938 but nevertheless intends to spend $38,000,000 on new construction this year.

JANUARY 11—Five of the leading industrialists of the country, A. P. Sloan, E. T. Weir, L. H. Brown, M. W. Clement and C. M. Chester see basis for better understanding after talking with the President. Donald R. Richberg sat in as unofficial observer

JANUARY 14—President Roosevelt declares that the dissolution of all holding companies is his ultimate objective. He added that whether they existed in the public utility fields or whether they were top or intermediate concerns mattered not. Holding-company control of banks and operating utility companies were particularly specified by the President.

JANUARY 15—Stanley Forman Reed, Solicitor General since 1935, is nominated by President Roosevelt to fill the vacancy which will exist in the Supreme Court when Justice Sutherland retires January 18.

Wendell L. Wilkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, in an effort to protect the investors of his company, offers to sell its entire Southeastern utility properties to the Federal Government

JANUARY 16—An "inventory" sampling by the National Institute of Health of the United States Public Health Service, with a $4,000,000 WPA grant indicates that approximately six million people are sick on an average winter day in the United States.

JANUARY 19—With the dedication of a new factory for Diesel engine production and the largest laboratory in the world devoted exclusively to the study of Diesel problems, the General Motors Company discloses plans for the mass production and sale of small, lightweight, all-purpose, oil-burning engines.

JANUARY 20—Colby M. Chester, President of the General Foods Corporation and chairman of the National Association of Manufactures, testifies before the Senate Commission on Unemployment that the majority of big business expects a definite upturn in business during 1938. Mr. Chester suggests a modification of the undistributed profits and loss tax and the capital gains tax.

In a speech widely regarded as the President's answer to dictatorship charges, James Roosevelt, son and secretary to the President, denied that his father's plan to reorganize the executive branch of the government was an attempt to pave the way toward a dictatorship.

JANUARY 21—Roosevelt's objective of industrial self-regulation for national recovery gains a step as representatives of leading manufacturers in the automotive industry and sales financing companies confer with the President.

JANUARY 22—Benjamin Fairless, President of the United States Steel Corporation, writes the Senate Unemployment Committee that prices cannot be reduced without reducing costs and that the costs may be reduced substantially only by reducing wages.

Sixteen major oil companies located in the Midwest are found guilty by a Federal jury in Wisconsin of criminal conspiracy to raise and fix gasoline prices.

JANUARY 23—In a report submitted by Joseph B. Kennedy, dealing with the activities of the Maritime commission during the year ending October 25, the commission declares that though they have recommended remedial legislation, no lasting cure can be effected until a more cooperative working arrangement is reached by the unions and ship operators.

JANUARY 24—The Securities Exchange Commission rules that, beginning February 8, no person, for his own account or the account of a customer, shall effect a short sale of any security on the exchanges at or below the price at which the last sale of the same security was effected.

JANUARY 25—President Roosevelt in a statement prepared for and presented at a press conference declares his opposition to wage cutting as a way to reduce prices.

JANUARY 26—Donald R. Richberg outlines his program for enabling business to regulate itself, under governmental supervision. Mr. Richberg urges revision of the anti-trust laws with three principal objectives in mind, clearer definition of monopolistic and unfair practices; establishment of an administrative body empowered to pass on the *prima facie* legality of cooperative business activities; and provision that such administrative approval would protect against criminal prosecution, although not against civil suits for illegal combinations.

JANUARY 27—Senator Burke of Nebraska tells a subcommittee of the Committee on Judiciary that the NLRB is a "curse" to labor and is partly to blame for the present recession.

Frederick Steiwer, Oregon Republican, resigns from the Senate to return to his law practice.

The Falls View International Bridge is toppled over by an ice jam in the gorge of the Niagara River 500 yards from Niagara Falls.

In a report by a committee for the study of the organization and administration of the New York Stock Exchange, headed by Carle C. Conway, a paid president for the Exchange with almost dictatorial powers was recommended

President Roosevelt nominates Robert H Jackson, Assistant Attorney General, to the position of Solicitor General

JANUARY 28—President Roosevelt calls upon Congress to authorize a huge increase in the national defense program of the country. The President warns Congress that the present national defense is inadequate "in the light of increasing armaments of other nations."

JANUARY 29—Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican committee on program speaking to the Republicans of the nation, warns that the fascist program of the New Deal threatens to Hitlerize what was once Democratic self-government.

JANUARY 30—Labor's Non-Partisan League is denounced as "nothing more than a C. I. O. agency, a ventriloquist's dummy, for C. I. O. leaders," by William Green, President of the A. F. of L. Mr Green recommended to the executive council to withdraw completely from the League

JANUARY 31—The House Committee on Naval Affairs is told by Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations that the political conditions of the world at this time are far more threatening than at any time since 1918. Admiral Leahy defends the administration's $800,000,000 naval construction program, saying that the Navy must be maintained at a strength which will prevent a challenge by any foreign powers to America's national policies.

Justice Brandeis reaches two opinions sustaining some challenged powers of the N. L. R. B. in the Supreme Court. The opinions hold that the Federal District Courts could not enjoin hearings by the Labor Board because Congress had given exclusive power to the Board to enforce the Wagner Act.

FEBRUARY 1—The United Mine Workers of America, cornerstone of the C. I. O., widened the split between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. by voting unanimously to strike out all mention of the A. F. of L. from their constitution John L. Lewis lashes out at industrial espionage and wire-tapping in governmental departments.

Sharp debate takes place in the Senate over the foreign policy of President Roosevelt, Senator Borah arguing that this country is risking war by letting the world believe that the U. S. is in "tacit alliance" with Great Britain for building up their navies.

FEBRUARY 3—President Roosevelt finds the "small business men" becoming a collective boomerang. They were called by the President to work out a recovery formula. However, in the last of their disorderly sessions, they pass resolutions calling for the repeal or modification of many New Deal measures.

INTERNATIONAL

JANUARY 10-12—Italy, Austria, and Hungary—signatories of Rome Protocols of March, 1934, by which they agree to consult on foreign policy—meet at Budapest; Austria and Hungary agree to recognize Spanish rebels, refuse to leave League or join anti-Comintern pact, although objecting to present form of League and opposing Communism.

JANUARY 10-13—M. Micescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, visits Prague and Belgrade to assure Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia that no immediate change is contemplated in Rumanian foreign policy.

JANUARY 17—Premier Stoyadinovitch of Yugoslavia visits Germany to discuss "cooperation calculated to serve the peace of Europe and to inspect German arms factories and airports.

JANUARY 17-19—Representatives of Irish Free State meet with leaders of British Government to discuss partition, land annuities, trade and defense; final agreement left for more detailed negotiations, but discussion considered successful.

JANUARY 25—Three Italian planes, one piloted by Bruno Mussolini, fly to Brazil, via Dakar, to seek airplane orders.

JANUARY 26—Hundredth session of League Council opens.

JANUARY 27—Messrs. Eden, Delbos, and Litvinov reaffirm support of League. By avoiding open debate on future of the League, great powers manage to check flight of small powers. Article XVI to remain in Covenant, but individual States are expected to use their discretion in applying sanctions. No action taken over issues of Rumanian anti-Semitism and Japanese aggression in China.

JANUARY 28—Former Premier van Zeeland of Belgium publishes report on international economic cooperation, advocating removal of obstacles to trade; bilateral agreements; multilateral tariff truce; retention of most-favored-nation clause, save for regional agreements; revision and extension of tripartite agreement of September, 1936; gradual removal of exchange restrictions and readjustment of foreign debts and granting of temporary credits through Bank for International Settlements for countries otherwise unable to abandon exchange controls.

JANUARY 29—League of Nations refuses help to China, pending U. S. leadership; Secretary Hull and Senator Pittmann indicate that U. S. policy will not change and that U. S. will not take lead in helping China.

JANUARY 31—League of Nations resolution "trusts" that League members will aid China within limits of "feasibility."

FEBRUARY 1—British Government takes step to revive international lending; borrowers from any part of the British Empire will be able to obtain long-term loans in the London market.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

JANUARY 10—Japanese capture Tsingtao, port of Shantung.

JANUARY 11—Japanese Cabinet, Privy Council, and Chiefs of Army and Navy meet together as Imperial Council—only convoked in three previous crises—to discuss policy in China; reports hold that Council decides only to deal with a Chinese government that will resist Communism and will cooperate with Japan in economic development of China.

JANUARY 14—Japanese advancing southward from Tsingtao, closing pincers on strip of coast between Shantung and Shanghai, meet Chinese at Tsinsing, where Chiang Kai-shek is now in local command.

JANUARY 15—Japanese Cabinet and military and naval staffs decide upon "resolute enforcement" of Japanese policy in China.

JANUARY 17—American Ambassador makes formal protest against damage to American property by Japanese troops in Nanking. Japanese prepare for new drive on Hankow, Chiang Kai-shek's new capital, while Chinese continue guerilla tactics.

JANUARY 18—Japanese withdraw Ambassador from China, and Chinese Ambassador leaves Tokyo; Japanese assert that diplomatic relations have only been broken with Chiang Kai-shek's government and not with China as a whole, and they prepare to recognize puppet regimes; Chinese declare puppet governments are "unlawful organizations."

JANUARY 24—General Han Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung, shot for yielding to Japanese.

JANUARY 25—Nanking scene of riots as Japanese troops flaunt discipline and celebrate victories.

JANUARY 26—John M. Allison, third Secretary of American Embassy in Nanking, slapped by Japanese sentry while attempting to investigate an alleged assault; Japanese army spokesman claims sentry was doing his duty. American Ambassador in Tokyo instructed to make "appropriate representations."

JANUARY 29—Large Chinese forces reported advancing towards Shantung Province.

JANUARY 31—Japanese arrange accord reuniting Hopei Province and autonomous East Hopeh under the new Peiping puppet Government

FEBRUARY 3—Japanese advance over three routes to capture Pengpu, key city in defense of Suchow, the strategic junction point of the Tientsin-Pukow and Lung-Hai railways.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

JANUARY 10—Both rebels and Loyalists claim successes outside Teruel.

JANUARY 11—Dutch freighter sunk by submarine off Alicante.

JANUARY 14—Americans play important part in defending Teruel against counterattacks.

JANUARY 16—Rebel bombers from Majorca increase attacks upon Barcelona and Valencia; Loyalists claim increased Italian intervention, and bomb Salamanca, General Franco's headquarters, in retaliation against rebel attacks on civilian population.

Rebels claim to have gained ground around Teruel.

JANUARY 20—Rebels hold American tanker, *Nantucket Chief*, reported carrying oil to Spanish Government.

JANUARY 27—Loyalists reassume offensive north of Teruel.

JANUARY 30—Rebel planes kill hundreds of civilians in Barcelona—Franco's answer to Defense Minister Prieto's proposal that Loyalists would cease reprisals if rebels quit bombing rearguard cities.

JANUARY 31—British steamship *Endymion* torpedoed off eastern Spanish coast; 11 lost. Regular Cabinet of 12 replaces rebel junta as government of insurgent Spain.

FEBRUARY 1—Loyalist Parliament meets secretly in monastery near Barcelona. Great Britain sends eight warships after "pirate" submarine.

FEBRUARY 2—Great Britain requests France and Italy, partners in the Mediterranean anti-piracy patrol, to sink at sight submarines found submerged in the patrol area. France agrees promptly; Italy delays in promising support of new program.

FOREIGN

France

JANUARY 14—Following flight of capital, labor difficulties, refusal of employers to confer with employes, Premier Chautemps forced to resign. Socialists withdraw their nine Ministers from Cabinet; Communists resent Chautemps' conservatism. Finance Minister Georges Bonnet called upon to form Cabinet.

JANUARY 18—New Cabinet, formed by M. Chautemps, fails to gain participation of Socialists, while Communists are excluded; with promised Socialist support, new government claims parliamentary majority of 322 out of 617 seats.

JANUARY 21—Chautemps Government receives 502-1 vote of confidence in Chamber of Deputies; observers attach little significance to vote and regard present government as transitional.

Germany

JANUARY 27—Reichstag session, called for January 30, cancelled.

JANUARY 30—Torch parade of 25,000 Storm Troopers, celebration of fifth anniversary of Nazi regime, lacks the wild enthusiasm of its predecessors.

FEBRUARY 2—Marshal von Blomberg, Minister of War, resigns, following opposition to his marriage by officers' corps; General Goering aims to take his place.

Great Britain

JANUARY 13—Church of England Committee on Doctrine upholds theory of evolution.

Rumania

JANUARY 18—King Carol dissolves Parliament, elected last month, before it meets and announces new elections for March; opposition parties protest against this unconstitutional move.

Russia

JANUARY 12—Soviet Congress meets in first session, is hailed as freest in world.

JANUARY 16—Boris Shumiatsky, chief of motion-picture industry, dismissed after production of "Treasure Island."

JANUARY 18—Purge within Communist Party ranks called off and orders issued for reinstatement of thousands expelled from Party membership of jobs.

Mexico

JANUARY 19—President Cardenas raises customs duties on major imports from the United States by 100-200 percent, with intention of eliminating all but machinery imports.

OPIUM IN THE FAR EAST

THE poppy is a magnificent red flower. From the seed head, after an incision is made, exudes a thick white juice abounding in opium. No one can say definitely just where and when this opium juice was first diverted from medicinal use and employed as a narcotic. Probably it was in the Mohammedan Orient where it is still used extravagantly. However, it is known that at the beginning of the eighteenth century Chinese traders introduced it into Formosa, and from there to the opposite coasts of China. Today, the periphery of its use includes all the Far East, touches Australia in the South, Manchukuo in the North and spans the Pacific Ocean to the coast of America.

The use of opium is a passion, a passion glibly justified by those who, finding their immediate environment insuperable, seek escape into the world of unreality created by the opiate. And it is, in fact, an enchanting world to the smoker of opium, a world devoid of bodily pain and emotional attrition. Still, the price of purchase for this dream world is far too high for the ordinary being. It is a price weighed in human degradation and measured in human misery. It is the price of vice.

In China alone, 40 million people are enthralled by the pleasures of opium, while many millions more contract the habit yearly in India, Malacca, and Siam. Nor has opium poisoned merely the yellow races. For among the Caucasians in Europe, and particularly in America, the drug is taken in greater quantities than is generally known. Concerning the domestic traffic, the Treasury Department recently reported that it "continued to be a problem of major magnitude." Arrests during 1937 for violations of the drug laws alone approached 3,500.



Liquid opium is squeezed from the poppy seed head.

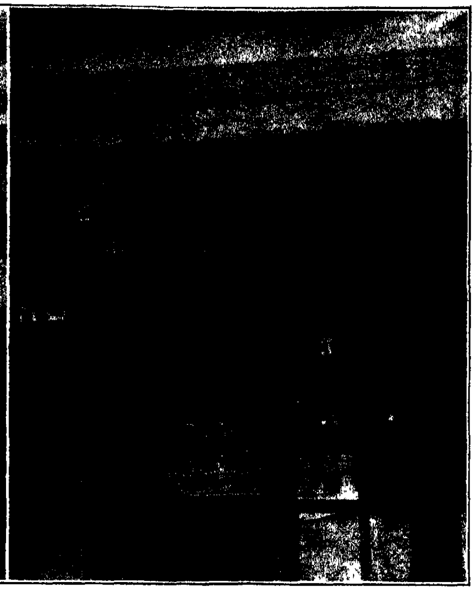
In the Far East, the sale and consumption of opium has been big business for more than a century. Opium revenues have not only contributed to the support of Oriental governments but have been complacently received by the British and French authorities in the Far East. With characteristic realism the Japanese military staffs have found opium an unspectacular though highly effective weapon for subduing the populations of the confiscated Chinese provinces. And it is this deliberate drugging of China's hard working millions by the Japanese that, as yet, has not received its deserved publicity. In Manchukuo,



Poppy field in China now under government supervision. The magnificent red flower is gone leaving the seed head.



Government opium factory in Batavia, Java.



"RO" indicates government monopoly in French Indo-China.

Jehol, Darien, Tientsin, and Shanghai, the Japanese are now manufacturing and lavishly dispensing hundreds of tons of the habit forming drug. It is considered a military and economic tactic, as much a part of the Japanese strategy in the subjugation of China as was the deliberate bombardment of Shanghai. It is their purpose to poison and corrupt the Chinese farmers, the workmen, the students, so that in the future they will be unable to resist the invader either morally or physically.

"Wherever Japan goes, drug manufacture and traffic follow," says Stuart J. Fuller, United States representative to the League of Nations. According to his official reports the Japanese have legalized the narcotic trade in China while, at the same time, sternly forbidding the use of opiates to all Japanese subjects.

In the face of these facts the Chinese authorities have attempted to restrict the opium trade by drastically punishing violators of the anti-drug laws. They not only registered and scientifically treated two million addicts, but executed nearly a thousand law violators last year. But the futility of such enforcement in the face of Japanese propagation of the traffic is obvious. The firing squad is a



An opium addict lights his pipe.



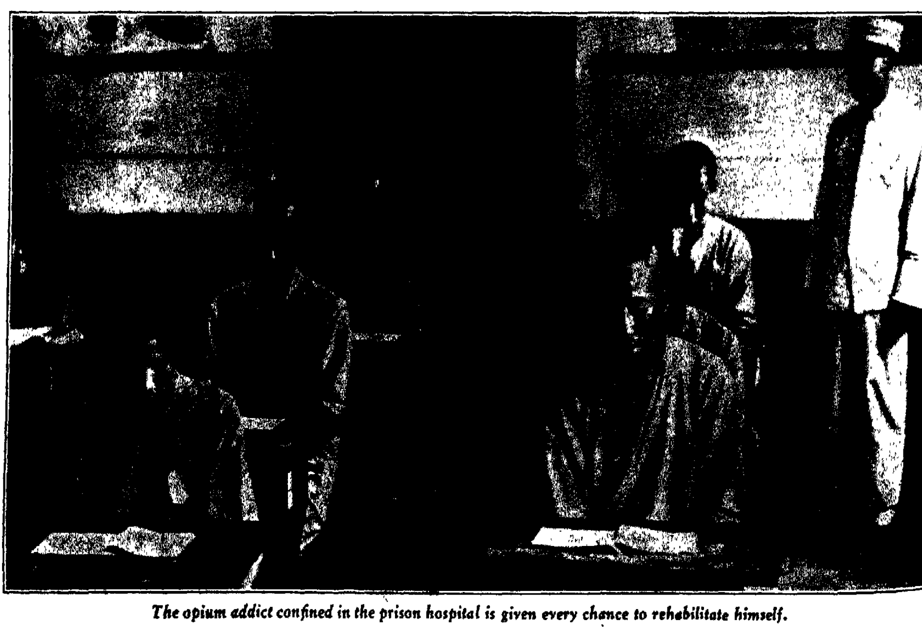
Sweet dreams are the reward of the opium smoker.



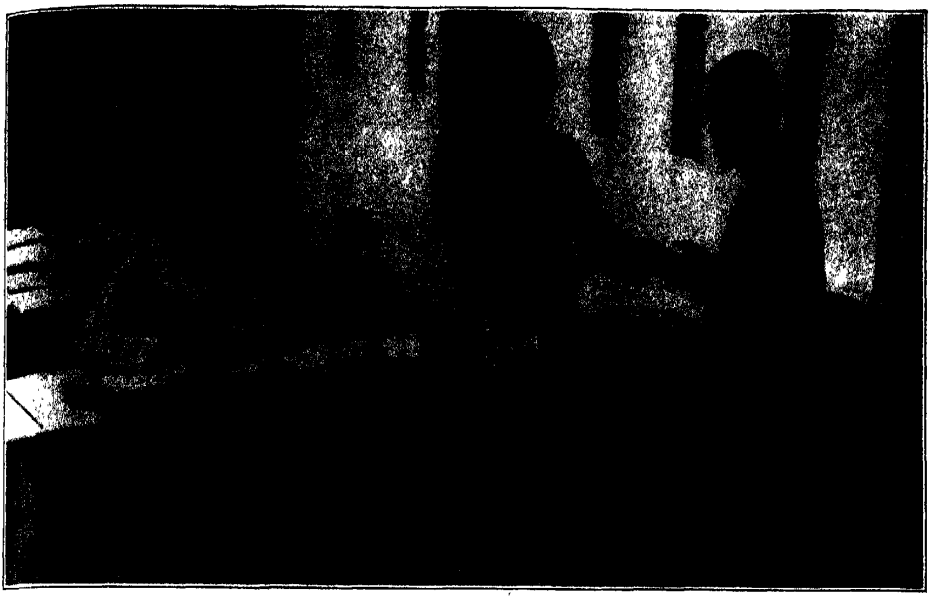
Chinese taken during a raid on the opium dens. These men are en route to one of the rehabilitation hospitals.

useless cure because the subtle seductions of an official drug-peddler can create more addicts in one year than the Chinese can kill off in ten. Still, the Chinese continue to make an intelligent effort to register, cure, and rehabilitate as many addicts as their limited financial resources will permit. It is their hope that such a policy of good faith will result in the cooperation of foreign governments heretofore above and beyond the Chinese law. For such purposes they have appealed to the League of Nations.

As a result of specific charges made at Geneva that their Oriental colonial establishments have been partially supported by revenues from the official sale of opium to Chinese residents, the British authorities are becoming increasingly restive. Colonial administrators meeting in Bangkok, Siam decided gradually to reduce the drug traffic. Both the Straits Settlement and Federated Malay States have set up a reserve fund to take the place of opium revenues, which in the case of Malaya amounted to $45,000,000. However, the Hongkong authorities failed to participate in this agreement. To them the loss of opium revenues constitutes a serious financial problem, especially serious at the present time when huge sums are being spent



The opium addict confined in the prison hospital is given every chance to rehabilitate himself.

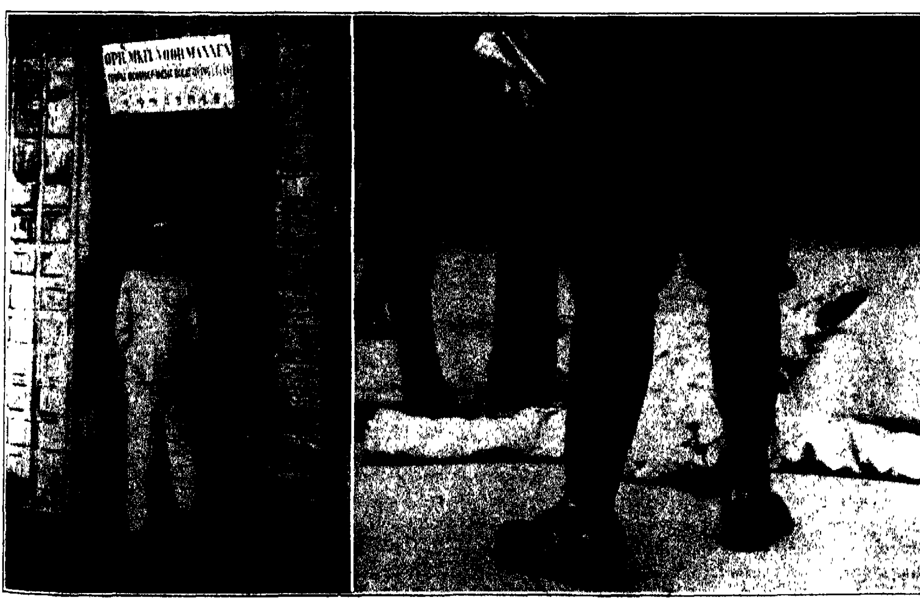


Cured, the one-time opium addict is dismissed from the prison hospital. He will report in person every two weeks.

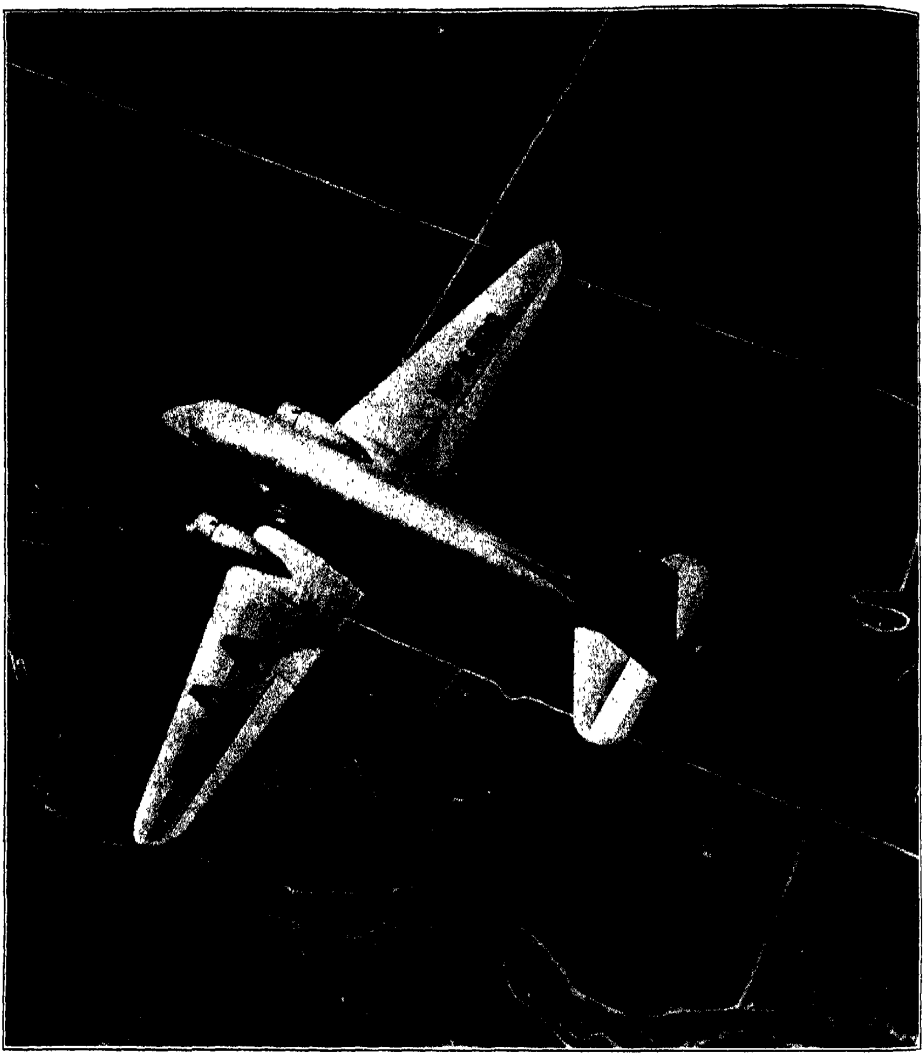
for the Island's defenses. Instead, the Hongkong government has advertised warnings against heroin (a derivative of opium) in all the local papers. The official advertising copy warns against the mistaken belief that heroin will cure venereal diseases and reduce the pain of syphilis.

A situation where great and powerful nations such as Britain and France complacently collect opium revenues in one part of the world while denouncing the drug traffic in another seems a prime example of shocking duplicity.

Unfortunately, the use of drugs falls into a category of vice similar to that of prostitution, that age-old malady of the race for which there is no antidote, despite the economic theories of the Marxists, and the puritanism of Christians. The dope traffic once enfranchised and legally restrained is incompatible with morality. While to disenfranchise and to suppress the traffic is merely to drive it underground where its revenues will subsidize the criminal elements of society. Perhaps, however, there is more than one alternative. For many people believe that with the education of the masses, and the end of poverty will come a diminution in all forms of vice, including the pleasures and the miseries of opium. (*Photographs by Globe, Triangle.*)



The majority of addicts are incorrigible. But no mercy is shown the addict who is caught again.



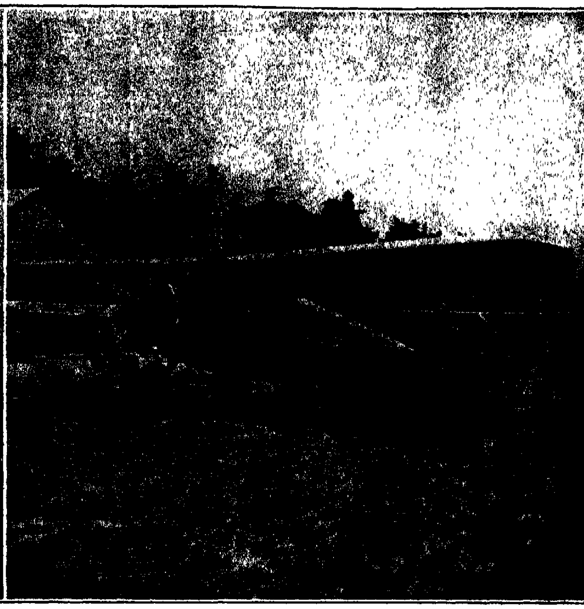
FLYING AS A BUSINESS

AFTER more than a decade of large-scale commercial aviation, people are still asking the question: "Is it safe?" Unlike accidents in the home or on the road, each airplane crash is a signal for streamer newspaper headlines strung from coast to coast. When the drama of the sky turns into tragedy the entire eyes of the nation are focused upon the accident and people shake their heads and express serious doubts about the future of commercial aviation.

Reducing the headlines to perspective, however, the truth of the matter is that airplane accidents compare very favorably with those of the automobile or even the home. In the 1937 fiscal year, 61 out of more than one million passengers lost their lives in commercial airline crashes, or approximately one person for every 17,600 carried. Yet in the last two years, one person has been killed for every 750 automobiles registered in this country. And one out of every 28 persons riding in automobiles is sufficiently injured in accidents to require medical attention. There is the argument, of course, that air accidents almost always result in fatalities, while the automobile, being solidly on terra firma, stands a better chance of enabling its occupants to survive any mishaps. This, too, is a fallacy, for the record shows that out of 28 airplane accidents in the first half of 1937, only three resulted in fatal injuries.

Can airline crashes be avoided? Some can, others not—at least, not in this stage of development. Plane-to-ground radio communication has prevented many accidents—the most notable recent one was an airliner on the New York to Washington run. The ship was sent up despite adverse weather conditions and could make only 15 miles an hour in the teeth of a 90-mile wind. As soon as the pilot realized the futility of battling the gale he turned back but was



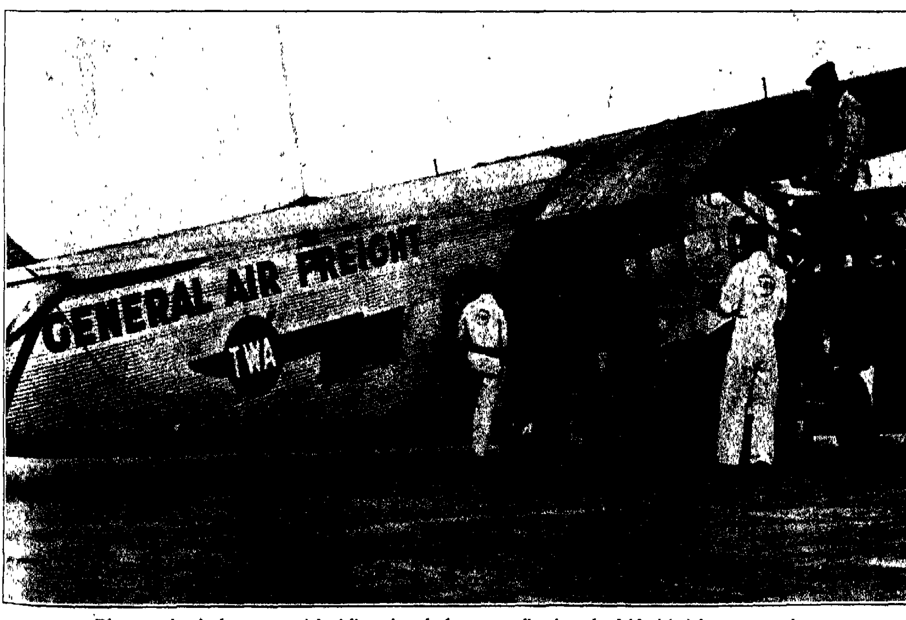


Combination mail and passenger express, 1927.

First passenger plane in use by Pan American Airways.

blown off his course and was tossed about for many hours. The two passengers knew the plane was long overdue, realized their plight, sat down and wrote farewell notes to their wives. Fortunately, the pilot was able to get his bearings by radio, locate a field, and bring the plane to a safe landing. It is entirely possible that without such aid the plane, would have crashed or been blown out to sea. A mistake in allowing the plane to take to the air might in this case have resulted in another wreck, with loss of life.

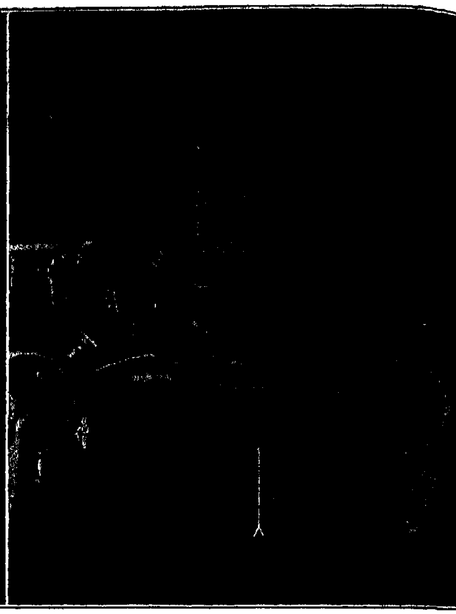
Though the growth of commercial aviation has been very great in the past ten years, airline officials predict that an even greater development is yet to come. Transatlantic travel will become an integral part of aviation perhaps before the year is out. With as little fanfare as that attending a coast-to-coast run, airships will make regular flights to Europe. Encouraged with the fine record of its Pacific clipper service, the Pan American is getting ready to inaugurate its Atlantic clipper service. Six giant planes, each



The growth of the commercial airlines found them expanding into the field of freight transportation.



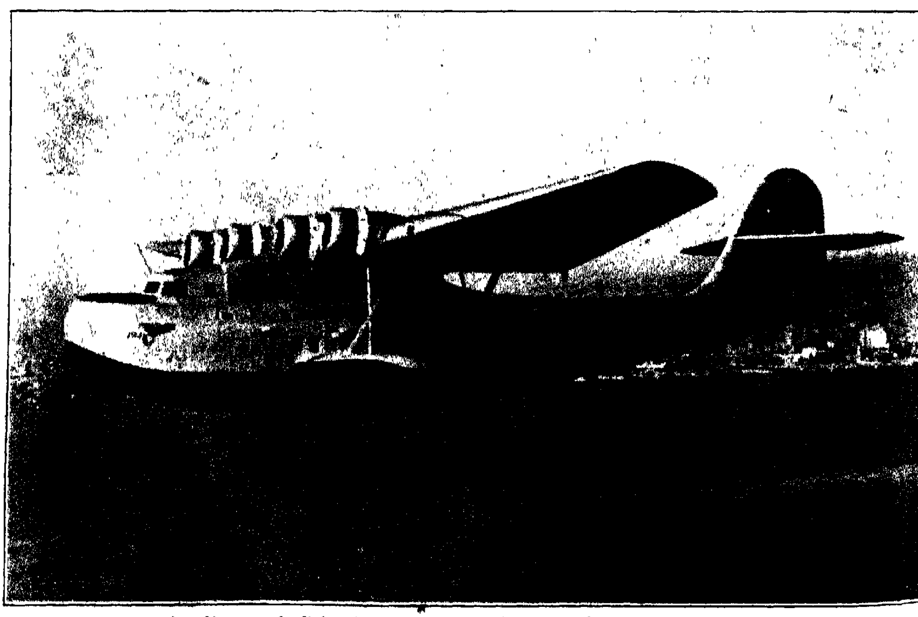
Interior of a modern express airliner.



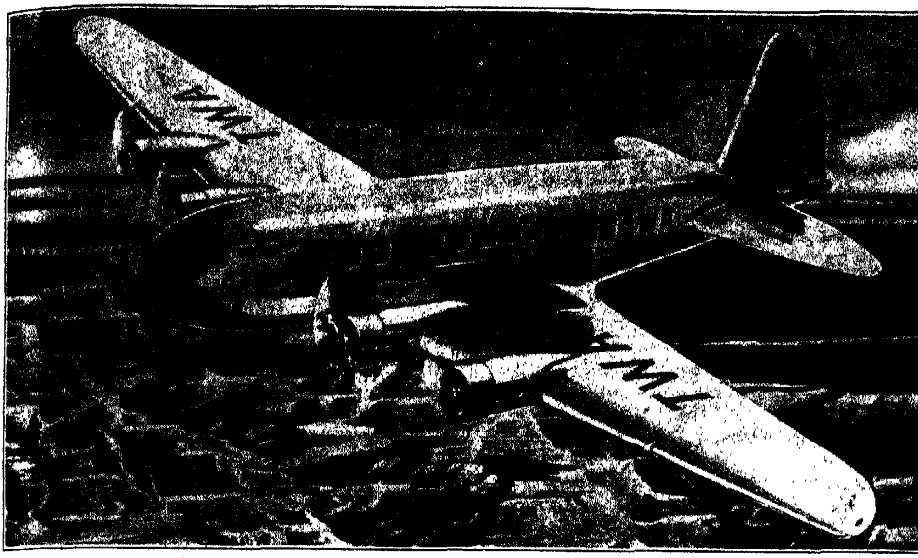
Travel by sleepers has become a popular feature.

costing $1,000,000 and weighing 86,000 pounds, are near completion at the Boeing plant in Seattle, Washington. The Atlantic clippers are almost twice the size of their Pacific brothers and will have a flying range of 5,000 miles.

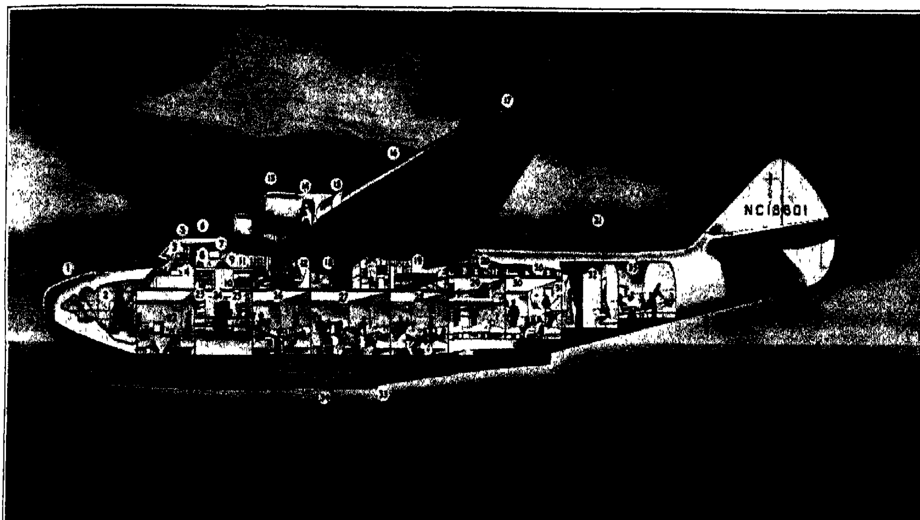
The new Atlantic clipper will make the flight from New York to London in about one day and is built to accommodate 50 passengers on the oceanic flight with full sleeping facilities. It is a huge three-deck liner powered with four 1500 H.P. Wright Cyclone engines, which have been developed secretly during the past two years. The flying boat, larger than the ship in which Columbus first crossed the Atlantic, will carry a crew of ten with complete living facilities on the Flight Deck. In operation, the sound of the motors can hardly be detected in the passenger compartments and it is said that the sound level is well below that of the standard pullman. Architect's drawing of the clipper is shown on the opposite page. (*Photos by American Airlines, TWA, United Airlines, Pan American Airways.*)



Epoch-making were the flights of the Pacific Clipper ships. The China Clipper is pictured above.



This four-motored Boeing will carry 33 passengers at a speed of 242 miles an hour.



Architect's cut-away drawing of transatlantic airship to be placed in operation in the near future.

Corresponding to the numbers in the drawing are: (1) Anchor Hatch. (2) Seaman's Compartment. (3) Bridge (where the flying controls of the liner are located). (4) First Pilot. (5) Second Pilot. (6) Radio Direction Finder "Loop." (7) Navigation Compartment. (8) Radio Officer's Post. (9) Chart Room—Navigator's Post. (10) Map Case, Marine Library, Drift-Sight Bombs, Flares and Navigation Instruments. (11) Engineering Officer—and the Mechanical Engine and Aircraft Controls. (12) Captain's Office. (13) 1500 H.P. Wright "Cyclone" engines equipped with Hamilton constant speed, automatic adjusting propellers. (14) Mechanic's Wing Station. (15) Controllable Landing Lights. (16) Wing Spread 152'. (17) Navigation Lights. (18) Main Cargo hold which extends into wing. (19) Crew's Sleeping Quarters. (20) Luggage Holds. (21) Overall Length of Ship 109 feet (Height 28' 6"). (22) First Passenger Compartment, with accommodations for 10 persons. (23) Spiral Staircase to bridge. (24) Men's Retiring Room. (25) Galley where food can be prepared for 85 persons. (26) Second Passenger Compartment accommodating 10 persons. (27) Dining Lounge with accommodations for 15 passengers. (28) Third Passenger Compartment with accommodations for 10 persons. (29) Fourth Passenger Compartment accommodating 10 persons, illustrating method of making up berths for conversion of airliner into ocean sleeper. (30) Fifth Passenger Compartment for ten persons. (31) Ladies' Dressing Room. (32) Sixth Compartment. (33) Private Cabin Suite. (34) Fuel pumps for transferring fuel from sea-wings to wing tanks. (35) Auxiliary Hold.

Travel

FLORIDA OR CALIFORNIA?

THE suggestion was once made by Will Rogers that the next American civil war would be fought between Florida and California—underwritten by the real estate interests, planned by the press agents, and fought with grapefruits and oranges. Since that observation was made there has been no diminution in the rivalry between both States. Each claims that the sun shines nowhere as brightly as upon its own beaches and that no other place save itself can lay claim to being the perfect vacationland.

There is a great deal more seriousness in the competition between both resorts than would appear at first thought. This competition takes two forms, one as a mecca for travelers, the other as a land of opportunity for those interested in real estate. The groups which stand to gain most by the development of their own State along these two lines have gone about their efforts with much determination. Florida has engaged some of the best publicity people in the country to sing the praises of the Grapefruit State. And California, which obtains its publicity more through the advertising and press departments of the transportation lines, has kept step with its Eastern rival.

The late Arthur Brisbane* almost precipitated the war predicted by Rogers when he wrote in his newspaper column that "Paradise itself could be no more beautiful than Los Angeles and its environs." Although the California Hotel Association passed a resolution thanking Brisbane for the "many kind things you have said and are saying about California," the Florida interests were up in arms. They expressed their ire in very positive terms when Brisbane persisted in his praise of the coast resort, and when the California Hotel Association again thanked Brisbane for inspiring the travel trend to the Coast, the Floridians boiled over. The editor of the *Miami Herald*, which published Brisbane's column, *Today*, threw out the column in disgust after Brisbane published a quotation from a California publisher saying that the many records broken at the 1932 Olympics held in California were the direct results of the "stimulating effects of California's wonderful summer climate. It is time the world knew that California is the world's most marvelous summer resort, in addition to having its most superwonderful winter climate."

The battle of the superlatives continues today but stripping the arguments of all adjectives, the fact of the matter is that both States are similar in many respects and that the prospective vacationer will not go wrong on either one.

A story that circulated some time ago told about a press agent who handled publicity for several years for one of the two States. He was exceptionally skilled in describing the cloudless skies, the warm, soothing breezes, the flaming sunsets, the rare beauty of the beaches, the romance of the nights, and the rest of the usual travel clichés. Over a period of years he had built up a large file of descriptive literature about that particular State. He lost his job, crossed the continent where he applied for similar work in the rival State, was hired and was on the payrolls for three years before anybody realized that he hadn't done a single day's work. All the time he had been using copy from his files brought over from his first job, changing only names of places, dates, etc.

In fact, one can cross out the names of popularly-known places at both resorts in the publicity releases today of press representatives of both States and find little in the way of clues to determine which release represents which State. Recently issued were two press notices, one from each State, and the reader is invited to attempt to ascertain which is descriptive of Florida and which is descriptive of California. Where give-away names of places are mentioned, blanks are substituted.

Press notice A:

> Perhaps there is no region in the new world that arouses so much enthusiasm. To the newcomer,— is a wonderland. One finds a variety of scene, of activity, of people that one never imagined possible. Within a half day's journey you may often pass through a series of regions that are definitely reminiscent of the

*Arthur Brisbane: A Candid Biography, by Oliver Carlson, Stackpole, 1937.



Surf Club, Miami Beach

THE INSPIRATION: *Travel photographs such as these are used by the publicity representatives of southern resorts to break down the resistance of business men who feel they cannot break away from the office. Publicity pictures always seem to be of beaches populated almost entirely by attractive young women.*

GRACE LINE

Caribbean Cruises SAIL EVERY FRIDAY

from New York, visiting enroute



Every comfort and luxury in ships built especially for tropical cruising

PUERTO RICO
PUERTO COLOMBIA
BARRANQUILLA
CARTAGENA
CURACAO
LA GUAIRA
CARACAS
PUERTO CABELLO
NASSAU

17 DAYS from $285.

INCLUDING OUTSIDE ROOM WITH PRIVATE BATH

in the splendid Grace Liners

SANTA ROSA SANTA PAULA SANTA ELENA

Dining rooms, high up in the ship, with wide casement windows, open directly onto promenade decks. Ceilings roll back so you may dine under the stars.

Outdoor tiled swimming pools — Sun Decks

All outside rooms, each with private fresh water bath

Dorothy Gray Beauty Salons — Club-bars

Dance Orchestras — Pre-release talkies

Seven ports, permitting visits to 11 interesting cities

Shore trips, including exclusive 2-day, 160 mile auto trip thru interior Venezuela, at slight extra cost.

Golf at most ports — No passports required

31 and 38 DAY CRUISES TO PERU and CHILE

31 day trips to Lima, Peru, 38 day tours far into the Andes to Cuzco and the interior of Peru, 38 day cruises to Valparaiso and Santiago, Chile. Stop over privileges permit visits to the lovely Chilean Lake Region and Buenos Aires. En route Panama Canal, Havana and 12 to 17 other Caribbean and South American cities, depending on cruise selected. Weekly sailings from New York.

SEE YOUR TRAVEL AGENT OR GRACE LINE

10 Hanover Square or 628 Fifth Ave. (Rockefeller Center), New York

Boston — Washington, D. C. — Chicago — San Francisco
Pittsburgh — New Orleans — Seattle — Los Angeles

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 4

1. The Gulf of California.
2. Texas.
3. New York.
4. Arizona.
5. The Pope an Sovereign, Pius XI.
6. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan.
7. A legislature with only one house.
8. John Nance Garner, Charles Curtis, Charles G. Dawes and Calvin Coolidge.
9. There is only one living former Vice-President, Charles G. Dawes.
10. Only in case of a tie.
11. Under Calvin Coolidge.
12. Robert H. Jackson.
13. William II of the house of Hohenzollern.
14. Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, France, Netherlands, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Denmark.
15. W. A. Julian.
16. Italy, Japan, China, France, England, United States, Portugal, Belgium and Holland.
17. Prime Minister of Great Britain.
18. Yes.
19. Decreased approximately to one fourth.
20. British interests.
21. Belgium.
22. The Macon, Akron and Shenandoah.

Malay Coast, the Riviera, the English Coast, the Holy Land, and many others.

The variety of ————, as everyone familiar with it knows, is literally inexhaustible. But it is only one part of the State's charm. The wholesome, all year 'round outdoor climate; the opportunities for enjoying all kinds of sport; the rare beauty of its ———— and seashore; the golden sunsets; the wealth of flowers at all times; the colorful charm and sophistication of its cities, the friendliness and cheerfulness of its citizens all help to make ———— a delightful place. Yes, it is in many ways "very near to the terrestrial paradise."

And now for press notice B:

The romance of the old, the charm of the new—both are to be found in ————. Here the vacationer may spend every moment of his time in dozens of enjoyable ways. If you are fascinated by the subtle lure of tropic nights; if you like a paradise of scenic surroundings, balmy winds from the broad ———— Ocean, avenues of whispering palms, a silver strand of beach for bathing, the fun of doing the thousand and one things you've never had time to do, the pleasure of contact with friendly neighbors in a modern, progressive, wide awake city —then you owe it to yourself to consider ————.

The reader who is unable to determine from these press releases which refers to Florida and which to California is now informed that press notice A is descriptive of the latter and notice B the former.

And even on the matter of history, there is something of a similarity between the two. Witness the accounts of their State's history as prepared by travel writers for both resorts:

History A:

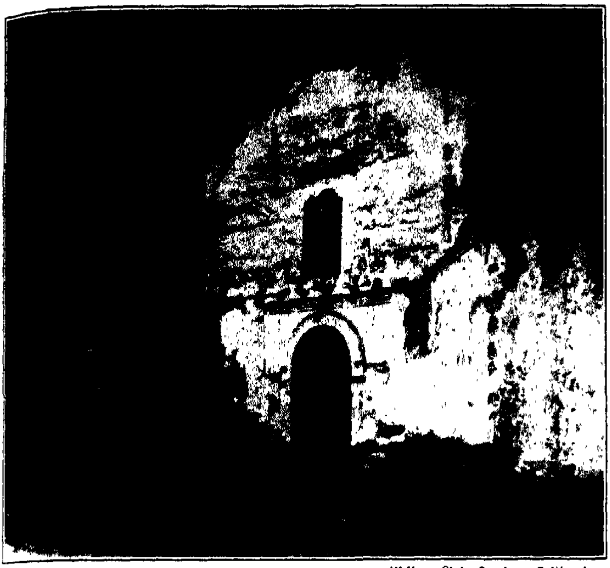
————, in the early days of conquest and colonization, was one of the most unpromising regions on the continent. True, the Spaniards found the climate wonderful but they were interested in other things than climate. Even the Indians who lived there were an unpromising lot—perhaps the most primitive on the whole continent; and there is no indication that any kind of culture or civilization ever came to flower in that region, prior to the coming of the first white settlers.

And History B:

The earliest explorations and attempts at colonization of ———— by Europeans were made by the Spanish. The Indians were hostile and the missionary efforts among them failed, but the Spaniards were attracted by the warmth and mildness of the climate, by the richness of the soil, by the healthful quality of its waters, and by the abundance of flowers.

The only definite hint that History B pertained to Florida is to be found in the last word, for one of the chief claims to fame of that State is its flowers. But otherwise, in many respects History A and History B are identical.

Not the least confusing is the following bit of travel literature which refers to a city in Florida, although its name and description would certainly be taken to mean the better-known cinema city on the Coast.



All-Year Club, Southern California

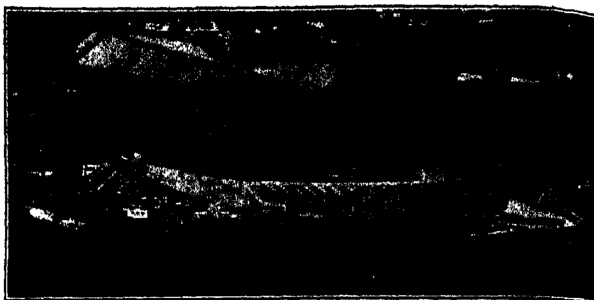
CHANGE OF PACE: *Not all southern publicity photographs are of smooth beaches and gleaming surf. This snapshot of the San Diego Mission, oldest of the California Missions founded by the Franciscan padres, will appeal to those who like a romantic touch of the old world on their vacations.*

"Back of every great accomplishment invariably may be found genius, a remarkable personality or a great mind. History is replete with innumerable manifestations of this endowment of human vision, energy and leadership. Hollywood is an astounding example of the dream of a mental giant and its miraculous fulfillment. From a wilderness of tropical jungle it has emerged one of the greatest and most amazing municipal developments of all history. Here is the astounding tale of engineering achievement which has mastered swamps and turned them into home sites, which has defied Time in moving mountains of age-old fertile earth to create lakes and waterways and gardens and golf links—a tale that for sheer scale, speed and beauty of results, is unique, even in our America."

This description of Hollywood fits in perfectly with popular ideas of Hollywood, California, but it is taken from a booklet on Hollywood, Florida.

The rivalry between Florida and California seems to be a sort of united front idea on each side. Cities in Florida will vie against each other in bidding for the travel and real estate trade coming to that State. And the competition among California cities is even more intense. San Francisco, for example, has been waging a travel war against Los Angeles for more than thirty years along a wide front. And there are any number of cities in Florida which have been trying to take the play away from Miami and Miami Beach. These intra-state quarrels have been conducted on no small scale, the competing cities employing high-powered publicity firms to establish their supremacy. But when the broader issue of State superiority comes up, all local issues are temporarily forgotten for the broader cause of the State, and vying publicity people within each State will combine forces to lure tourist trade. But if and when it comes, there is a free-for-all scramble for the lion's share.

Neither Florida nor California has assumed definite leadership over the other in the American travel field—despite the determined efforts of each one toward that end. Florida appears to have a slight edge in the winter trade but California makes up for it



Keystone for Union Pacific

THE ORIGINAL: *Pasadena has its Rose Bowl, above, but it was not long after the annual Rose Bowl Game was started that Florida introduced the Orange Bowl.*

with its advantage in the summer season. So that the question of supremacy will have to remain a standoff for the time being.

In an attempt to break the deadlock, Florida has courted European travel and has had an extraordinary share of success in this department during the past two winters. Miami traces a large measure of its 10,000-European tourist business volume last year to a widespread advertising campaign it has conducted on the Continent. One of the larger steamship companies has publicized Miami as a New World Riviera. Even Uncle Sam seems to have had a hand in the increase of foreign tourist traffic in the Florida metropolis. The recent completion of extensive harbor improvements with the aid of WPA funds has developed Miami into one of the most important passenger terminals in the nation.

California's big bid, of course, for both domestic and foreign travel will be its International Exposition next year at San Francisco. The Golden Gate fair will emphasize attractions for travelers rather than its industrial and scientific displays (*Current History*, January, 1938). The fair will stress travel not only to California but to the entire Pacific Basin.

HERE AND THERE

SCOTLAND is now preparing one of its greatest welcomes for the thousands of travelers who will flock to Glasgow this summer to attend the Scottish Empire Exhibition. Opening May 1 and continuing through October, this great $50,000,000 Exhibit will be one of the premier tourist attractions of all Europe this year, and will act as a magnet to draw loyal Scots home from every corner of the globe. Eighty thousand tickets have already been sold to citizens of Scotland and from fifteen million to twenty million are expected to see the display before it closes. A 300-foot observation tower, accommodating more than 600 people at one time, will mark the center of the Exhibition grounds. On a clear day, visitors to the tower will be able to see nearly half of the entire country of Scotland.

The Chateau de Tarascon has now been transformed into a museum of Provencal art, history and customs. The castle, which has served as a prison and a residence during its 300 years, was the favorite retreat of King Rene, poet and painter who instituted the ancient Fete of the Tarasque, a legendary animal of gigantic proportions.

Church services at St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London, may soon be seen as well as heard at home if preliminary plans are carried through. Recently, the vicar of the church delivered the first televised religious address ever made by a clergyman. Such services may be televised regularly from this well-known parish church to English listeners.

Paradise was once located deep in the jungles of South Africa, according to the famous 500-year-old Catalan World Map, which places the mythical spot at the source of the Nile. Ireland is described on the map as an Hibernian island "where people can never

die. When they are so old that they wish to die, they have to be taken away to the mainland."

A wine museum, probably the only one of its kind in the world, has been established—as might be expected—in France. Located in Vouvray, the museum is dedicated to Noah, the first wine-grower. A series of attractive sketches and old documents describing the development of wine-growing in the Touraine district is on exhibition.

The peasants of Siberia are giving up their old superstitions and as a result the world may soon have to go without its finest brushes. The wild boar of that region used to be considered sacred and were allowed to roam unharmed. But now many Siberians have discarded that notion and are hunting the boar for food. As a result, twelve-year-old animals, from which the rarest and most beautiful bristle in the world are taken, are becoming extinct. Hairbrushes made from this bristle, known as XXX-lily, formerly cost $250 each. Now, because of the scarcity, the price has jumped to $500, with no assurance that it will not be raised even higher.

The established way of getting through a call for assistance in the remote interiors of Australia is to cut a telegraph wire—if those in distress happen to be near one. It serves the same function as pulling the red cord in a railroad train. Last year, many settlers were rescued when telegraph officials traced the break in the wires.

The written recipe of the poet Byron for losing weight will soon be sold in London. Bryon was a great believer in perspiring, and he recommends "a great coat, eight waistcoats, flannel bandages, daily physic, no ale, one meal a day, and the hot bath." The letter in which these suggestions are contained is one of several from the collection of a British minister.

Falcon Island, come-and-go island of the South Pacific, is due for one of its "going" performances. The island, which has been appearing and disappearing since the 1860's, is almost under water. First sighted by the ship Falcon, the tiny corner of land was above water until 1880, when it vanished for five years. It was submerged again in 1894 and did not reappear until 1927, when it was explored by scientists who found that it was of volcanic origin and was composed of pumice and ash, both of which are quickly worn away by water and wind.

The birthplace of Cecil Rhodes, founder of the Rhodes scholarships, will be turned into a museum dedicated to his memory. The house, acquired by the Government, will be refurnished in the style of the time of his birth.

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 9)

American Journal of Mathematics, in 1878. This was followed by journals in Chemistry, Classical Philology, History, Modern Philology, Biology, and Medicine. The catalog of the Press for the current year lists 950 titles.

Current University Lists

Among the books on the publishing lists of the university presses for the present season are:

Technical Journalism, by F. W. Beckman, Harry R. O'Brien, and Blair Converse, Collegiate Press, Iowa State College, $2.50. A competent guide for the prospective reporter, free-lance newspaper writer, and publicity representative.

The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, by Harley Notter, Johns Hopkins Press, $4.50. An authoritative analysis of our history-making foreign policies in the few years preceding the World War.

Problems of War and Peace in the Society of Nations, University of California Press, $1.50. A collection of lectures by six prominent authorities on government and world peace.

The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918, by Leonid I. Strakhovsky, Princeton University Press, $2.00. The story of the brief period in 1918 when the United States led a military expedition into Russia. The author has used much hitherto unpublished material.

The History of (Lower) California, by Don Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J., translated from the Italian and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, Stanford University Press, $4.00. Originally written in 1768 by a Jesuit priest and dealing with the peninsula's history from 1534 to 1768, the work is the only available complete history of California during that period.

'Ware Sherman, by Joseph LeConte, University of California Press, $1.50. A Journal of three months' personal experience in the last days of the Confederacy.

The Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries, edited by Norman MacKenzie, Oxford University Press, $7.00. Sixteen authorities contribute to a symposium of the legal prerogatives and restrictions placed upon aliens in the countries which are in the Pacific area, including the United States, Canada, Russia, Australia, China, and India.

700 Chinese Proverbs, translated by Henry H. Hart, Stanford University Press, $2.00. The wit and wisdom of the Chinese as expressed in their favorite proverbs for every occasion.

Carbine and Lance, by Captain W. S. Nye, University of Oklahoma Press, $3.00. Vividly-written account of Indian warfare at Old Fort Sill from early frontier days until after the Civil War.

A Guide to Aesthetics, by A. Torossian, University of California, $3.25. A book which will heighten artistic appreciation in both beginners and advanced students. The work is exceptionally well-developed and is written in a pleasant, clear style.

The Economics of Alfred Marshall, by H. J. Davenport, Cornell University Press, $4.00. A definitive work on the author of the famous *Principles of Economics*. Although the author's death prevented final approval or revision, the work is a finished product. The reader will find more than an analysis of Marshall's economics alone; he will find a substantial contribution to the economic thought of our time in the explanations and theories of the author.

Environment, Race, and Migration, by Griffith Taylor, University of Toronto Press, $3.50. Subtitled the "Fundamentals of Human Distribution: with Special Sections on Racial Classification; and Settlement in Canada and Australia," the work is comprehensive, authoritative, and makes judicious use of maps, charts, and photographs.

Some Observations on Eighteenth Century Poetry, by David Nichol Smith, University of Toronto Press, $1.50. A series of informative, interesting essays based on the Alexander Lectures in English given last year at the University of Toronto.

Utopia in Uruguay, by S. G. Hanson, Oxford University Press, $3.50. Taking as its subject the "first New Deal in the Americas," which the author says was begun twenty-five years before the present Roosevelt Administration, the book is an expert account of the period in Uruguay's history which was marked by state socialism and social legislation.

Royal Commissions of Inquiry, by Hugh McDowell Clokie and J. William Robinson, Stanford University Press, $3.00. Recently brought to the forefront in the Palestine dispute, the Royal Commissions have been in existence since the eleventh century. This is the first complete study, record, and appraisal of the work of that body, which has been charged with the adjudication of disputes in connection with the Empire.

The Wasted Land, by Gerald W. Johnson, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, $1.50. The challenging story of what is happening to the land in the Southeast. The author warns that if left uncorrected, the neglect of southern soil may well be suicidal.

Evolution and Repentance, by Lane Cooper, Cornell University Press, $2.25. A series of essays and addresses on Aristotle, Plato, and Dante with papers on Matthew Arnold and Wordsworth.

Aliens in the East: A New History of Japan's Foreign Intercourse, by Harry Emerson Wildes, University of Pennsylvania Press, $3.00. An objective study of Japan's policy towards foreigners in the Far East. Valuable as a background study of the present conflict.

CURRENT HISTORY





CURRENT HISTORY

APRIL 1938

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Associate Editors, N. B. Cousins, W. Carroll Munro

ARTICLES

FEATURES

★ David Lloyd George has often inveighed against the military mind He has indicted it for political and economic ignorance, and has even gone so far as to charge that the military mind is ignorant of its primary function—war. **George Fielding Eliot** might readily be offered in refutation of this latter indictment. *Samurai Strategy* is an example of the military mind intelligently oriented in a familiar field For, if such a thing as a military mind exists, George Eliot certainly possesses one, having served as a Major in the Military Intelligence of the United States He is at present enjoying the distinction of having collaborated with R. Ernest Dupuy in writing *If War Comes*, a book selected by Current History as one of the ten best non-fiction works of 1937

★ Wouldn't you like to see your small savings grow into a million dollars in Wall Street without any fuss or bother? So would we, but it seems that the small speculator in the stock market doesn't stand much chance of winning anything at all And it's not entirely because the market is in a slump. **Nelson Coburn** believes that the small buyer generally outsmarts himself trying to beat the market and that a large measure of his perpetual failure is his own fault. Mr Coburn, a Wall Street investment consultant, explains this point in *They Still Chase Rainbows*.

★ **Geoffrey Brereton** is a well-known correspondent for the *New Statesman and Nation*, and for other English periodicals. *Spanish Peasants At War* grew out of a Spanish trip when Mr Brereton had the opportunity to judge the condition of the peasants at first hand

★ The position of the anti-fascist Italian journalist in exile is an uncomfortable one The fate of the courageous Roselli brothers murdered in Paris is a constant reminder of what may happen **Dalmo Carnevali** carries on nevertheless. He is an Italian journalist now residing in a European capital where for the present, at least, he possesses the freedom to give publicity to those tell-tale items which the Duce's press conveniently omits

★ To the South an interesting experiment in government progresses under the very noses of many theoreticians whose eyes remained fixed across the ocean at Russia and the Fascist States It might do them good, and it certainly would do Mexico no harm if they would look long and fixedly in that direction First, however, it might be advisable for them to read extensively the works of **Carleton Beals**. He writes authoritatively from a rich store of factual knowledge and from more than a speaking acquaintance with the Mexican hidalgo and peon The problems of Cardenas and of the Mexican Revolutionary Party are known intimately to him And it is he who could give some much-needed advice to the Americans who have found Mexico such a distressing place in which to do business these last few years However, in lieu of personal interviews, *Mexican Challenge* will have to suffice

★ It would be impossible for the reader to buy all the newspapers printed in America, and read all the editorial comment In fact, it would be impossible even for **Burt M. McConnell** to accomplish that feat But he does the next best thing; he reads a select list of representative newspapers with reference to a specific controversial question and collates the diverse opinions Peculiarly enough, he finds it a stimulating rather than a boring job. As a member of the editorial staff of the "old" *Literary Digest* he developed a distinct liking for this sort of thing, and perfected the technique which he uses so ably in *The Fourth Estate Looks at the Navy*

★ **Emil Wolff** is the *nom de plume* of a foreign writer who lives dangerously. He is now Italian correspondent for several American newspapers He works with and among the very men who would, if they knew his identity, recommend him for a treatment of castor oil mixed with gasoline

★ To the worldly and to the sophisticated the very admission of pride in being the first to present anything, whether a baby, an article or a picture, is a damning confession of intellectual adolescence In spite of that, and a little because of it, the Editors call the readers' attention to *The Roof of the World*. It has its significance. More than that: it throws light on a situation but vaguely known to the world at large Harrison Forman, recently returned from the Far East, is the author of the pictures And they are but few of the many pictorial documents he secured at no little trouble and danger to himself He will be remembered as the author of the pictures of the Chinese Communists which appeared in the February Current History

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N. B. COUSINS

The World Today in Books

WHEN Lincoln Ellsworth says in *Beyond Horizons* that exploration gets in one's blood, he helps explain why men will sacrifice the warmth and richness of normal family life for desolate icy wastes, why they will persistently challenge death and endure hardships beyond belief, why they will push on where others have perished. Once an explorer, always an explorer, he concludes, and there is an instant chorus of agreement from the authors of four other recent books which also tell of the search for the distant outpost. There is a magic attraction, it seems, which draws men back to dangerous exploration, even after many of them had vowed that they would never again set foot outside of organized civilization.

There is no paucity of good books on explorers and explorations, but it is difficult to recall a publishing season that has produced as many worthwhile efforts on the subject as has the present one. The five books—it almost seems as if this should be called the Exploration Review Issue—will make a fair start toward any exploration library. There is a wealth of material here, from Stefan Zweig's *Conqueror of the Seas: The Story of Magellan*, to Charles E. Key's *The Story of Twentieth Century Exploration*; included, too, are Mr. Ellsworth's *Beyond Horizons*, Commander Edward Ellsberg's *Hell on Ice*, and Chelsea Fraser's *Heroes of the Air*. Though the last named is not strictly concerned with exploration, many of the "heroes" are explorers, so it qualifies as a member of the group.

Magellan's Odyssey

Exploration, of course, did not begin nor end with Ferdinand Magellan, but, as Mr. Zweig points out, the first circumnavigation of the globe by the determined Portuguese sailor was perhaps the "most wonderful of all voyages of discovery . . . the most glorious Odyssey in the history of mankind." The main facts in the story are, of course, familiar to everyone: that of the 265 men who departed in five small vessels from Seville in 1519, only eighteen returned home: that the trip around the world took three years, and that the expedition had returned without Magellan, who was killed by Philippine natives. But not much is generally known about Magellan as a personality, the detailed circumstances of his voyage, and the immediate results of the exploit. Mr. Zweig, whose ability to humanize history is equaled by few modern writers, has brought this lack to an abrupt close. In *Conqueror of the Seas: The Story of Magellan*, he has melted down considerable research into an extremely readable and pleasant narrative.

Mr. Zweig describes Magellan, or Fernao de Magalhais, as an "obscure, taciturn, reserved navigator who was ready to stake all his earthly possessions and his life on behalf of an idea." He had complete control of himself, "not once in his life did Magellan deliver a blow hotly or hastily, but always struck after a long and obscure mediation, even as a cloud draws itself together before the lightning flashes." A student of human nature, Magellan knew how to handle soldiers and maintain discipline without raising his voice. He had the "tenacity of a peasant, the passion of a gamester."

Mr. Zweig wrote *Conqueror of the Seas*, he says, out of "shame." He had taken a voyage to South America on a modern liner and after a few days began to weary of the monotony of sun, sky, and the routine of the trip. Yet as soon as he realized his impatience he became "ashamed," ashamed of chafing under conditions which several centuries ago would have been claimed as miracles. He began to think of the early navigators, of their ceaseless peril—"want was their fellow-passenger; death in myriad forms environed them by sea or on land; should they go down to destruction, it was likely enough that no one would record their fate." This led to a desire on Mr. Zweig's part to know more about them, and of them all, Magellan intrigued him the most. "I found that to tell the story to others would be the best way of explaining the inexplicable to myself."

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Beyond Horizons	Lincoln Ellsworth	Doubleday, Doran	$3.50
Conqueror of the Seas. The Story of Magellan	Stefan Zweig	Viking Press	3.50
The Story of Twentieth Century Exploration	Charles E. Key	Alfred A. Knopf	3.50
Hell on Ice	Edward Ellsberg	Dodd, Mead	2.75
Heroes of the Air	Chelsea Fraser	Crowell	2.50
The House That Hitler Built	Stephen H. Roberts	Harpers	3.00
Japan Defies the World	James A. B. Scherer	Bobbs, Merrill	2.50
Strong Man of China	Robert Berkow	Houghton, Mifflin	3.00
Leon Blum· Man and Statesman	Geoffrey Fraser Thadée Natanson	Lippincott	3.00
A History of the Business Man	Miriam Beard	Macmillan	5.00
The Apache Indians	Frank C. Lockwood	Macmillan	3.50
America's Purpose	Alfred J. Snyder	Declaration Press	3.00
Telecommunications	James M. Herring Gerald C. Gross	McGraw-Hill	5.00
Lords of Speech	Edgar DeWitt Jones	Willett, Clarke	2.00

And Still They Explore

It is a long jump from Magellan to the twentieth century explorer, but even at this late date there are still large unexplored areas in the world. What these areas are and what attempts have been made in the last few decades to bring them into the realm of the known and the charted are told in *The Story of Twentieth Century Exploration.* Today, according to Mr. Key, there are as many expeditions to unknown lands as there ever have been before, and strangely enough, science has better maps of some parts of the moon than of unknown portions of the Polar regions. And even though every inch of the earth should some day be catalogued, the yen for exploration will not cease. "The lure of the unexplored will be as potent a thousand years from now as it was when old Pytheas set off from Massilia to discover Britain for the Greeks."

The twentieth century, it is clear from Mr. Key's work, has seen one of the most productive periods of exploration the world has known. The airplane has pushed back the horizons of the uncharted to an extent undreamt of fifty years ago. To the Polar regions, to the wastes of Asia, to the heart of Australia, to the peaks of unscaled mountains, to the forested interiors of New Guinea, expeditions have gone and in many cases the airplane has meant the difference between failure or near-success and success. Particularly in the Arctic and the Antarctic has the plane been of service in enabling man to traverse impassable areas.

Among those whose explorations and exploits are recounted in *The Story of Twentieth Century Exploration* are Commander Robert Peary, Kermit and Theodore Roosevelt, Roald Amundsen, Lincoln Ellsworth, Commander Richard E. Byrd, Michael Terry, George Wilkins, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Gino Watkins. The author recognizes in his preface that he has omitted Rasmussen, Dainelli, Skrine, Wegener, Longstaff, and some of the recent explorers of Arabia, the Sahara, and Ellesmere Land. This omission was made for reasons of space and the necessity for some amount of selection. There is no detailed treatment here of each individual exploration, for that would require a shelf of books. What Mr. Key has attempted to do is to provide a short, running account of recent exploration, integrating the various explorations wherever they lend themselves to such treatment. His book is well-rounded; from the whole there emerges a clear and interesting picture of the expanding frontiers of civilization.

Rich Boy Makes Good

The expeditions of Lincoln Ellsworth are described in *The Story of Twentieth Century Exploration* but for the fuller picture we turn to Mr. Ellsworth's own book, *Beyond Horizons,* an autobiography of considerable merit. Its importance is not entirely confined to the author's account of his explorations, for it is something of a departure from the usual type of success autobiography. Lincoln Ellsworth was born rich; his father was one of Chicago's wealthiest citizens, a director of that city's famous first World's Fair, and an art patron of great means who frequently had as his guests some of the world's most prominent artists, writers, and musicians—among them Paderewski, who played for him privately.

But although the elder Ellsworth had millions, he fought bitterly before agreeing to finance his son's proposed expedition to the Arctic with Roald Amundsen, veteran Polar explorer. And even after he consented in writing to put up enough money to take care of most of the needs of the expedition, Ellsworth, Sr. refused to sign the check unless his son promised he would give up tobacco forever. "What right had he," asks the author, then forty-four, "to take from me a harmless habit that meant so much to a man whose life was devoted to solitude and physical hardship? And only because of an out-of-date Victorian prejudice." Before the expedition started out, his father went to extreme lengths to block his son's participation. "He adopted a maddening attitude." After all attempts failed and Lincoln started off for the Arctic, the senior Ellsworth went off to Italy a broken man, dying during the period that the expedition was reported lost.

This is a human autobiography. Lincoln Ellsworth's description of his father, the account of his acquaintance and relationship with Amundsen, with whom an eventful Polar flight was made, the recollections of lonely Arctic and Antarctic vigils are fully chronicled and described, together with technical data contained in an appendix, but its main appeal, perhaps, is to those who are more concerned with personalities and human achievements than with geographical or meteorological data.

Queer Place for a Devil

Exploration expeditions are not all sweetness and light. Differences arise among men, especially when nerves are taut and food rations are low. This is clear in *Beyond Horizons,* but the classic story of tempers that bolted in the frozen north is told in Commander Edward Ellsberg's *Hell on Ice,* the dramatic saga of the famous *Jeannette* that sixty years ago went down to disaster in the regions of the North Pole. It was the first expedition to attempt the Pole through the Bering Sea, an expedition about which comparatively little has been known all these years. Commander Ellsberg has resurrected the tale from the obscurity toward which it apparently has been heading. It is an energetic tale of unusual impact—about men facing frozen death, about relief expeditions that never came back, about attempted

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 74

1. What public official other than the President receives the highest salary in the United States?
2. What is the salary of members of the President's Cabinet?
3. What Cabinet member ranks next to the Secretary of State?
4. Under what President did Newton D. Baker serve as Secretary of War?
5. Of what high international body was Newton D. Baker once a member?
6. What was the purpose of the Kellogg-Briand Pact?
7. How many nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact?
8. Who is the United States Ambassador to Japan?
9. Is Chiang Kai-shek President of the Chinese Republic?
10. Who is President of the Chinese Republic?
11. What great rebellion caused an international army to invade China in 1900?
12. Is it true that Japan produces enough oil, iron, cotton, and rubber for her own requirements?
13. What is the principal food crop of Japan?
14. What country is Japan's best customer?
15. What country sells Japan the most goods?
16. Does the United States do more trading with Japan than with China?
17. Is Tokyo nearer the equator than New Orleans?
18. Japan has a navy about three-fifths the size of ours. Has she three-fifths as many automobiles?
19. Would you say that the trade of the United States with Brazil is greater than that with Japan?
20. What is the largest city in South America?

escape to the desolate tundra of Siberia, and finally, about the conduct of men when they give up all hope of salvation and have no longer cause to respect authority.

Commander Ellsberg, whose reputation for the flesh-and-blood type of story and style of writing has already been established, largely through his *On the Bottom,* has cast his story principally from the records of the Naval Court of Inquiry and Congressional investigations. Public interest and curiosity at the time were so great that the Government attempted to learn just what actually happened on the *Jeannette.* Extensive material, gathered from hearings at which a few survivors testified and from documents read into the record, was made available to the author. The story is written in the form of a personal narrative, told by the chief engineer of the expedition. Although the fictional form is thus used, the book is actually a work of non-fiction, a record of an historic expedition, imaginatively and colorfully woven together.

The Sky Has Its Heroes

The remaining book in the group is Chelsea Fraser's *Heroes of the Air,* which contains, as was mentioned before, a substantial amount of material on air explorations and explorers. There is, for example, a fairly extended treatment of Lincoln Ellsworth's and Roald Amundsen's Polar flight by airplane in 1925, consisting entirely of Ellsworth's own account of the expedition—not as lengthy as the account in *Beyond Horizons* but covering the same material Mr. Fraser has also included chapters or portions of chapters on Wilkins, Byrd, Von Gronau, MacMillan, among others.

Heroes of the Air is something of an *Inside Europe* as far as new editions and revisions are concerned. The author and publishers have made efforts to keep it up-to-date even since it was originally issued in 1926. The present revised edition represents the sixteenth printing, and contains several new chapters on the progress of aviation in the last two years. In most cases, references to people are brought up to date, but the revised edition has unfortunately left uncorrected several references which date the book, as the statement, for example, that Roald Amundsen is the most distinguished of living explorers. Taken as a whole, however, *Heroes of the Air* has the advantage of a comprehensive and interesting treatment.

Construction, Men at Work! (?)

Particularly timely, now that Herr Hitler has pointed the swastika at Austria and said, "This much is mine!" is *The House That Hitler Built,* by Stephan H. Roberts. The future of Germany and the peace of the world, says the author, Professor of Modern History at the University of Sydney, "rest on the tangled working of the mind of one whom not even his friends would call normal."

Hitler has been working on his nazihouse for five years and it is the interesting purpose of Mr. Roberts' study to present the reader with sufficient material on which to judge whether that house is a mansion or a mud-hut. The author, however, makes no attempt to draw any clear-cut appraisal of Germany, for he is more concerned with an interpretative account of the inside workings of political and ideological Germany, and with the personalities of Nazi officialdom, than with the actual debits and credits of the Hitler regime. He does believe, though, that Hitler's aims cannot be attained without war. The German leader has worked up the people to "such a state that they are ready to accept war at any moment." Disaster is ahead, the author predicts, unless the nation makes an abrupt change and begins to cooperate and collaborate in international matters.

The House That Hitler Built was written before the recent army flareup in which Mr. Hitler gave several military officials their walking papers, and it is interesting to compare the events that have actually transpired with what Mr. Roberts writes in his book. The growing influence of the army was seen by the author and he declared that it was not "far-fetched to imagine a Germany in which the army, retaining the Fuhrer as a willing figurehead, will take control of the land." Considering what has happened, it appears as though Mr. Hitler also observed the bulging muscles of the army and decided that there was room for only one head man in his house, definitely revealing that he did not take kindly to the role of a "willing figurehead." At least, not as long as he was able to do anything about it.

Mr. Roberts' comments on Austria and Italo-German relations stand up remarkably well with new developments: "Austria wants Germanism, but not Hitlerism, and is now much less content to accept economic aid from Italy than she was a couple of years ago." Hitler's respect for Mussolini's military ability is decreasing every day and he will keep up the pretense of a Rome-Berlin axis as long as Il Duce can be of service against a common enemy. In his turn, Mussolini is critical of Hitler, and it is not inconceivable to expect a severe falling out between the two. In fact, the Fascist axis evidenced considerable shakiness when Hitler marched into Austria.

The student of history or economics who is interested in German affairs will not find *The House That Hitler Built* as helpful, perhaps, as Henri Lichtenberger's *The Third Reich* or Frederick L. Schumann's *The Nazi Dictatorship*. Mr. Roberts' book is written more for the general reading public. It is not without spice and the reader who enjoys generously-flavored personality sketches as well as information that most of us can only guess at will do well not to overlook the work.

(*Continued on page 7..*)





Happy Birthday?

STRICTLY speaking, it is doubtful whether March 4 should be regarded as the New Deal's birthday. It was on March 4 that President Roosevelt set the hen. It was sometime afterward, however, before the chickens began to hatch. Putting this point aside as of no great consequence, the New Deal has been with us long enough to reveal itself as a somewhat eerie compound of advanced social concepts, novel economic theories, and good old-fashioned politics. That is what makes it so hard to understand, much less appraise. Some of the social concepts seem quite beyond Utopia, while some of the economic theories would bother an Einstein to elucidate. But all the politics looks very much like that which originated in the oxcart age and which we have been practising for 150 years. The real trouble starts when you try to separate those of a political nature from other New Deal activities. You just can't tell where party interest ends and public interest begins, or vice versa.

Measured by conditions prevailing in 1933, by what most people felt, assumed, hoped for, and demanded, the New Deal has been fairly successful. Measured by conditions prevailing in 1938, by the prophecies that have failed, the experiments that have been abandoned, and the pledges yet to be fulfilled, the New Deal does not look so good.

In 1933, it was generally assumed that the depression had been brought about by lack of business leadership and that its continuance could justly be charged to lack of political leadership. This assumption, coupled with an accumulation of disappointments, had created a frame of mind in which emotionalism played the dominant part. Generally speaking, the American people were in a mood to try anything once. No one can say what might have happened if this mood had not been satisfied. Psychologically, at least, Mr. Roosevelt struck the right note when he told the country it had asked for leadership and would get it. This simple but bold assertion worked wonders in restoring confidence. The Spring of 1933 grew buoyant with optimism. When the experimenting began in July, it was accepted at full face value and as guaranteeing a wide, straight road to recovery. People were so delighted at the prospect of action that they were unable to see any catch in the obviously absurd proposition that the Federal Government could take over relief, extend credit, and make unusually large appropriations for public work without increasing its expenses. They accepted Mr. Roosevelt's word, that all this could be done and that Federal expenses could be reduced by 25 percent at the same time, without question.

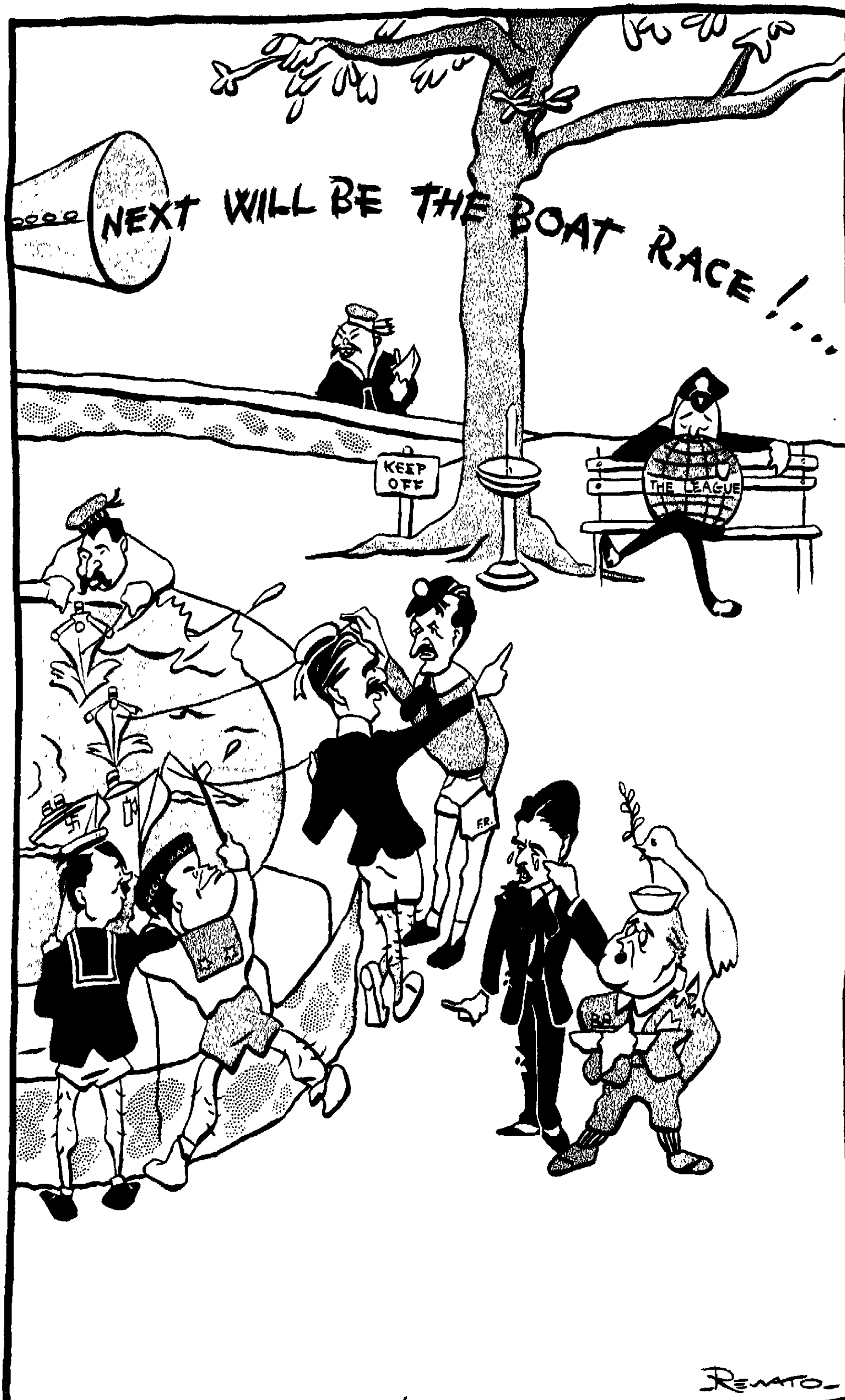
The Federal debt has been increased by 15 billion dollars since the New Deal was inaugurated, and the annual cost of operating the Federal Government has been boosted by about 2 billion, but 1938 opens with about as many unemployed persons as there were in 1933.

You can pick out periodic upswings and demonstrate that business has improved. You can point to wage increases and demonstrate that buying power has increased. You can take certain crop prices and demonstrate that the farmer is getting more for his work. When all is said and done, however, you cannot subtract what the Government has borrowed and spent from what the country in general has gained and demonstrate that we are much better off.

According to the best estimates available, there are eleven million people out of work in this country right now. That is about the same number that were out of work five years ago. Business has been slowing down for the last few months. Because this represents a decline from the level attained last Fall, we call it a "recession." But the decline synchronizes too closely with the curtailment of Government expenditures for relief and public work to warrant the belief that they are, or have been unrelated. Indeed, there seems to have been a very close relationship between Government spending and business improvement ever since the New Deal was launched. Of more immediate concern, this relationship seems to have been carried so far as to make continued business improvement dependent on continued Government spending.

Whatever we may think with regard to the efficacy of such a program, it cannot go on indefinitely. In the end, there is bound to come a five-year period during which the Federal debt cannot be increased by 15 billion dollars, nor the annual cost of operating the Federal Government boosted by 2 billion. In the end, the budget will have to be brought into balance, which means that business improvement can no longer be maintained at public expense, and especially with borrowed money. In the end, we have got to divorce business from Government or let the Government take it over. The necessity of paying our way at some time in the not-too-far-distant future makes such an alternative unavoidable.

M E Tracy


NEXT WILL BE THE BOAT RACE !....
KEEP OFF
THE LEAGUE
F.R.
RENATO

CURRENT HISTORY
APRIL, 1938

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

WITH badly snarled plot and quickened tempo, the drama of international politics moves crazily on toward Heaven knows what kind of climax. Flags wave, sabres rattle, gun carriages rumble down a thousand highways, and mighty air fleets torture the sky with noise and fumes. The immediate objective may be regarded as confined to strut and bluff, but the implication is nothing short of tragic.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"SHE WAS POOR BUT SHE WAS HONEST—"

Millions of hungry men shout with enthusiasm as their pantries are robbed to provide food for expanding armies and as metal meant for ploughshares is forged into death-dealing engines. Millions of women joyfully reduce themselves to the level of breed animals in response to the premiums offered for additional offspring.

Modern dictators put Napoleon to shame. He merely announced militarism's dependence on motherhood; they back the proposition with bribery—so much for the fourth child; more each for the fifth, sixth and seventh; still more for the eighth, ninth and tenth.

Out of the seethe and stew, there rises a miasma of primitive, inchoate emotionalism. Free your mind from the rhythmic, half-savage goosestep which stirs it up, from the undigested passion which gives it birth, and you can feel the jungle bursting through, can hear the vibrant beating of tom-toms, can see the veneer of civilization crack and peel.

Making a god of technique and visualizing strife in the light of a noble sport, the outstanding bosses of this day and generation impoverish their people to prepare for violent action, with little or no concern as to the consequence. Addressing a great assemblage of German aviators on the first of March, Field Marshal Goering said:

"Everyone must be aware of the fact that the German Air Force is not an instrument for peace parades, but the sharpest war instrument we have been able to forge. . . .

"Even if, as Germans and human beings, we passionately desire peace, as soldiers of the youngest armed force, we burn to prove to the Fuehrer and the people that in defiance of all foes, this air force is invincible.

"I call on German workers to be untiringly busy in their factories. I know I demand much of them—overtime and still more overtime, but they help create a sword of the nation, and that in itself is the deepest inner satisfaction."

Thus the ideal of peace through orderly processes is laughed to scorn. Thus the simple plan, "that he should take who hath the power, and he should keep who can," is re-enthroned.

Anschluss

NEXT to control of Germany, control of Austria is, and always has been, Adolf Hitler's predominant objective. While circumstances have forced him to sidestep it until recently—even to the extent of creating an impression that he might abandon it—he has kept the original idea constantly in mind. His actions and pronouncements in February make this perfectly clear. He is now moving swiftly and purposefully toward the Nazification of Austria. The possi-



Glasgow Record

ALL JOLLY GOOD PALS TOGETHER

bility of quick success leaves Europe somewhat breathless. A general reorientation of policy is indicated, particularly on the part of England, Italy, France, and Czechoslovakia.

For the time being, Hitler has taken the spotlight away from Mussolini by assuming the role of chief aggressor. Not only that, but his first move is of such a nature that Mussolini can



Arizona Republic

THE MOUNTAIN COMES TO MAHOMET

hardly regard it with equanimity. Nazification of Austria means that German legions will stand at the entrance to the Brenner Pass.

Recalling how Austrian legions flowed down upon them through that selfsame Pass some twenty years ago, Fascist leaders can hardly view this prospect as reassuring.

Since Nazification of Austria seems to be postulated on the theory that Germans living outside of the Reich should be protected, either through the granting of special privileges by the governments under which they live, or by actual separation from those governments, the Tyrol provides something else for Mussolini and his advisers to worry about. Efforts to Italianize Tyrolean Germans on the one hand, and protect all extra-territorial Germans on the other, might easily furnish an excuse for the two great dictatorships of Western Europe to fall out. Whether such an eventuality is written in the stars, it is sufficiently plausible to encourage the British dream of prying Hitler and Mussolini apart by some hook or crook.

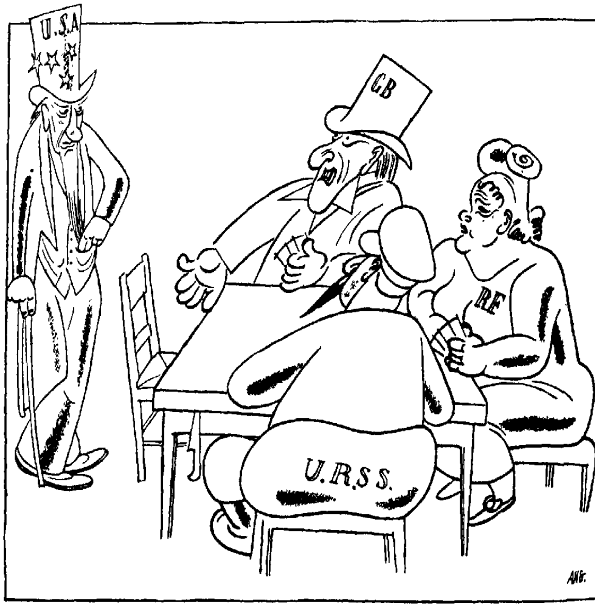
Protection for all the ten million Germans living in nearby countries outside the Reich includes not only Austria and the Tyrol, but Czechoslovakia, Memel, Danzig, and Schleswig-Holstein. Small wonder that Germany is arming with feverish haste. The task of hovering these extra-territorial Germans under the common wing of Nazism might easily involve taking on half a dozen countries and their allies, not to mention Russia, with which Herr Hitler "scorns" to negotiate.

If open and official declarations are to be believed, Czechoslovakia will not grant special concessions to the German or any other minority without a struggle, and France will not sit idly back if she is attacked. All this bluster about special privileges for German minorities outside the Reich is definitely part and parcel of the German program of expansion through Middle Europe. While this program is primarily designed to insure Germany an adequate supply of those raw materials which she desperately needs, it comprehends the possibility of whittling down Russia's power. In fact, the various moves now being made by the Fuehrer and his advisers appear to hinge on a conviction that conflict between the Soviet and Fascist States is inevitable.

Italy's Role

THE German assumption appears to be that, in case of conflict with Russia, Italy can be depended on to play the part of a good Fascist ally. Such an assumption is obviously essential to the major scheme. Italy, however, has a lot of other fish to fry, particularly in the Mediterranean, and while she might have few scruples about helping Hitler embarrass Stalin, she is forced to take the Franco-British attitude into account. Italy stands not only in need of peace, but of credit. Her financial situation is bad, her sources of raw material inadequate, and her markets definitely limited. Her position is such that she would give up most anything for the recognition of Ethiopia as an Italian territory, the granting of substantial loans, and guarantee of security. Her ill-advised aggressiveness has overreached itself to an obvious extent, draining her treasury, depleting her gold reserve, and giving rise to antagonisms which are, to say the least, embarrassing. Even were she to ignore the Tyrolean situation for the sake of continuing a firm alliance with Nazism, she would find herself confronted with several other complicated problems. Much as she may worry over the threat of an aggressive Russia, her road to relief lies in another direction. This is bound to be made clearer as the European drama unfolds.

Italy has little to gain and a lot to lose in Germany's drive toward the Black Sea. She has a lot to gain and little to lose by reconciling her differences with England. This perfectly apparent fact can be regarded as the keynote of present British policy.



Guerin Meschino, Milan

THE DEMOCRATIC GANG

"Let's get him into the game. He's got lots of money."

British Policy

EVER since the Rome-Berlin axis was formed, British policy has clung to the idea that it could be broken. While former Secretary of Foreign Affairs Eden and Premier Chamberlain may have differed as to the best method of accomplishing this, they have always seen eye to eye on the question of its desirability. Captain Eden proceeded on the theory that it could best be accomplished through cooperation with France and the League of Nations. Mr. Chamberlain, on the other hand, has preferred the technique of playing off Italy and Germany, one against the other, even if it implied ignoring the League of Nations and leaving France to paddle her own canoe. Both leaders have sought peace and reconciliation. Both have hesitated to take such action as might lead to war or even the threat of war. Eden has been far more candid, while Chamberlain has been far more subtle. Both appear to have been in agreement on the possibility of bringing Italy into line by simply letting her work herself into a bad hole. They parted company over the simple question as to whether she had already done this, or whether more time was required.

French Reaction

LEFT out on a limb when Anthony Eden resigned as British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, France reacted in such a way as cannot fail to challenge the admiration of all people who believe in straight-forward dealing. Refusing to swallow Hitler's declaration that he had no designs against her, France, through the mouth of her Foreign Secretary, Yvon Delbos, spoke straight from the shoulder. She would not sit idly by if Czechoslovakia were attacked. She would not abandon her attitude toward European politics and diplomacy in general for the sake of makeshift compromises. She would not consent to such alterations in the status quo as imperialistic governments might desire for their own selfish interests.

Meanwhile, the Chamberlain policy is not predicated on the idea of turning France adrift, except for such time as may be required to play a little game on the side with Mussolini. If that game turns out satisfactorily, France will be included in the general accommodation of differences. If not, France and England will resume the program of concerted action. One or the other of these alternatives is inescapable, the one element of doubt being as to whether the present British maneuver will be successful.

However disappointed France may have been at the recent turn of affairs, her reaction is little short of splendid. It suggests continued faith not only in her allies, but in the principles of democratic policy. It cannot help having a good effect throughout the civilized world.

Russia Sees Red

ACCEPTING Hitler's defiant pronouncement as confirming her belief that she is opposed by all the world and that world-wide revolution in accordance with her political ideals represents the one road to safety, Russia, through the voice of Stalin, once again calls on the "work-



Louisville Times

THE WORM MAKES ANOTHER TURN

ers" to do their stuff. It was perhaps the most impolitic declaration that could have been made at this time. It can serve only to alienate such sympathy and confidence as Russia has gained during the last few years. As a general proposition, most people dread revolution more than they dread war and will go farther to prevent it for the sake of general peace and security.

After all that has occurred, it is amazing that Soviet leaders should pursue the delusion of a Communist revolution throughout the world on the ground that such a revolution is inevitable because it promises to help them solve their own problems. Their continuous activities in response to such a delusion has done more to strengthen Fascism, Nazism, bureaucracy, and dictatorship than anything else. This constant harping on a rebellion of "workers" simply and solely because it suits their purpose has stiffened the idea of centralized control and discipline all along the line. What should be of more immediate concern to them, it has led to a lack of confidence in Soviet aims which might easily have been avoided. It is very difficult to square the stark realism which prevails inside Russia with the nonsensical illusionment which appears to guide her policy with regard to external affairs. Twenty years of vain effort should have convinced her leaders that anything like general Communist upheaval is out of the question, especially when contrasted with the rise of dictatorship which it has definitely helped to promote. Furthermore, the troubles experienced by the Russian government in developing loyal cooperation at home should suggest that it has enough business of its own to mind. If it has not, Japan promises to provide enough to preclude the necessity of manufacturing disturbance for other countries.

Japan as a Foil

THE natural conflict between Japanese and Russian interests in the Far East has been seized upon by Germany and Italy as an excuse for making Japan a sort of minority partner in their anti-Russian set-up. The basic idea of this childishly simple scheme is to keep Russia dancing between two threats and at the same time divide her power in case of actual strife. But here again, there are other complications.

If Japan's objective is control of the Western Pacific, the conflict of her interests with those of England would seem to outweigh the Russian issue. This conflict, moreover, would seem to include both French and American interests. At all events, British leaders like to think that it would. Assuming that France is virtually compelled to cooperate, they have been angling for some kind of assurance or commitment on our part. They have done such a good job as to create the suspicion of success. Not a few people actually believe that arrangements have been made whereby the United States will do thus and so if, as, and when this or that occurs, and that the naval program now pending before

Congress is designed to take care of such a contingency.

Except for gossip and unsupported assertions, there is little ground for suspecting that the United States is committed to cooperate with England or any other nation in case of trouble on the Pacific, or that the armament program now under consideration is meant to serve any purpose other than to provide adequate protection for this country. We are simply preparing to meet any contingency that might be brought about by this epidemic of war manias. Whether our apprehensions are exaggerated, their elimination seems impossible. Like most other people, Americans find it difficult not to provide against a threatening storm.



South Wales Echo, Cardiff

JOHN BULL: *Sorry but if you can find a mug or two amongst that bunch, well, it's their funeral*

This comes about not only because of the stupendous preparations for war being made on every hand, but because of the wars actually in progress. We are confronted with something more substantial than imaginary trouble. We are actually beholding conflict on a widespread scale During the last four years, we have seen Ethiopia crushed and conquered, Manchuria separated from China, Spain torn by civil strife, and now China herself invaded. We have seen national defense budgets doubled and more men put under arms in Europe than there were at the outbreak of the World War. We have seen statesmen strike an attitude of imperialism and aggressiveness wholly out of line with even primitive conceptions of international peace and security.

War Mania

IN 1931, the world (60 countries) spent a total of slightly more than four billion dollars for national defense. In 1936, these same countries spent $10,730,000,000—an increase of more than 150 percent within five years.

Of the $10,730,000,000 spent by the whole world for national defense in 1936, Europe (29 countries) provided $8,880,000,000, or approximately five-sixths.

Of the $8,880,000,000 expended for national defense in Europe, three countries—Italy, Germany, and Russia—accounted for $6,434,000,000, or 72 percent, leaving only 28 percent for the other 26 countries, England and France included.

This amazing rise in expenditures for national defense, and particularly its concentration in the three outstanding dictatorships, can hardly be dismissed as an empty political gesture. An epidemic of war mania has clearly broken out on the continent of Europe, with authoritarian States as the principal centers of infection.

Though most other European countries show milder symptoms of the disease, all of them are slowly succumbing to it. From Lisbon to Istanbul and from the Mediterranean to Lapland, more and more emphasis is being placed on military preparedness with a constantly increasing portion of the national income diverted to sustain it. It has come to a point where hundreds of millions of people are getting less and less food in order to provide bigger and better cannon.

Who will fight whom, no one seems to know. But the idea that someone is going to fight pretty soon has become a veritable obsession. Worse still, this obsession is spreading outward in circular waves, with the threat of enveloping all humanity. Even the most peacefully inclined nations are reacting to the militaristic urge, as is revealed by the armament program now before our own Congress. Only single-track idealism can regard such a temperate program as groundless and illogical. As Grover Cleveland once said, "We face a condition, not a theory."

Contrary to what was expected twenty years ago, we find ourselves in the midst of a world gone half mad over the idea of salvation by force. We find stronger means of protection desirable for the same reason and to the same extent as would a respectable citizen living in a neighborhood of gangsters. But that does not mean that we need to join any of the gangs.

At present, the itch to brawl appears centered entirely in the Old World Our job is to keep it there and, as part of the job, we should refrain from scratching any of the raw spots. In other words, if the United States wants to keep the peace and dwell in continued freedom from attack, her armament program and foreign policy should be coordinated around the idea of minding her own business. In this way, and in this way only, can the American people square their traditions and ideals with present-day problems. They are justified in building up a stronger navy and preparing for quicker and more effective mobilization of land forces only so long as these activities are designed for self-defense and self-preservation.

Trade Not an Issue

MANY people believe that we cannot insulate ourselves against foreign war without isolating ourselves with regard to foreign trade. Such a belief rests on the assumption that trade follows the army or navy. If that is true, American traditions and American experience are wrong. This country carried its commerce to the seven seas without forming any entangling alliances and without adopting an imperialistic attitude. It opened up wide and profit-

able markets, not by its power to bully or browbeat, but because it could deliver the goods. Keeping out of war does not mean we must live apart from the rest of the world. China will continue to sell us tea whether we fight Japan or not, and we can buy manganese from Russia even if we refuse to join her against the Fascists. It re-



NEA

MAHOMET GOES TO THE MOUNTAIN

quires some stretch of the imagination to believe that other people will not take our money if we fail to join any fracas they may start, or will not buy our goods if the price is right. Business does not depend on mixing into other people's quarrels. Indeed, it is much more apt to be hurt than helped by such a course. Business never got anywhere by looking to the gunmen, and it never will get anywhere. Business depends on strict attention to business, on production, salesmanship, buying power and friendly relations, none of which is promoted by war or threats of war.

Domestic Problems

LIKE most other countries, the United States has adequate trouble at home without hunting for any abroad. The budget continues unbalanced, the debt is still increasing, and the unemployment problem remains unsolved. Five years of experimenting have not cured us of the experimenting fever, or eliminated those conditions which form the original excuse. The American household is still far from being in good order, as the turmoil at Washington plainly indicates. Like most of its predecessors, February gave birth to more appeals for government spending for relief, for miracle-making by means of plans and programs.

Crop Control

THE Farm bill recently enacted by Congress is quite the most far-reaching measure for crop control ever authorized by our Government. It provides not only for the limited planting of wheat, corn, cotton, tobacco, rice, and potatoes through the restriction of acreage that may be devoted to these crops, but also for soil conservation, for loans on surplus production to keep it off the market, for machinery to insure wheat farmers against loss, and for establishing market quotas if, as and when any farm group endorses the idea by a two-thirds majority.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace has announced the following acreage allotments, benefit payments for compliance, and penalties for non-compliance:

Cotton

Acreage allowed this year—2,638,417, as compared with 34,300,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—2.4 cents a lb.; penalty for non-compliance—5 cents a lb.



Birmingham Gazette

RIP VAN STALIN FINDS A BIRD'S NEST IN HIS BEARD

Wheat

Acreage allowed this year—62,500,000, as compared with 81,000,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—12 cents a bu.; penalty for non-compliance—96 cents a bu.

Corn

Acreage allowed this year—94,000,000 to 97,000,000, as compared with 99,000,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—10 cents a bu.; penalty for non-compliance—50 cents a bu.

Rice

Acreage allowed this year—825,000 to 875,000, as compared with 1,081,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—1¼ cents a bu.; penalty for non-compliance—10 cents a bu.

Potatoes

Acreage allowed this year—3,100,000 to 3,300,000, as compared with 3,228,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—3 cents a bu.; penalty for non-compliance—30 cents a bu.

Tobacco

Acreage allowed this year—1,557,800 to 1,623,000, as compared with 1,725,000 last year; benefit payment for compliance—½ cent to 1 cent a lb.; penalty for non-compliance—5 cents to 15 cents a lb.

Business Down

THE first two months of 1938 showed little improvement in business. The weekly business trend index ranged between 73 and 75 through February, as compared with a peak of 110 last July. The daily commodity index held at slightly better than 150, as compared with a peak of 225 last April. Curtailed production, with continued layoffs and some wage-cutting, prevailed especially in the "durable goods" group.

As they have done ever since the present slump began, Administration leaders charged capital with staging a sit-down strike, with the usual rejoinder by business leaders that improvement was being handicapped and retarded by burdensome taxes and bothersome regulations.

Significant Straws in the Winds that Blow from South America

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

AMERICA VS. EUROPE: A rapproachement of the powers in Western Europe may have a surprising effect on the South American situation. If Britain, France, Germany and Italy are going to make a deal over the dead bodies of hundreds of thousands of murdered Spaniards, the chances are Britain will compromise not only on European matters, but also on world trade. And that may mean a more lenient British trade policy toward the German, Italian and Japanese rivals in the South American market.

The German, Italian and Japanese drive for a greater share in Latin American purchases and exportable wealth during the past few years has in many instances been more damaging to British than to American interests. We find a striking example of this in Brazil where the British were the main losers when Germany captured the first place in the Brazilian import trade between 1934 and 1936, for while the American share in the total Brazilian purchases declined from 23.40 per cent to 21.90 per cent during that period, the British share decreased from 18.20 per cent to 10.93 per cent. The growth of Japanese textile sales to South America has been one of the main worries of British traders and diplomatic representatives there, and they have tried, some times successfully, to induce several South American governments to set a minimum quota to Japanese goods.

As the main investor nations in the territory, controlling the larger part of Latin American export business, the United States and Britain found themselves on the same side of the fence, opposing the newcomers. But a re-alignment in Europe may change that. A more conciliatory attitude on the part of British capital in South America, where it holds many strategic positions through its six billion dollar investment, would be a very valuable concession to the traders and investors of the Third Reich, fascist Italy and Japan.

In that event the United States would face a far more severe competition there, and the situation may revert to what it was in the Twenties, when in the battle for South American trade there was a European line-up against the United States. A slight change in the current political vocabulary will then be necessary in order to adapt ourselves to the new situation. For two years we have heard much about a fight between democracy and dictatorship. However, if London decides to play ball with Berlin and Rome, all that talk will be turned off like a radio. But . . . wasn't fascism penetrating South America? It was, and still is. And it carries along with it a steady stream of bartered German goods, Italian bombers for demonstration and sale, and Japanese trinkets by



El Machete, Mexico, D. F.

the tons. But henceforth we won't insist on democracy versus dictatorship. We shall only talk about European and American goods.

PUNCTURED BALLOON: What has become of the proposal that, according to a recent New York *Times* report from Buenos Aires, several unnamed Latin American governments were to make to the United States for "an inter-American military and naval alliance against possible European and Asiatic aggression?" The State Department has denied all knowledge of the matter, and the Brazilian and other Latin-American governments now announce they have no intention of joining any such movement.

The report stated that, following "diplomatic conversations among several South American Foreign Offices," the proposal seemed to meet general approval, and that a special Pan American conference of political representatives as well as military and naval experts would be called to consider it. The project would set up "a federation of American nations" and "put teeth into the inter-American peace treaties" signed at the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936.

At that gathering the United States proposed a bicontinental alignment whose ultimate or implied aim was unified control of the economic resources of the Western Hemisphere in a world conflict. Europe cannot fight without help from this side of the water. The American proposal *had* teeth, but some of the Latin-American delegations, notably that of Argentina, made it their business to pull them out.

In case of aggression from Germany, Italy and Japan or any other combination of powers seeking a foothold in South American territory, the United States would step in as a matter of self-interest, and so would the British Government since it has naval bases in the area. Britain might be willing to become a friendly competitor to Germany and other rivals in the South American market, but she will fight to protect her interests in the southern latitudes of the continent.

Since the Buenos Aires Conference, Argentine diplomacy has changed its tune. Last December, Saavedra Lamas, then Foreign Minister, said that any protection the Latin-American States might need against aggression "always would be based on the United States and Great Britain, and Latin-America itself." While some of the Latin-American governments are pro-fascist, others are known to favor a pact with the United States in anticipation of a world war.

The reported proposal presumably came from them. But they had always avoided labeling it an "alliance." Latin-Americans are terribly afraid of *el qué dirán*. The New York *Times* correspondent in Buenos Aires says that the governments sponsoring the proposal did not want their identity disclosed. They were afraid of the continental *qué dirán*. They wanted the United States to appear as making the proposal. And, as it happens, the word "alliance" is also tabu in the United

States foreign affairs vocabulary. So the use of that word may have been an international indiscretion. Or . . . was it all just a trial balloon?

SPOILING THE ARMS RACKET: Cárdenas pointed a finger at the sorest spot in Latin-America today when he brought to the attention of the recent National Congress of the Confederation of Mexican Workers the present armament traffic, and suggested a world anti-war labor conference, and "action by the workers against the arms makers."

The armament racketeers are now staging an arms boom in South America (*Current History*, January), and the South American people seem totally blind concerning it. They are again being led by the racketeers toward a frenzied nationalism, as they were in the Twenties. To acquaint them with the facts appears as a pressing need, but the convocation of a world labor congress may not be the most expedient way to place the problem before South American public opinion.

We suggest that the matter be submitted to the Latin-American Labor Congress that is to meet this year in Mexico. An exposé of what the arms traders are doing in South America, followed by organized action by the workers against their activities would go a long way to spoil their foul game.

CONFEDERATION OF MEXICAN WORKERS: Incidentally, that Congress of Mexican workers' representatives has been one of the most impressive gatherings of its kind in Mexico or in Latin-America. Close to 5,000 delegates representing nearly 1,000,000 workers organized in every part of the country attended to discuss the present problems of the labor movement, to review the record of the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) since its founding two years ago, and to elect a new National Committee.

Among the most important matters submitted were the agrarian problem, the maneuvers of reactionary and fascist elements against the Cárdenas Administration, the Spanish issue, the presence of Trotsky in Mexico, and the organization of a new political party which is to displace the PNR (National Revolutionary Party) from its present bureaucratic control of political activities. This new body would bring industrial workers' organizations, farm laborers and the members of the PNR into a united front, and would strengthen Cárdenas' hand in the carrying out of his vast economic program.

At the beginning of its third year, the CTM includes 3,594 separate organizations of workers in all Mexican industries, as well as peasants and *ejidatarios* (cooperative farmers on lands granted by the Government's agrarian program), technicians, professionals and other intellectual workers, and over 75,000 school teachers. The total number of individual members is 945,913, and the 100,000 members of the Miners' and Metallurgical Workers' Union are expected to join soon.

An official CTM report lists among the reforms accomplished by trade unionism in Mexico, the adoption of a 40-hour week in certain industries, and the winning of single collective labor contracts in the sugar, oil, rubber and silk and artificial-silk textile industries. The report says that in the short period of its existence since the first national trade union was established in Mexico twenty years ago, the Mexican working class movement "has achieved a clear comprehension of the historic task it must fulfill inside and outside of Mexico."

ORTIZ MAY CONCILIATE THE UNITED STATES: The new Ortiz Government in Argentina is a strong business administration. It will carry on the economic policy Argentina has followed in recent years. In that sense, it constitutes a guarantee of stability for the great Argentine land-holding class, the local business interests, foreign investors in general, and British investors in particular, who have always held the first position in the field with a stake of more than two billion dollars. Regarding the new ruler's attitude toward American commerce: while it is true that when he was Finance Minister during Justo's administration there was no let up in a policy that Americans have always regarded as discriminating against United States trade, Ortiz is not considered anti-American. At any rate, the forthcoming negotiations for a new treaty with the United States will show whether his administration is willing to adopt a more conciliatory attitude.

President Ortiz himself belongs to the wealthy class of his country, his fortune being estimated at more than four million dollars. The son of a frugal Basque merchant from Bilboa who settled in Argentina, he has been a successful business man, a corporation director, president of a banking house and two manufacturing concerns, a lawyer with big business connections, and a remarkably successful politician. As Finance Minister of the Justo Government, his outstanding achievement was the conversion of a large part of the Argentina's external debt into internal debt, an operation that reduced the total $289,800,000 in dollar bonds to $128,500,000 at a lower rate, and the successful flotation of a 200,000,000 pesos internal loan.

The rise of export values in 1935 and the war boom in 1936 brought a period of prosperity to Argentina. Throughout 1936, and during the first part of 1937, there was a strong movement of capital into the country, and an exceptionally large export surplus was accumulated. Ortiz was elected on this prosperity ticket. Now, however, with the present poor crops and an exodus of capital from Argentina, apparently caused by fear among foreign investors of a fascist penetration in South America, the Argentine boom seems at an end.

Regarded by some people as belonging to a mild brand of conservatism, President Ortiz has pledged his "faith in democracy," and he has promised to restore the constitutional liberties which have been restricted since the 1930 revolution which overthrew Irigoyen.

GONZÁLEZ PRADA'S NEW BOOK: Every new book of Manuel González Prada is an event in Latin-America. The formidable essayist died in 1918 leaving most of his writings unpublished, and as they become known his figure grows in size. Today, he ranks as the mightiest writer Latin-America has produced. None other has spoken the truth more bluntly or more beautifully. When false idols and medieval institutions arouse his anger, he picks up an axe and goes smashing. When a diseased spot on the social body defies his curiosity, he takes a dissecting knife and cuts into the social flesh without mercy.

Figuras y Figurones (Louis Bellenand at Fils, Paris), just off the press, is an autopsy of some of the rulers of Peru from 1878 to 1918. Here are a few chapters of Peruvian history that no one else would have dared tell. But their import is larger than that. They are a lesson on Latin-American political surgery, for there is almost no country in Latin-America without its Pardos and Piérolas and Romañas.

SAMURAI STRATEGY

Japanese militarists have anticipated everything except the prolonged resistance of the Chinese

By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

THE war now in progress in China is the child of opportunism. It has been a cardinal article of Japanese policy that the time for aggressive action in Eastern Asia is when Western powers have their hands full at home.

In the summer of 1937, the growing tension in the Mediterranean area, born of the Ethiopian affair and carried on by the civil war in Spain, seemed to afford such an opportunity as far as Britain and France were concerned. Germany and Italy were quasi-allies. The United States, busy with its internal troubles and congenitally pacifist, would be unlikely to act alone. There remained the enigma of the North, the Soviet Union. Japan regarded the growing power of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, with its powerful air force and submarine flotilla, with a wary eye. But in June, 1937, the world was shocked by the sudden arrest and execution of the bright particular star of Russia's new Red Army, Marshal Tukhachevsky, and seven other general officers, on charges of treason. It was impossible to suppose that this event would not have injurious repercussions on the army's morale. Were these repercussions sufficiently serious to impair its ability to conduct a major offensive? And did they extend to the Far Eastern Army?

Immediately, as though to determine these questions, there occurred a frontier incident on the Amur river of rather more serious character than the usual borderline clashes. Russian troops were forced to retire from two islands near Blagovestchensk, and a Russian river gunboat was sunk by Japanese field artillery. Moscow blustered, but made no further move.

Inevitable Expansion

The time seemed ripe for the next move in the Japanese long-range strategico-economic plan which has as its final goal the complete Japanese domination of Eastern Asia. After Manchukuo, the next step seemed to Japanese strategists to be the driving of a territorial wedge between Russia and China, that is, between Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia and the northern provinces of China proper. The "Inner Mongolian" provinces of Chahar and Suiyuan would form such a barrier; but, because of the extremely mountainous and difficult frontier between Manchukuo and Chahar, control could not be maintained over the Chahar-Suiyuan area from Manchukuo. An attempt of this sort had been made in the previous December and had failed.

The one really practicable line of communications from Manchukuo to Inner Mongolia was the rather roundabout railway via Shanhaikwan-Tientsin-Peiping-Nankow-Kalgan; between Peiping and Kalgan this line goes through the narrow, 12-mile-long Nankow Pass, the chief gateway, and the only one suitable for large bodies of troops and their supplies, between the North China Plain and the Mongolian plateau; strategically, the Nankow Pass is the most important terrain feature of North China. But if the Japanese "wedge" in Chahar-Suiyuan was to be supported via Nankow, this implied control of the whole of the railway line, which implies of necessity control of most of the Chinese province of Hopei. The North China plain does not offer any natural defensive line of resistance against attack from the southward until the Yellow River is reached. If, therefore, Chinese resistance was to be anticipated, the Japanese must consider, and be prepared for the occupation of the whole of the area north and east of the Yellow River; that is, not only Hopei, but Shansi and parts of Honan and Shantung, in addition to Suiyuan and Chahar.

The greater part of this area had been denuded of the troops of the Chinese Central Government under the rather mysterious "Tangku Truce" of 1934; however, there were three divisions in the Peiping area whose presence there had already been the subject of Japanese protests. The Japanese strategical plan, therefore, involved the occupation of an area of some 346,000 square miles (about 2½ times the size of Japan proper) in which, they hoped, little immediate resistance would be encountered, and which they could secure against Chinese attempts to retake it. Their objective was not that recommended by Clausewitz—the enemy army—but the occupation of a defined territorial area.

The economic advantages to be reaped from Japanese control on the Manchukuo system of such a North-Chinese autonomous state (population about 25,000,000) was of course a primary consideration.

Japanese Plan

The Japanese plan for the accomplishment of their purpose was as follows:

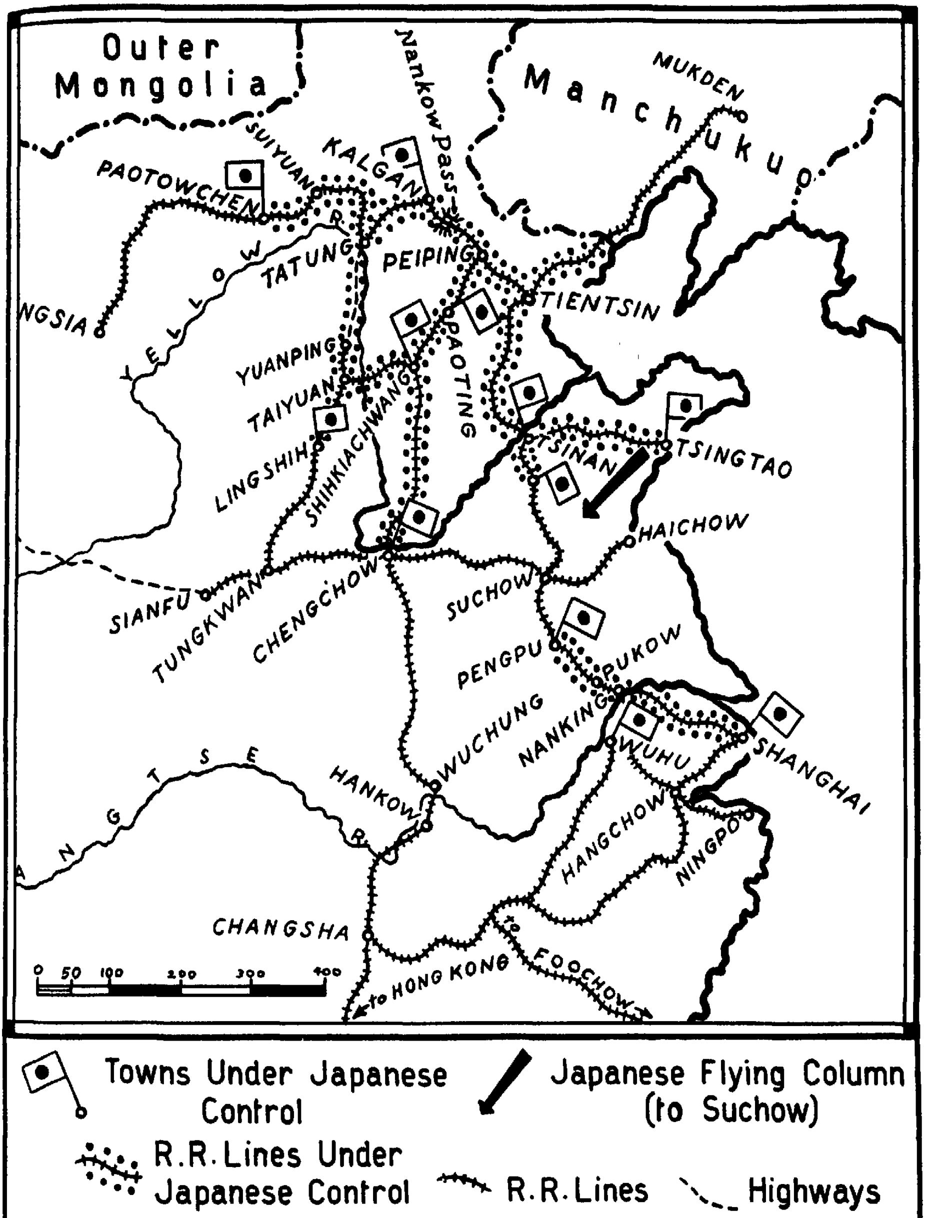
(1) Occupation of Tientsin and Peiping to assure a secure base of operations.

(2) A quick push toward the Nankow Pass to secure this vital gateway.

(3) Simultaneous advances, after assembling the necessary troops and supplies in the Peiping-Tientsin area, along the three main railway lines. (a) The Tientsin-Pukow (Tsin-pu) line, via Tsangchow to the Yellow River; (b) the Peiping-Hankow (Pinghan) line, via Paotingfu to Shihkiachwang (junction of narrow-gauge line leading westward into Shansi) and thence to the Yellow River; (c) The Peiping-Suiyuan (Pingyuan) line, through the Nankow Pass to Kalgan and Tatung, and thence branching into two columns, one westward along the Pingyuan line to secure control of Suiyuan, the other southward by road to Yuanping and thence by the provincial railway to Taiyuan, capital of Shansi, where it would establish communications with the Pinghan force via Shihkiachwang.

Incidental War

As might have been anticipated, one of the "incidents" to which students of Japanese politico-military strategy are becoming accustomed, took place in the suburbs of Peiping on July 7, when Japanese troops engaged in "maneuvers" attempted to force their way into the town of Loukouchiao, then occupied by Chinese troops of the 29th Route Army. The Chinese resisted, firing began, and the Second Sino-



Japanese War became an accomplished fact. There was further fighting on the 19th and 20th of July (though local negotiations were in progress) while Japanese troops began pouring into Tientsin and Chinese troops were reported as moving slowly northward along both the Tsinpu and Pinghan railways. On the 26th of July a more serious "incident" occurred at Langfang, and another on the 27th at Tungchow; both resulted in the Japanese seizing control of these points. The military student will remark the curious favors which fortune showered upon Japan in the location of these "incidents," since they gave the Japanese command of the two lines of communication between Tientsin and Peiping—respectively, the railway and the Tungchow highway. The Japanese pushed forward rapidly by both routes, and a third column, having crossed the Kupeikow Pass from Jehol, cut the Pingyuan railway at Chinho, north of Peiping, on July 28. By July 30 the Japanese were in full control of both Peiping and Tientsin, and the intervening area.

Japanese troops began assembling rapidly for their further offensive moves. In the period July 30-August 3, 130 military trains arrived at Tient-

sin from Manchukuo, bringing troops from Japan which had been landed at Kwantung and Korean ports; other troops were landed from transports at Tangku, the port of Tientsin. By August 7 the Japanese strength in North China was approaching 50,000. They were already moving toward Nankow, both from Peiping and Jehol. On the 12th of August the Nankow station was taken, after vigorous Chinese resistance, but the storming of the pass itself proved a far more difficult operation. Fighting went on for fifteen days, and it was not until a Japanese turning force had managed to make its way over difficult mountain tracks and appeared in the rear of the Chinese main position that the defenders retired. Meanwhile a column from Manchukuo, reinforced by Mongol troops, had moved southward from Dolonnor and taken Kalgan, about 75 miles northwest of Nankow.

Unscheduled Typhoon

The Japanese troops in the Tientsin-Peiping area had made no very considerable advance during this period; they were not more than twenty miles south of those key cities. For this there was a reason. As Captain Tolstoy pointed out (*Current History*, December, 1937), during the first week in August a terrible typhoon had disrupted all communication lines in Southern Manchukuo. The Nankow operations eventually absorbed most of the 50,000 troops which had been assembled in North China by August 7, and the Japanese were therefore momentarily dependent on such reinforcements as they could obtain direct by sea. Meanwhile, the Chinese force on the Pinghan railway, estimated at 170,000 on August 1st, was growing rapidly, and other troops were assembling near Tsangchow on the Tsinpu line. Chiang Kai-shek had called on the Chinese people to "fight to the bitter end." If he sent his German-trained divisions northward (his best troops, numbering something under 100,000) as a spearhead for a determined Chinese attempt to recover Tientsin and Peiping, the rear of the Japanese army at Nankow would be threatened and the whole Japanese force in North China in a position of extreme peril.

As Moltke points out, judgment on a strategic plan must be based, not on the clear light of after-knowledge of events, but on the information in the possession of the responsible commander *at the time*. From the point of view of Field Marshal Prince Kan-in, Chief of the Japanese General Staff, it must have seemed imperative, at this juncture, that something be done to relieve the growing Chinese pressure from the south before that pressure developed into a dangerous offensive.

What happened was another convenient "incident" at Shanghai on August 9, in which, again, we find uniformed Japanese attempting to force their way into a Chinese military area—this time the Hungjao airport.

Shanghai Diversion

The Japanese concerned were killed (they were an officer and a seaman of the naval landing-force); on August 11 four Japanese cruisers and several destroyers, carrying four battalions of the reserve naval landing-force from Sasebo, arrived at Shanghai. These were landed on the 12th in the Hongkew area of the city along the Woosung River, joining the small Japanese forces already in occupation of the northern part of the International Settlement. Fighting began on August 13, as the Japanese tried to push toward the North Railway Station in Chapei; Chinese reinforcements were rushed to defend the city, and the Japanese force was in some peril until, on August 23, a division of Japanese troops was landed at Woosung. Further troop reinforcements were put ashore between Woosung and Liuho on August 28, but did not effect a junction with the main Japanese force until September 7, after heavy fighting. By September 13 the Chinese had effected a withdrawal to the much shorter and more easily defended line, Liuho-Lotien-Kiangwan-Chapei, where they were destined to hold against repeated Japanese attacks until late in October.

But by the middle of September some 350,000 Chinese troops had been drawn to the Shanghai area and were there contained by less than one-third their number of Japanese. The threat to China's principal commercial port, the chief source of customs revenue which was in turn the chief source of government income, and the ultimate threat to the Chinese capital, Nanking, less than 200 miles inland from Shanghai, had effectively diverted Chinese attention from the northern front, had kept Chiang Kai-shek's best troops in the Yangtze area. Indeed, by September 1, it was already apparent that there was no fear of any Chinese offensive in the north as long as the pressure on Shanghai was maintained.

Meanwhile Japanese troop concentrations in North China were again growing rapidly; the total, by September 1, was estimated at 100,000. One of Japan's most distinguished military leaders, General Terauchi, was appointed to the chief command, and the three offensive movements previously indicated were all under way by September 14. Meanwhile troops kept pouring in (several classes of reservists had been called out in Japan) and by September 15 foreign observers put Terauchi's total effectives at 250,000

Feeble Resistance

The twin advances down the Tsinpu and Pinghan railways present few features of military interest. Chinese resistance was feeble and ineffective. The Japanese used wide turning movements to outflank the successive Chinese positions, and maintained a rate of advance of from five to eight miles per day. The Tsinpu column took Machang on Sept. 11, Tsangchow on Sept 25, Tehchow (in Shantung) on Oct 3, and pushed on for the Yellow River, not far below the latter place. The Pinghan column forced the crossing of the Yungting River, Sept. 14-15, took Chochow on Sept. 18, turned the Chinese position at Paotingfu and captured that city on the 25th, turned and captured the railway junction, Shihkiachwang, October 8-10. Here they paused to secure control of the line running west into Shansi, where somewhat heavier Chinese resistance was encountered in the mountain passes.

The Pingyuan force (Lieut. General Itagaki) occupied Tatung on Sept. 13, and pushed rapidly southward in two columns for the Yenmen Pass, gateway to the interior of Shansi. The troops of the provincial governor, Yen-hsi-shan, made a brave stand at the pass, but were, as usual, outflanked and taken in the rear by a Japanese column which crossed the mountains by more difficult routes to the eastward. This column took Taichow, in rear of the Yenmen, on Oct. 2; the Chinese defenders of the pass thereupon retired, and the Japanese pushed on for the provincial capital, Taiyuan. But their advance was considerably delayed by the irruption into Shansi of the Chinese Communist Army, which had declared its loyalty to the Central Government and become the 8th Route Army of Chiang Kai-shek's forces. This force interrupted the Japanese communications, and on Sept. 24 (according to the *Militar-Wochenblatt's* correspondent) attacked and defeated a Japanese liaison detachment near Kwangling, in Northeastern Shansi. This was the be-

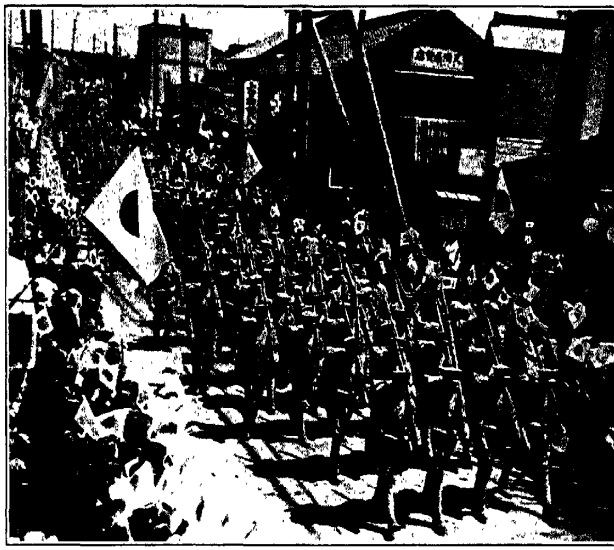
ginning of the guerilla war in the Japanese rear area; whether, in this incident, General Terauchi was able to perceive ominous handwriting on the wall, we do not know. The threat to Tatung was imminent, and the advance on Taiyuan came to a standstill for the moment.

Conquered Territory

Meanwhile a small Japanese force accompanied by considerable bodies of allied Mongolian cavalry under Prince Teh had pushed swiftly westward from Kalgan and Tatung and had seized the whole of the Suiyuan railway, dominating that province. Thus, by the end of October, the Japanese were in possession of the greater part of Hopei, all of Chahar and Suiyuan and about half of Shansi—say a total of 295,000 square miles. The conquest of this area had been accomplished in the remarkably short time of three months from the first incident at Peiping. But it was a conquest based entirely on the physical possession of the principal centers of trade and of the lines of communication (railways and strategic highways). The vast intervening areas were controlled neither by the Japanese nor by such Chinese puppet officials as the Japanese were able to set up.

At Shanghai (as already pointed out) stalemate endured during October—until the 27th, when heavy Japanese attacks began which, by November 3, had driven the Chinese from Kiangwan and Chapei. The Shanghai diversion had served its purpose, and could now be "liquidated." On November 5, the Japanese delivered their final stroke for this purpose. They landed 30,000 troops on the shore of Hangchow Bay, southwest of Shanghai, advanced rapidly inland, cutting the Shanghai-Hangchow railway and threatening the rear of the Chinese main position. The Chinese were compelled to begin a rapid retrograde movement toward Soochow, to avoid complete annihilation or capture. The entire Shanghai area was quickly cleared of Chinese forces, and the Japanese pushed on to Soochow, which fell without resistance. It immediately became apparent that the Japanese intended to advance on the Chinese capital, at Nanking. One column broke through a Chinese defensive line north of Lake Tai—here again they turned the Chinese position by using boats on the lake—while another, moving south of the lake, struck toward the Yangtze above Nanking with the object of cutting off the capital from the interior of China. This was accomplished by the capture of Wuhu on December 5. On December 10-11 the Japanese penetrated into the city of Nanking (from which the Chinese Government had already fled) and the city was given over to sack.

On December 25 a Japanese force from Shanghai took Hangchow, with its important arsenal and air base. By the turn of the year, therefore, the Japanese were in possession of the quadrangle Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow-Wuhu.



SEND-OFF: *Tokyo gives a farewell greeting to the young men who are expected to instruct the Chinese in "the art of civilization."*

Forging the Conquests

Meanwhile, in the northern sector, the principal events had been the capture of Taiyuan (early in November) and the Japanese advance across the Yellow River into Shantung. This rich and populous province had been left to itself until the Japanese had consolidated their positions north of the river. Its inclusion in their scheme of occupation could be justified, strategically, on these grounds: first, that it afforded them a foothold south of the river from which they could flank any Chinese attempt to recover the lost territory by an advance from Hankow; second, that Japanese forces in this area could be rapidly reinforced by sea, by way of the port of Tsingtao and the railway from that place to the provincial capital, Tsinan, on the Tsinpu line; third, that it was a necessary preliminary in case the Japanese decided to link up their two occupied areas by obtaining possession of the whole of the Tsinpu railway. The Japanese crossed the Yellow River on December 23; Tsinan fell on the 27th, and on January 10, Japanese naval landing parties occupied Tsingtao.

It soon became apparent that the Japanese purpose was indeed to join their northern and southern forces along the Tsinpu railway. For this the strategic point was Suchow, where that line is crossed by the east-west line known as the Lunghai railway. Pushing north from Nanking, the Japanese have reached (February 25) the line of the Hwai River. They have completed the occupation of most of Shantung, and their northern forces face the Chinese in the vicinity of Tsining. Meanwhile, in the west, renewed Japanese offensive down the Pinghan line has reached the Yellow River and is threatening Chengchow, junction of the Pinghan and Lunghai railways, which lies just south of the Yellow River. For this, again, there is good reason.

Salutary Executions

The Chinese resistance in the Suchow area has been the most determined that Chinese armies have yet been able to offer in the open field. It is being personally directed by Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and executions of such lukewarm generals as Han-fu-chu (lately war lord of Shantung)

have set salutary examples for the rest. China's powers of resistance, however, are largely (not wholly) dependent on keeping open her lines of communication with foreign sources of munitionment, her own industry being unable to support the strain of war. Of these lines, two are paramount in importance. The first is the Hongkong-Canton-Hankow railway, by which supplies are pouring in through the British port of Hongkong, which cannot under present circumstances be blockaded by the Japanese. Attempts by the Japanese air force to interrupt this line have proved futile. The second line is the road from Soviet territory which crosses Sinkiang, passes through Lanchow, and reaches railhead at Sianfu, capital of Shensi. This is the western terminus of the Lunghai line; from here trains can reach Hankow via Chengchow, or proceed eastward along the Lunghai line to Suchow. By this road—the Silk Route of Marco Polo's time—a steady stream of supplies has been pouring into China from the sympathetic Soviet Union. The capture of Chengchow by the Japanese would force the diversion of this stream of supplies to the difficult mountain road from Sian to Hankow and the stream would die away to a mere trickle.

Japanese Concern

Moreover, the desperate Chinese resistance in the Suchow area can perhaps be abated by this pressure on their rear and flank. Already the failure of the Nanking force to advance beyond the Hwai River has caused concern in Japan. The Japanese commander-in-chief in the Shanghai area, General Matsui, and his two principal lieutenants, have been relieved of their commands.

In the north, the Japanese movements are being increasingly impeded by guerilla operations of the 8th Route Army and other Chinese forces against their vital lines of communication. Their position in this respect presents some analogy to that of the British in South Africa after Boer resistance in the open field had ceased, but Boer guerilla bands were continually raiding the railways, blowing up bridges, tearing up the track, capturing trains, wiping out small detachments. They hold, as has been said, only the strips along the railways; the rest of the country is in Chinese hands.

If the Japanese succeed in forcing the crossing of the Yellow River in the vicinity of Chengchow or above that town, the Chinese about Suchow (some 400,000 strong) will be in serious peril of being surrounded; it is difficult to see how they can be withdrawn, at least without heavy loss. But the major Japanese problem, that of reducing to effective control the vast area of Chinese soil which they then will occupy (close to 600,000 square miles) will by no means be solved.

Chinese Air Raids

The Chinese air forces (sadly ineffective in the opening days of the war) are showing signs of rejuvenation, largely, no doubt, as a result of the influx of Russian pilots and machines. Several highly successful raids on Japanese airdromes have been climaxed (February 22) by the first Chinese raid on Japanese territory, in which serious damage is said to have been inflicted on the Japanese air base at Taichoku, Formosa.



Louisville Times

OIL FOR TROUBLED WATERS

So far, the Japanese strategy has been well conceived, by the directing staffs, and well executed (with few exceptions) by the commanders in the field. Beginning with their plan for the occupation of North China, their Shanghai diversion was smartly handled, was kept up until the North China operations had reached the proper stage, and was then quickly and effectively transformed into an advance on Nanking, which the Japanese hoped would break Chinese resistance by the sheer power of despair. But in this longer-range conception of their task—the belief that Chinese resistance would crack under these successive hammer-blows—the Japanese strategy has not been justified by results. They have been drawn into a long, costly war which has afforded them much territory, but until China submits, Japan can reap little in the way of economic and commercial harvests from her tremendous expenditures of blood and treasure. The Japanese armies have been compelled to advance deeper and deeper into the vast expanse of continental China; and still the "unreasonable" Chinese fight on. Japanese armies have been everywhere victorious, but so was Napoleon in Russia, so also (in general) the British in the early days of the American Revolution. And it is becoming a question whether the Japanese financial, industrial, and even social fabric can stand the strain much longer.

The Japanese are now said to have upwards of 1,000,000 men under arms on the mainland of Asia. Some of these are engaged in fighting the Chinese armies on the Yellow River front. Some are guarding the tremendously extended lines of communication or trying to clean up the guerilla bands in North China. Some are holding the Shanghai-Hangchow-Wuhu line. But others are in Manchukuo, watching and waiting. Beyond the Amur, beyond the desert barrier of the Gobi, there still hangs the threat of the enigma of the North—the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Army of the Soviet Union, half a million strong, provided with a powerful air force and hundreds of tanks and armored cars, commanded by the best strategist at the Kremlin's command, Marshal Vassili Galen-Blucher, an officer abundantly familiar, from his own experience, with the Chinese scene.

And the question that must lie in the back of every Japanese general's mind is—will Russia stand by and see Japan establish herself in North China, consolidate her position and then, in the fullness of time, turn—as turn she surely will—upon the Russian Maritime Province and eliminate once and for all the menace of the Russian air bases along the Amur and the Ussuri and the fortress of Vladivostok—that "pistol pointed at the heart of Japan?" Or will Blucher—and the Kremlin—remember that early spring is the most favorable season for beginning military operations in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, as the snow clears from earth not yet softened by the summer rains?

MR. EDEN AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN

The youthful Mr. Eden has "retired" from the scene but how long can the aging Mr. Chamberlain continue?

LEGEND persists that the Russians, pursued by wolves across the frozen steppes of Siberia, effected a very neat escape by hurling children from their sleighs to the hungry pack. And perhaps it is this legend that inspired Neville Chamberlain to throw young Anthony Eden overboard from the British ship of state to distract momentarily the bellicose attention of that modern pirate, Signor Mussolini. At least, there is some truth in such an analogy for the Duce has often characterized Eden as "Public Enemy No. 1."

But why sacrifice the young Foreign Secretary? Why sacrifice the dashing, brilliant Eden who has risen from political obscurity to hold aloft the white plume of purity, of world peace, and of collective obscurity? And who is Eden? . . . what are his vows of knighthood? . . . at what altar does he worship? To know this, we must know something of the man.

In 1935, the then Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin equipped Britain with two foreign policies by the simple expedient of appointing two foreign secretaries. One man to be called Foreign Secretary, to do the dirty work; the other, Secretary for the League of Nations Affairs, to sprinkle perfume. Sir Samuel Hoare, a seasoned diplomatic henchman took on the former task, and Anthony Eden, long favored by Baldwin among the younger men, was handed the diplomatic atomizer.

Then came the Hoare-Laval "deal" on Ethiopia. It leaked out to the public, and smelled so badly that Baldwin had to eat the whole idea in public. Hoare, stinking high of the devil's work, was beyond redemption, and beyond perfume of whatever strength. He resigned and the sweet-smelling Eden succeeded to the office of Foreign Secretary.

Thereupon the young knight buckled on the armor of purity forged by the British press, and set forth to win his spurs in the fight for peace and collective security. Upon his banner was emblazoned the emblem of Geneva, the device of the League of Nations.

Eden was sincere, and he looked the part. He loved peace in his peculiar way, for his two brothers had been cut down by the World War with the youngest, William, just sixteen and dead at Jutland, and Edward, the eldest son of the family, killed in France. Born in 1897, Anthony had grown up tall, and handsome. He was of the gentry, of the ruling class with his mother something of a society beauty, and his father a testy baronet whose claim to fame lies solely upon a quarrel with Whistler.

Through Eton and Oxford, and then to War where he fought well and earned a Captain's rank. Eden was the right sort, queer, perhaps, in that he studied Oriental languages, but the type of fellow a chap might introduce to his sister or to his mother. And he was also the right sort for British politics. He was a tested patriot and he had a handsome wife, the daughter of Sir Gervase Beckett, and two sturdy boys, with sufficient independent money to dress himself impeccably. Further than that, he had a touch of the masculine effeminacy the British love, and to set it off he carried a handkerchief hidden in his sleeve. There was a story current that during his angry interview with Mussolini, he whipped it out and made the Duce jump for fear of a stiletto thrust.

But it must be remembered that in the upper reaches of British politics a man is judged by what he stands for, and not at all by what he is. Eden stood for all the virtues that the English ruling class had found compatible with their best interests. And more than that, and stranger still to British politics, the lower classes had come to accept and believe in him as their champion. For this specific reason and for many other reasons, obscure to all but a genealogist, the British Old Guard took him under their wing and brought him along. By 1926 he had become parliamentary private secretary to Sir Austen Chamberlain, the then Foreign Secretary. By 1931 he was parliamentary undersecretary to the Foreign Office, at which time "Bumbling" Baldwin peeled an eye in his direction and marked him down for future use. From then on Eden burgeoned. As Lord Privy Seal in 1934, he was practically a sub-foreign minister. And in 1935, Baldwin, "who invariably told the truth in small matters, in order to tell a more plausible lie about something of consequence," double-teamed young Anthony with Sir Samuel Hoare.

Young Anthony was quickly popularized by the British press as defender and protector of the League of Nations. At a time when Italy was raping Ethiopia, and the British masses were



Western Mail & South Wales News

DISAPPOINTING

looking expectantly to Geneva for guarantees of peace, Eden was a valuable dummy for the Conservative Party during the General Election. He insured the victory. The people believed in Eden, even if they didn't like the company he kept. He was the Knight in shining armor, and he was sporting a white plume. If anything was rotten he would surely tell them; he would expose "Baldwin and His Buddies," if they were cooking up a deal. And Anthony would . . . if he could . . . but he didn't. Young Anthony might have spoken at any time. But he was gagged, gagged with the "old school tie."

Of all things in young Anthony's career, the most exciting was his trip to Rome, for an interview with Mussolini. He arrived in armor, with his plume, and he was determined to chase Mussolini right out of Ethiopia then and there. But the Duce spit on his armor, tickled him under the nose with his plume, and before booting him out, roughly informed him that he did not have the temperament for taking orders from an office boy. Of course, young Anthony was mad. He quit Italy vowing vengeance.

Back again in the privacy of the Foreign Office, Young Anthony thundered and wept. He wanted Britain to avenge his honor. He wanted warships to terrorize the Italian coasts, and warplanes to threaten the interior, and most of all he wanted the British lion to have at Mussolini . . . to tear him limb from limb The amused chiefs patted the young man's fevered brow and reassured him; they pointed out that the time for action was not yet. The British lion must first be wormed, and trained down fine for a fight that might possibly involve the crown.

In a way, Eden's interview with Mussolini typifies his brief and bewildering career. He was without power and prestige. He was a front for a group of strong-arm men, a tempting morsel of bait for a peace-hungry electorate, and the internationalist gilt on a solid hunk of British Imperial gingerbread. He was cast in a role written to prove to the world that Britain was not as other nations, moved by self-interest, but self-sacrificing, humane, pacific. Young Anthony was the tool of a gang of realists who had never believed all that League stuff, who had no use for the "frogs" or the "ice-creamers below the Brenner Pass," but who feared the "Bolshies"—in short, the Colonel Blimps, the "Britannia-rules-the-waves" and the "what-we-have-we-hold" boys. And young Anthony was ineluctably bound to them by the firmest of all bonds—the "old school tie."

He's on his own now, although he won't be for very long. He'll come back, in a brand new suit of armor, and with another plume. Maybe he'll get to be Prime Minister some day, as many prophesy. Others think he may come back as Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the Soviet British Empire. While a few see him hanged long before that time, hanged with his "old school tie."

Neville Chamberlain

But right now, the youthful Mr. Eden is "out" and the not so young Mr. Chamberlain is "in." Going on his seventieth year and troubled by a persistent case of the gout, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain hardly presents the picture, however, of a statesman whose greatest and longest days are yet before him. For the dignified Birmingham citizen, who is looked upon as the symbol of the calm, unhurried English middle-class business man, has himself acknowledged that he is in the twilight of his political career. His accomplishments have never taken London by storm; he never was the dashing, opportunistic type; of the conservative Prime Ministers in England's recent history, he is perhaps the most cautious of all. "A good town clerk of Birmingham in a lean year," Lloyd George said of him several years ago when assessing his public achievements.

Lloyd George may have been a little harsh, but it is true that until Neville Chamberlain was forty-five his public services had been limited to Birmingham, which had already given England Joseph Chamberlain, his father, and Austen Chamberlain, his brother. When the World War broke out, Neville Chamberlain was asked to serve as Director-General of the National Services. He filled the position for a year but the duties were not clearly defined—Chamberlain wasn't the type to dig around and stir up things to be done—and he resigned a year later. The job was not important, he thought, but he did nothing to make it so. He dropped out of the political spotlight because he had neither the disposition nor the desire to move along with it, and it was not until 1922 that he was hauled up out of the shadows to become Postmaster-General.

When Stanley Baldwin became Prime Minister in 1923, he formed a strong political friendship with the orthodox Chamberlain—a friendship that eventually carried Chamberlain into the position of Prime Minister he holds today. Up through the nineteen-twenties and until a few months after the Coronation, calm, capable Chamberlain filled various Government posts. Each time it was a case not of Chamberlain moving into a new office, but the office moving in around him. Particularly suited to his business training was the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Too capable, too aloof, to be human," they said of Chamberlain when he was slated to replace Baldwin last year. But Chamberlain resented this popular impression of himself and went out of his way to correct it. During a financial crisis he sent letters to the editors of the local press commenting on birds in the London parks. But even these supposedly "human" documents carried no more warmth than a budget sheet from the exchequer files.

Despite his lack of color, Chamberlain was appointed to succeed Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister when the latter had wound up L'Affaire Simpson and the Coronation. He had the support of business even though few business men knew him. He could count his close friends on his fingers, was not approachable in the Lobby of the House of Commons, and was never seen in the smoking-room.

Neville Chamberlain has little sympathy for the idealists, believing they would resort to war in order to keep peace. Chamberlain would make peace by avoiding war. If Italy presents a threat to British peace, mollify her. If Germany presents a threat to British peace, mollify her. If a small nation presents a threat to British peace, suppress her. For Chamberlain's realism is entirely dimensional. Britain will make no concessions except to those who are large enough to put up a big front.

The Prime Minister hopes eventually to effect a four-power agreement which would isolate the Soviet from the rest of Europe. Italy, Germany, and France—according to this reasoning—would form the bloc against communism. But what will happen to Central Europe when Germany and Italy start scrambling for more territory is certain to cause John Bull some serious worry. For the time being, however, Chamberlain's chief concern is to keep the Fascist states from finding a *casus belli*—for which Great Britain is not yet sufficiently prepared.

ALL-AMERICAN CANAL

Soon the waters of the Colorado will irrigate America's Sahara

By HAROLD LAVINE and VIOLET EDWARDS

DOWN Main Street roll two rickety old Fords, packed almost to overflowing with Indians from the nearby reservation. Their fat, grinning faces are streaked with green and yellow, red and purple dyes. Mud from the banks of the swirling Colorado River cakes their hair. Despite the choking Arizona heat, the squaws are wearing six or seven petticoats—more if they own them—necklaces and earrings, row on row of rings and bracelets. Around their heads the men have twirled huge, multi-colored kerchiefs. It's Saturday night—big night in Yuma—and they have come to watch the crowds, to buy some pop at the refreshment booths and some beads at the five-and-ten. For they have money nowadays, lots of it; they have jobs—helping to build the All-American Canal.

Farmers and their wives from Yuma Valley, once desert land but now luxuriant with four crops every year, pour into the city, too. Main Street is lined solidly with cars; a string of cars is even parked right down the center. So they leave their autos on a sidestreet, walk, stopping to greet old friends, to gossip. They're heading for the shops, for they have money; they also want to buy. Later, perhaps, they'll pile into the Yuma or the Lyric Theatre for the latest double feature. After that, into a drugstore for a drink.

Everywhere they go they will find crowds. The lobby of the San Carlos Hotel will seethe with youngsters who left town in '33, when Yuma's six banks closed, and who have returned because there are jobs in Yuma now, and—even better—hope. And everywhere they go there will be talk of the canal: how it's going to be the biggest irrigation project in the world, the only work of man besides the famed Great Wall of China that could be seen by someone on the moon; how it will make the valleys, deserts, and mesas of southernmost California and southwestern Arizona bloom; how the money, which the Federal Government is spending to build it, has made jobs and boosted trade.

In towns and cities all through southwestern Arizona, in the Imperial Valley of California, just across the State line, the scene will be the same. Crowded streets, crowded stores, jobs and money and hope for the future. In the rest of the country people may worry about the recession; here business is booming. Elsewhere they may wonder if another depression is coming; here talk is all of bigger, ever-better business. Gloats the El Centro *Post-Press*: "'Big Ditch' to Assure Prosperity." And in another headline: "Business Boosted." Look for yourself, say the papers; see what the canal has done. Before the work began Winterhaven, California, consisted of a garage, a couple of gasoline pumps, two residences; now it has a modern apartment house, a drug store, a lumber yard, a cotton gin, entertainment resorts of every description, and 75 permanent homes. Tom Worthington, the unofficial "Mayor," estimates that business has increased by 1,000 per cent in the past two years. And he warns:



YUMA INDIANS: *Before the coming of the white man, these genuine All-Americans irrigated their land by damming the Colorado with cottonwood trees, mud and brush.*

"Don't get the idea that Winterhaven is a boom town, built of boards and phoney fronts. It's not. Of the 45 business establishments in town, every one is housed in a building that would do justice to a metropolitan center. Permanence has been our watchword."

Those Draglines

Midnight, and the Indians on Main Street will squeeze into their wheezy Fords and start back for the reservation. The farmers and their wives, bundles piled high on the rear seats of their cars, will leave for home. As they drive off, in the distance they will see long strings of lights, bobbing up and down in the darkness—giant draglines scooping up the sands of the desert, 15 cubic yards of sand at each scoop.

Those draglines have been working day and night since August, 1934. They are ripping an 80-mile-long scar across the Southwest—200 feet wide at the top, 134 feet wide at the bottom, and 22 feet deep—from the hills that border the lower Colorado down through America's "Sahara" and into California's dusty Imperial and Coachella Valleys. In the fall of this year they will have completed their work. Then, Imperial Dam, rooted on steel and wood in the mud of the turbulent Colorado's bed, will shunt the red, silty waters of the river into the gigantic ditch. More than a year will pass while the silt is sealing up the sides and bottom of the canal against seepage. When that is done—and it should be early in 1940—the canal will be ready. The engineers will put the desilting works in operation: through 1,000 miles of district canals in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys will begin to bubble clear precious water to more than 500,000 acres of farm land.

Later—just when has not yet been decided—another 1,000 miles of district canals may be cut in the bleached deserts and mesas of the Southwest. These lands, where mesquite and sagebrush today are the only crops, will bloom as luxuriantly as Yuma Valley does.

Prosperity Canal

And that is why there is hope in the Imperial and Coachella Valleys and in southwestern Arizona—hope for the

greatest and most enduring period of prosperity that has ever been experienced there. No longer will the valleys have to depend upon the old Imperial Canal, which twists its way through Mexico for miles before it reaches California, sending most of its water into the ranches below the border, and leaving only a trickle for the valleys, a trickle which may disappear in times of drought. There was such a drought three years ago, causing farmers to lose a great deal more than $10,000,000.



BIG DITCH: *Draglines have been working night and day since August, 1934. They are ripping an 80-mile-long scar across the Southwest.*

Moreover, because of the desilting works, the water from the All-American Canal will be clear water. And that will mean a saving to farmers of approximately $1,000,000 a year—the present cost of removing the silt that is deposited in the district canals. Later, when the Yuma Main Canal is linked with the All-American, Yuma Valley farmers also will save $1,000,000 yearly in silt-removal costs.

To business men the All-American Canal will mean trade—millions of dollars in trade—first because of the added income that it will bring to farmers, and secondly because the new district canals, when they are built, will carry water to 500,000 acres of what are now wastelands. These lands, which need only water to produce bounteous crops of melons, alfalfa, lettuce, citrus fruits, and long-staple cotton, are owned by the Federal Government, and will be thrown open to homesteaders after the district canals are cut. Thousands of farmers—nobody dares to estimate how many—are expected to settle on them, for the country has year-round sunshine and soil as fertile as the best in America, with no danger of drought, and little danger of pestilence. The settlers will need homes, farm tools and seed to get started. And, once their crops are harvested, they will have money, since the crops of the Southwest have always brought comparatively good prices, even in the worst days of the agricultural depression. So the cities and towns of Imperial and Coachella Valleys and of southwestern Arizona will boom—at least that is what bankers and business men and workers and newspaper editors say in Yuma, Winterhaven, El Centro, Holtville, Brawley, and Westmorland.

Meanwhile, the draglines keep biting their way into the desert. Three stories in height, 800 tons in weight, they had to be torn apart completely before they could be moved to Arizona. The dismantled pieces of each machine filled a freight car. Unloading them and then assembling them again took almost seven weeks. They are built on skids. They move by shoving the skids forward, then rolling after. They can go uphill or downhill—most anywhere, in fact—under their own power. Their buckets are large enough to hold a seven-passenger car with ease.

Force Account

On 20 miles of the canal—the section around Calexico in California—the drag-lines were not used, however. Farmers in the Imperial Valley, hit by the drought, were in need of relief. So it was decided to dig that section by hand. Nearly 300 farmers were hired with their four-mule teams. Under the burning California sun they went to work. Their mules, dragging crude steel buckets, called fresnos, scooped up the earth where the canal was to be and dragged it to one side. The farmers upended the buckets, dumped the earth, then drove their mules back for another load. The job took nearly two years. Where the ground was hard, too hard for the buckets to bite into, the mules were hitched to plows, which loosened the earth. As the canal grew deeper, runways were built along the steep banks. The mules scrambled up them with loads, slid down them with empty fresnos jangling behind. The drivers panted, cursed, and sweated as they stumbled after.

The Force Account (for that is what the farmers were called) lived in huts and tents and shacks, which they put together near the canal. Here they brought their wives and children. When one stretch was finished they vacated their ramshackle homes, built new ones near the new stretch. Their wives cooked for them and washed their clothes; their children played in the sun and helped to care for the mules.

This was primitive living, and primitive engineering—sharp contrast with the model towns erected by the contractors for their workers, and the intricate machinery used in the rest of the project. Just below Imperial Dam, for example, the Morrison-Winston-Utah Company has built a town for more than 500 persons, with 28 huge dormitories, 20 cottages, a general store, a mess hall, a hospital, a bar. At the camp of the W. E. Callahan Construction Company and Gunther and Shirley, on the Quechan Indian reservation near Yuma, many of the buildings are equipped with air-conditioning.

Bribery

It took quite some wrangling, incidentally, before the Quechans would permit the erection of the camp on their land. To every offer that was made by Major L. D. Crawford, the ex-Army flyer who is the Callahan Company's foremost engineer, the fat, old Quechan chief (he stands 6 feet 6 inches in his bare feet) would merely grunt. He wouldn't answer. He'd just grunt. A younger tribesman finally took Major Crawford to one side and told him that his chief really was quite willing to grant the request, but just wanted to see if he couldn't wangle a ride in the engineer's small, red monoplane. The Major offered the chief a ride; the chief smiled and said that it would be all right to build the camp on Quechan land.

Old burial grounds caused nearly as much trouble. There were three of them in the path of the canal, and the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation, which supervises the construction, appointed engineer Bert Wilson to supervise the removal of the bodies. The Bureau gave Wilson an official title, Chief Ghoul,

and told him that before he could disturb any grave he would first have to get permission from the descendants of the man buried there. Wilson got the permission; but he won't tell how.

He will tell, though, about the day a Mexican laborer on his grave-digging gang ran up to him to say that he'd just discovered the grave of his uncle. "I betcha," said the Mexican, "we dig him up and he's preserved just perfect. Always pickled when he was alive. He's still pickled, I bet." And sure enough, when they dug up the body it was "preserved just perfect." Not liquor, however, but the dry sands of the desert were responsible, Wilson says.



FORCE ACCOUNT: *In the Imperial Valley farmers dug 20 miles of the canal by hand. Double teams hitched to steel buckets scooped up the earth and dragged it to one side.*

Desilting the Water

Pride of the Reclamation Bureau's engineers are the desilting works, on which Yuma, Imperial and Coachella Valley farmers depend to remove the mud from the waters of the canal. The only plant of its kind in the world, it will consist of six large basins, arranged in pairs, each 789 feet long, 269 feet wide, and with a depth of 14 feet. The Colorado River, whose current is so rapid that it tears up its bed and swirls the silt along, will pour into the basins through headgates. Once inside, the river will slow its pace, and the silt will, therefore, settle, leaving clear water to overflow into a channel that will lead to the All-American Canal. Seventy-two machines, especially invented for the canal, will scrape the mud from the bottoms of the basins and push it toward subterranean conduits, whence it will be flushed back into the river.

From the maximum daily flow of water into the canal—estimated at 7,776 billions of gallons a day—the desilting plant will extract 70,000 tons of silt, about 75 per cent of the total.

Some 2,000 men are employed on the canal, and the average monthly payroll runs to about $200,000. All in all, the big ditch canal will cost somewhere between $26,000,000 and $38,000,000. The Federal Government is paying for it, but the money will all be returned within 40 years (though without interest) by the farmers who use the water. Under the contract which the Government has signed with the farmers of Imperial Valley—the first group to benefit—payments will not begin until one year after construction is completed. For the next five years, the farmers will repay 1 percent of the cost of the canal annually. That is to say, if the cost is $30,000,000 they will pay $300,000 per year. For ten years after, the annual payments will be 2 percent, or approximately $600,000. Three percent, or $900,000 a year, will be paid for the remaining 25 years.

Each farmer will pay on the basis of the number of acres of land that he owns. Thus, as more and more land is brought under irrigation, the cost to each farmer will decrease.

Old and New Stuff

Hundreds of years ago, before the coming of the white man, the Quechan, or Yuma, Indians would irrigate their land by damming the Colorado with cottonwood trees, mud and brush. They felled the cottonwoods by lighting fires under them, dragged them into the river by sheer muscle. When the river overflowed its banks, they diverted the water into a canal, which they had dug with hand-made, wooden shovels.

Today, steel and concrete Boulder Dam at the headwaters of the Colorado, and other modern dams along its course scientifically regulate the flow of the river, storing up water during flood time, letting it out in times of drought. Modern canals bring the water into the farmlands. And soon, there will be the All-American to bring more water into more land.

Descendants of those same Quechans who irrigated their land by hand are helping now to build the All-American. It's they who roll into Yuma every Saturday night, many of them painted and bedecked, to stare and giggle and spend their share of the money that is being poured into the community by the Federal Government.

Thus continues the story of man's battle to wrest a living from the desert, a story that has reached its climax in the building of the All-American, but not its culmination. Already, there is talk of another, even greater canal, the Coachella, that will branch out from the All-American Canal just below Pilot Knob in the Imperial Valley and cut northward for 130 miles into Coachella Valley. It would open up still more desert land, bring still more settlers, cause even greater prosperity.

That, however, is something for the future.



DRAG BUCKET: *With a capacity of 15 cubic yards of sand at each scoop.*

THE MEXICAN CHALLENGE

The foreigner walks softly in Mexico
He is reminded that he is not wanted

By CARLETON BEALS

IN "the good old days" of Porfirio Diaz in Mexico—that was before 1910—the foreigner was above the law. Americans, whatever they did short of murder, were rarely hailed before the courts. The Cientificos (the ruling inner clique of the dictatorship), serving as go-betweens for ambitious foreign concessionaires, handed over the wealth of Mexico in large juicy gobs at bargain-counter rates. The masses of Mexicans were kept in harsh serfdom by the hard-riding Rurales who shot first and inquired afterwards.

Today the foreigner in Mexico walks softly, very softly. At every turn he is pointedly reminded that he is unwelcome. The press heckles him, the laws harass him. Mexico has set up stiffer immigration bars than even the United States or the Soviet Union. Deportations, as with us, are frequent.

Ninety percent of all employees in any business must be Mexican. "Mexico for the Mexicans" is the militant slogan, though it is not entirely clear yet just which Mexicans are meant. The strongest emphasis--politicians and militarists gouge heavily—seems to be on the Mexican peasant.

Years ago the stock story, supposed to be funny and derogatory, was that of the tourist who asks naively:

"Who owns the mines?"

"The British and Americans."

"Who owns the oil?"

"The British and Americans."

"The railroads?"

"The British and Americans."

"The land?"

"Americans, the British and the Spaniards."

"The textile factories?"

"The Spanish and the French."

"The hardware business?"

"The Germans."

"The banks?"

"The Americans, the British, the French, the Germans, the Spaniards."

"What in blazes do the Mexicans do?"

"They stand on the corner and shout 'Viva Mexico!' "

The Mexicans today are shouting "Viva Mexico!" harder than ever, but now they are putting meaning into their shouts. Many inroads on foreign



MEXICAN INDIAN: *This man is not really a beast of burden. He has acquired a social conscience, and a hatred for the foreigner.*

ownership have been made. Mexico now claims that most American property in the country was acquired at a song, often in shady ways, that its value was then written up to flossy proportions, that many times over this fictional write-up has been taken out in profits. Mexico must own its own resources, is the cry. As a result, it is a little difficult these days to know just who is going to own what and when and how. The only clear thing is that foreign capital, particularly American capital, is the black villain in the piece. The Mexican people demand economic and political liberty; the Mexican nation demands political and economic autonomy.

American Imperialism

For thirty years no one has been able to stop for long this advancing sea of social change. When President Francisco Madero showed a tendency to curb foreign activities, the British oil interests (partly owned by the British government) helped kick him down the chute by backing the bloody Indian militarist, Victoriano Huerta. British support spelled Huerta's doom in Washington. Woodrow Wilson helped put him down the chute. The result of such meddling was more revolution than ever. In 1916-17, our Pershing expedition merely excited the constitutional delegates at Querétaro to more radical measures. Since then we have attempted to hold back the tide by celebrating compromise agreements with Carranza, Obregón, Calles; each of these agreements has crumbled, mean less today than they ever did. A certain American mining interest once shipped a million cartridges to a rebel with Washington's consent. The oil interests subsidized Carranza and later the bandit Pelaez. We have used armed intervention, coercion, the Big Stick, diplomatic pressure, friendship, but whatever the methods we have utilized, the one fact is outstanding: Mexican nationalism is all the more militant today; the efforts to eliminate foreign control of national resources more determined than ever before.

What are the results to date? Since 1915, the year of the first land-distribution decree, nearly 48,000,000 acres of land have been taken away from large estates and given to the peasants. Of this, probably 4,500,000 to 5,000,000 acres represented American holdings, with an estimated value of about $100,000,000. American holdings seized prior to 1920 were awarded nominal amounts by a Mixed Claims Commission. The Bucareli and Morrow agreements tried to limit or stop the Mexican land program. But if these succeeded briefly, in a short time the militant peasant movement—and today nearly 100,000 peasants are armed—forced a resumption of land distribution. The efforts to carry out the Morrow pact not to expropriate land resulted in a reign of terror in rural districts, the killing of hundreds of peasant leaders. Now Cárdenas has declared he intends to complete the land program without fear or favor. Every day sees large new areas turned over to peasant cooperatives.

It has taken the Mexican government twenty-three years to control the oil industry, and the end is not yet in sight. That struggle led to armed banditry subsidized by certain oil interests, to diplomatic mud-slinging, and almost to the brink of war on at least two occasions. 1915–28 may be roughly described as the period during which Mexico fought to force registration of titles and the taking out of drilling permits. This was finally crowned with success. The years 1917–28 represent the period during which Mexico tried to nationalize the sub-soil. This right was finally recognized by Washington in 1928 on all property acquired subsequent to 1917. But new restrictions were put on even pre-1917 property. The period from 1936–38 represents an effort to impose royalties on all production, including that of property acquired prior to 1917, a step excluded by the Morrow agreement in 1928. The British companies have acceded to this; the American companies are still fighting it.

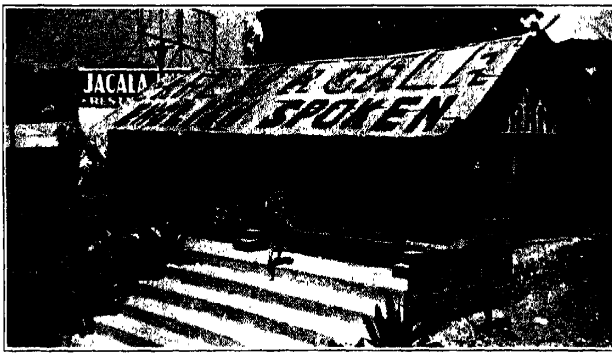
Government and employee ownership of railways has been expanding. In 1936 the Ferrocarril of Torreón, S. A., was sold by a subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Company to a workers' cooperative for $15,000, and $446,699 capital was written off. That same year the Atlixco and San Rafael Railway was taken over by the employees, who have since been extending the line. In June, 1937, the National Railways of Mexico (7,000 miles of track) was nationalized by suppressing the railroad debt and the foreign-owned minority equity. Promise of future appraisal and issuance of government bonds was made. In August the employees took over the Toluca, Tenango and San Juan Railway.

Restricting Foreigners

In the mining industry, ownership is now contingent upon the maintenance of active operations. No new claims can be granted or sold to foreigners. New metal export regulations have been put into effect. Laws are now being urged to force companies to re-invest 25 percent of their gross receipts in Mexico.

One could go on to recite a long list of restrictions now affecting foreign-owned retail business, foreign salesmen, banking, and insurance.

Social legislation and various new bureaus make possible further elimination or more rigid control of foreign-owned business. The 1936 Expropriation Law, modifying the 1857 eminent domain law, permits the government to acquire all land, housing, manufacturing plants, mines, oil wells, etc., "necessary for public and social welfare." The 1937 National Economy Law permits the Ministry of National Economy, if social welfare demands it, to oblige all producers in any given industry to join government-controlled non-profit associations to handle the entire output, set quotas, fix prices and market. The General Petroleum Administration may control quotas, output, storage, and distribution of all private companies and may itself explore, develop, store and market oil. A recent Supreme Court decision makes all private processing machinery, as that for henequén, minerals, sugar, cotton, etc., available to all independent, private, and cooperative growers and producers.



ENGLISH SPOKEN: *Although the American businessman is disliked in Mexico, the American tourist receives a ready welcome.*

Government production in oil, begun ten years ago to supply the National Railways and the government, is now being expanded. The Government has entered the general market as a competitor; on part of its holdings, on a fifty-fifty basis with British capital. A large fleet of government tankers is being built.

Government and workers' cooperative railroading, as we have seen, has expanded. The government has also gone heavily into sugar-growing and refining. The government Banco de Mexico dominates. Rural financing is carried on entirely by the government through the Ejido and Land banks. Other government banks finance small business and industry.

American Stupidity

In this general process, British business has suffered less than American, particularly in the oil industry. Ten years ago, during the bitter struggle over property registration and concessions, the British companies left the united front with the American companies and agreed to abide by all Mexican laws. Thereby they won valuable concessions. For ten years the American oil companies, not liking even the Morrow compromise, have followed the punitive tactic of keeping production down in order to curtail the government's tax income and to force more lenient policies. The British, needing an oil supply on this side of the Atlantic for war purposes in case the Rumanian, Near Eastern, and Dutch Indies fields should be cut off, have constantly expanded their operations.

More recently the Mexican Government has been endeavoring to force all companies to pay royalties. The American companies have refused. As a warning, the government utilized a very excellent technicality to nationalize 350,000 acres belonging to the Standard Oil of California. But the British promptly acceded, agreeing to pay from 15 to 35 percent royalties, and as a result were awarded the fabulously rich Poza Rica field to which their titles were somewhat in doubt. Ten years ago, American companies produced 70 percent of Mexico's oil; today the British companies produce 60 percent; with the new arrangements, will probably produce 75 percent. They have made hay while the American companies sulked.

In trade, however, no country has fared so well as the United States, though both Germany and Japan have made inroads. Germany has spread propaganda wholesale. German concerns force all employees to contribute to the Nazi cause. Though German, and also French department stores, have financed Fascist and anti-Semitic drives, there is no evidence that the Gold Shirt organization,

which recently staged a little fracas near the border, is at present thus aided. Germany, through the use of special trade marks and barter for metals and oil (incidentally assisted by British and American companies), has opened a larger field in the Mexican market. British exports to Mexico are now down to third place, and German trade continues to expand.

Demands for Action

American interests bitterly opposed to the present Mexican régime and Roosevelt's good-will policy, are demanding that we cease assisting Mexico by our silver purchase program. Metal constitutes 76 percent of Mexico's exports and provides 13 percent of her revenues. In the first nine months of 1937 Washington bought $22,000,000 worth of Mexican silver (at about five cents an ounce over market price) and about $28,000,000 worth of Mexican gold. Put an end to this, the complainants say, and Mexican economy would crumple up, and Cárdenas would have to behave himself. The matter is not so simple as that.

When the British first devaluated the pound, a Mexico City daily, with naive local self-esteem, headlined: Great Britain imitates Mexico. Mexico, in 1930, facing serious depression, its treasury in a bad way, by abandoning the gold standard pegged the peso at 3.60 to the dollar (a big devaluation), balanced the budget, placed a big obstacle in the way of the importation of many foreign goods, and gave its own exports a rapid boost. Immediately mines, especially silver mines long closed, reopened—Mexico thereby came through the depression with colors flying, and with no unemployment, while 10,000,000 Americans were tramping the streets.

The Mexican prosperity trend was definitely strengthened by the Roosevelt silver-purchase scheme. In 1932, Mexico's export of mineral products totalled 235,000,000 pesos; in 1935, approximately 600,000,000 pesos. Were the Washington administration to cut off silver purchases, it would indeed be upsetting. Mexico's prosperity would be badly stalled and along with it, we suspect, much American business in Mexico.

Those who argue for this drastic step forget that the silver purchase policy was adopted, not so much to help Mexico, but to help our own silver industry and promote our foreign trade. Mexico is today our sixth largest market. Critics claim that benefits are offset by our metal purchases and tourist expenditures. The latter would probably leave American shores anyway. And it is a slow process, as Secretary Hull has discovered, to build up permanent international trade.

Mexico is not showing herself properly grateful for good-will, her critics claim. The Mexicans retort that if good-will is merely an instrument to force the halting of social reform, then it is a very pernicious sort of good-will. If our buying of silver is meant as a bribe to halt the agrarian program or to deny higher wages in the oil industry, then it is a costly boon. Apparently to insure the customary American Treasury silver purchases for January, Mexico had to set aside the orders of the government Arbitration Board in the wage dispute with the oil companies.

Mexico's answer to such an uncertain silver situation has been further to raise tariff barriers drastically in order to prevent demoralization of her money, thereby delivering an uppercut to Secretary Hull's trade reciprocity doctrines. However, for semi-colonial countries, tariffs intelligently applied are highly beneficial. We used the tariff to free ourselves from the yoke of British capital and build up our industries.

Diplomatic Threats

Mexico for sometime has been resentful that she buys twice as much from us as we purchase from her; more recently she has become resentful over the veiled diplomatic warnings of Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles, by various diplomatic protests concerning tariffs and against her awards of higher wages in the oil industry. Mexico has been greatly angered by the increasing anti-Mexican propaganda put out by American petroleum and mining companies, which she feels is likely to bring about a resumption of our previous traditional policy of coercion and meddling.

Whatever the merit or lack of merit in attempting to protect certain American property rights in Mexico, our recent use of diplomatic pressure to try to prevent the Mexican workers from increasing their wages, makes Mexico more than ever convinced of the righteousness of her nationalistic program. She feels that her measures to control corporate wealth and elevate living standards are very similar to those of our own New Deal, and have even more justification in her case because the so-called "economic royalists" are aliens. She argues that if some 10,000,000 of her people, not now consumers of so-called civilized goods, are given decent living standards, thereby becoming a market for outside goods, in a few years we can sell her not merely $100,000,000 but $250,000,000 worth of goods.

Favoring the British

The growing propaganda against Mexico by American oil interests, the increasing danger of diplomatic antagonism, is leading Mexican officials to believe that the country's economic life would be less exposed if her trade were tied up more with Europe than the United States. Ever since the last years of Díaz' dictatorship, the tendency has been whenever possible to favor British rather than American capital. For some years now the brightest spot in our trade with Latin America (where we control a smaller proportion than we did twenty-five years ago), has been Mexico. But with the new barter arrangements with England and Germany and the new high tariffs, our trade with Mexico is definitely threatened, while that of Germany, Japan, and England will likely increase rapidly.

The curious process seems under way by which the United States is allying itself with the Fascist and Nazi-controlled countries of Latin America more than with the progressive, more democratic nations. This is in part due to the fact that in South America, Yankee companies producing raw materials are themselves playing hand and glove, regardless of economic and political consequences to us, with the Italians and Germans. Immediate raw-product sales profits, in no way benefiting the United States, by American corporate interests with large investments to the South, are considered more important than our broader trade policies or even the future national security of our country. A sympathetic clique in our own State Department is abetting this tendency.

Thus we have given a $60,000,000 gold credit and have offered to loan battleships to Brazil, one of the worst tyrannies in the world, run by a government under the thumb of the Germans and Italians. We have just sent naval advisers to Peru, another Fascist-like country, ruled by a dictator who loves not democracy and who is little more than a puppet of the Italians and very much under the control of the Japanese. In contrast to this we are rapidly coming to swords points with the most progressive government on the two continents, the strongest bulwark against Fascism—that of Mexico.

OUR FOURTH-ESTATE LOOKS AT THE NAVY

A survey of the nation's newspapers reveals little unanimity on the question of the new naval program

By BURT M. McCONNELL

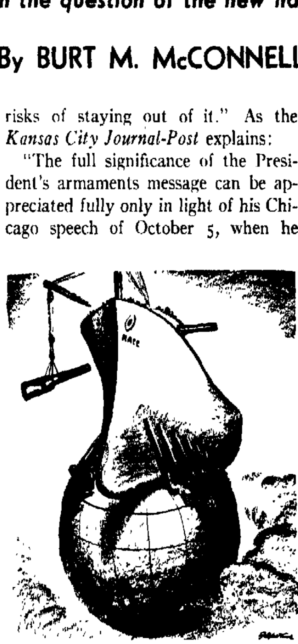
THE greatest program of military expansion this nation has known since the World War is called for in President Roosevelt's special message to Congress on national defense. Already pending, as this is written, are the War and Navy department appropriation bills for the coming fiscal year, amounting to nearly $1,000,000,000. The new program of naval building, if authorized, will ultimately cost another $1,000,000,000.

What do the newspapers of the United States—those watchdogs of the Treasury and independent interpreters of events—think of the Roosevelt Administration's preparedness program?

Among themselves, Great Britain, France, and the United States have agreed not to build battleships larger than 35,000 tons and cruisers heavier than 10,000 tons. Last month the Japanese Government, in reply to a note sent by each of the leading naval powers, declined to say whether or not it was building warships which exceeded in tonnage or guns the provisions of the Naval Treaty of 1936. This defiant attitude, together with the rise of Hitler in Germany, Mussolini's successful defiance of the British Navy in the Mediterranean, and Japanese aggressiveness in the Far East have caused feverish naval-building programs to be undertaken in Great Britain, Russia, France, and a number of smaller countries. The United States is the last nation of any importance to enter this race.

"Only a national emergency could justify so vast an expenditure by a government already deeply in debt," declares the *Cincinnati Times-Star*. "But," it goes on, "the emergency is real and grave. When Japan denounced the Washington and London treaties, the stage was set for a world-wide naval race." Viewed in the mass, we are told, the arms race is sheer folly, "but as long as it cannot be stopped by common agreement, no nation with large interests and responsibilities can afford to run the terrible risks of staying out of it." As the *Kansas City Journal-Post* explains:

"The full significance of the President's armaments message can be appreciated fully only in light of his Chicago speech of October 5, when he



St Louis Post-Dispatch

NOAH WAS A PIKER

militantly denounced the practices of the aggressor nations. He said:

"'The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of human instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.'

"The most significant statement in his armaments message was this:

"'As National Commander of the Army and Navy of the United States, it is my constitutional duty to report to the Congress that our national defense is, in light of the increasing armaments of other nations, inadequate for purposes of national security and requires increase for that reason.'

"The first statement meant the abandonment of isolation as a national policy. The second, added to the first, means that we accompany that abandonment by entering the international armaments race. Our position in world affairs becomes approximately the same as that of Great Britain, a non-aggressor nation which is arming for protection against those who 'violate treaties' and ignore 'humane instincts.'

"Yesterday's message rounds out the Chicago speech as a pronouncement of the most positive foreign policy we have had since the World War. There have been supplementary additions to it from time to time in recent weeks.

"On January 12th the President, in announcing that our economic ties with the Philippines would be extended to 1960, in effect warned Japan that the United States has no intention of pulling up stakes in the Pacific. On the next day the Navy Department revealed that American cruisers would attend ceremonies opening a new British naval base at Singapore, an act interpreted as meaning greater Anglo-American naval cooperation in the Orient. And Secretary Hull said American forces are being kept in China because this country is interested in 'the preservation and encouragement of orderly processes.'"

Declaration of Policy

Since our foreign policy, mentioned by the Kansas City paper, determines our naval policy, the latter is of considerable importance. Representative Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, has put into legislative form the President's recommendations for a 20 percent increase in our Navy, and for the first time in several decades has framed a declaration of naval policy for the approval of Congress. As reported by Hanson W. Baldwin, naval expert of the *New York Times*, it reads:

"It is declared to be the fundamental policy of the United States to maintain an adequate navy in sufficient strength to guard the continental United States by affording naval protection to the coast line, in both oceans at one and the same time; to protect the Panama Canal, Alaska, Hawaii, and our insular possessions; to protect our commerce

and citizens abroad; to maintain a navy in sufficient strength to guarantee our national security, but not for aggression; to insure our national integrity, and to support our national policies."

As a settled policy, observes the *Hartford Times:*

"*It may be taken for granted that we* do not contemplate a war with Japan. Our possessions in the Pacific do not appear to make a war necessary. Japan does not need our small islands, having dozens of her own spread out in the Pacific. The Philippines are on the way to independence.

"But with Japan riding hard and fast behind its militarists in China, it would be unwise policy for the United States to act on the theory that we contemplate no clash with Nippon. It is only as Russia, Britain, and the United States assert themselves with firmness as to Far Eastern rights and interests that Japan's military expansionists are likely to respect any limits to their reckless invasion of China and to their cool disregard of the interests of other Powers.

"Aside from Japan, South and Central America represent a vital factor in our naval policy. Fascist nations such as Germany and Italy are seeking increasing footholds on the Western Hemisphere. Airplane routes are being established. Rapid expansion is taking place in their trade volume. In Fascist policy, military, political and economic programs are one.

"The Monroe Doctrine is not beyond challenge in this situation. The prestige of the United States depends almost entirely upon its military readiness, in the eyes of militaristic Germany and Italy. It is quite clear from Mussolini's respect for Britain in the Mediterranean, and Hitler's heeding of warning from France and Russia, that armed preparedness on the part of non-Fascist nations has had restraining effect."

The Navy Viewpoint

Testifying before the House Committee on Naval Affairs, Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations, said "political conditions in the world at this moment, both in Europe and in the Far East, are far more threatening than at any time since 1918, and no improvement is in sight. . . . The initiation of at least one armament bloc of three nations (Italy, Germany, and Japan) can not be ignored." The Admiral then gave the following table, showing the present situation, as regards naval vessels among the various Powers: (The figures for capital ships are given in an accompanying chart.)

The expenditure of $1,000,000,000 over a period of years, in the opinion of Navy experts, would bring our number of comparatively modern battleships to 18, and provide two additional aircraft carriers, nine cruisers, twenty-three destroyers, and nine submarines. It would not, however, provide for additional Navy airplanes.

The building of these vessels "would help tremendously to cut down unemployment and revive industry," thinks the ***Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger***. "The sum required is a large one," admits the ***Houston Chronicle***, "but it would be spread over a period of years. And a clause in the Vinson Bill gives the President the right to suspend the program if and when a naval limitation treaty is signed." Meanwhile, maintains the *Denver Post*, "preparedness is the best insurance against war." "In the midst of the greatest armament race in history, the United States, the richest country in the world, invites disaster so long as its Army and Navy, with their air forces, lag behind," asserts the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. "When gangster nations upset the peace of the world and glorify war and conquest, the only argument that will appeal to them is force," declares the *Boston Post*. "In reducing its armaments, and thus trying to set an example to warlike nations, the United States," points out the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "has woefully weakened its own defenses. Now the time has come to repair its serious mistakes."



FOR A LARGER NAVY: *Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations, telling a House Naval Affairs Committee that "conditions are more threatening than at any time since 1918." Representative Carl Vinson, chairman of the committee, is at the right.*

Confidence in the President

"What the American public evidently wants," observes the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "is a Navy sufficient

AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

Nation	*Built*	*Authorized Building or Appropriated For*	*Additional Reported Building or Projected (Unofficial)*	*Total*
United States	3	3		6
British Empire	6	5		11
Japan	5	1	4	[illegible]
France	1	2		[illegible]
Italy				
Germany		2		2

HEAVY CRUISERS

United States	17	1		[illegible]
British Empire	15			[illegible]
Japan	12			[illegible]
France	7			[illegible]
Italy	7			[illegible]
Germany		3		[illegible]

LIGHT CRUISERS

Nation	*Under Age*	*Over Age*	*Building or Appropriated For*	*Additional Projected (Unofficial)*	*Total*
United States	10		9	4	[illegible]
British Empire	25	19	17	8	[illegible]
Japan	11	8	2	7	[illegible]
France	12		2		[illegible]
Italy	10	3	2		[illegible]
Germany	6		4		[illegible]

DESTROYERS

United States	35	168	49	8	260
British Empire	88	73	41	25	227
Japan	76	27	9	43	155
France	67	2	22		91
Italy	72	33	45		150
Germany	22	5	12		39

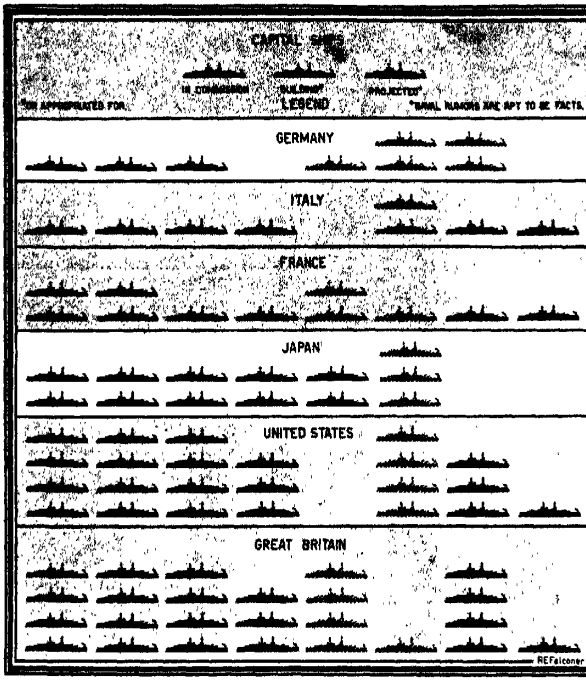
SUBMARINES

United States	22	62	16	6	106
British Empire	40	15	18	12	85
Japan	41	16	3	8	68
France	76	..	16	8	92
Italy	73	8	25		106
Germany	36		25		61

to keep up with the general wave of expansion which has swept the world, but a foreign policy which will not utilize it for fighting unnecessary wars in the Far East or in Europe." "Most Americans are likely to agree with the President," believes the *Kansas City Star*. "He sounds like a man who has no doubt whatever of the correctness of his program," we read in the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*. "His analysis of the world factors which make such a program essential is not open to question," is the opinion of the *Cleveland News*. "It is a long-range program, subject to possible adjustments," we are reminded by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.

True, the expenditures demanded will prove a heavy burden on a government already struggling to meet its relief and emergency requirements, admits the *Houston Post*, "but the world situation leaves us little choice." "In our ordinary life, we provide costly safeguards against community evils and dangers," explains the *Syracuse Herald*, "and in our national life we can not afford to be indifferent to potential attack." In other words, points out the *Springfield Union*, "with the world in a state of jitters; with sacred pledges and civilized morals thrown to the winds, we should be prepared, if necessary, to speak the only language that international highwaymen and murderers understand." These, we might add, are the conclusions reached by such widely scattered papers as the *Columbus Ohio State Journal, New York Sun, Nashville Banner, Buffalo News, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch, Washington Star, Memphis Commercial Appeal, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Portland Oregonian, Cleveland Press, Indianapolis News, Boston Herald, Minneapolis Star, Birmingham Age-Herald, Baltimore Evening Sun, Indianapolis Star, St. Paul News, Washington Post, Philadelphia Bulletin, Minneapolis Journal, Los Angeles Times, Boston Traveler, Chicago Daily News, Milwaukee Sentinel, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, San Francisco Call and Bulletin, Cleveland Plain Dealer, New York Daily News, Dayton Journal, Nashville Tennessean, San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, Boston Globe, Tulsa World, New Orleans Times-Picayune, Minneapolis Tribune, and Birmingham News.*

These newspapers speak for the element in our population which believes we should co-operate with foreign nations in the cause of international peace; that a nation cannot have peace without doing something to earn it. On the other hand, there is a large



group of Americans who would have the United States follow the traditional policy of avoiding "entangling alliances;" who believe that we should make no move to uphold our rights or protect the property of our nationals in any part of the world beyond our frontiers. "Secretary Hull wants the Navy to be large enough to play a part in policing the world," notes the *Hartford Courant*. "And right there," adds the Connecticut paper, "he introduces the note that has made an increasing number of people, within Congress and without, suspicious of the whole foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration." As for Japan, Admiral Yamamoto, speaking for the Navy Minister of that country, recently assured the United Press correspondent at Tokyo that "Japan has never contemplated building a navy for the purpose of crossing the ocean to engage in conflict." As a matter of fact, remarks the *Omaha Evening World-Herald:*

"The chances are that should our whilom friends, the Japs, choose to make war upon the United States, they would find themselves fighting, not this country alone, but Russia and Great Britain as well. And the Japanese are smart enough to realize it. True enough, such a world calamity might bring Germany and Italy into the holocaust of destruction, though it is by no means sure that both would be aligned with the little yellow men.

"Excepting only for Great Britain, the United States already, in naval vessels afloat, under construction, or provided for, has every other nation outclassed.

"There is no thought, we take it, that the British contemplate war upon their 'American cousins.' If this ill fortune should befall us, we would be able to meet even a British foe on even terms; they would have the Atlantic to cross, and bases to establish and protect, while our boys were playing on the home grounds.

"This, however, is fanciful. There is no menace, present or prospective, from Great Britain.

"What of Japan—with an ocean twice as wide to cross before she could get at us?

"We have 17 battleships to their ten; 37 cruisers to their 34; 252 destroyers to their 112; 100 subs to their 60—and an equal number of aircraft carriers.

"The comparison with Italy and Germany weighs still more heavily in our favor. And it is almost as fantastic to regard them as possible invaders as to so regard the British.

"Much of what the President says is undeniable. It is a fact that a fourth of the world's population is 'involved in merciless devastating conflict;' that

efforts to limit armaments have proved futile; that 'armaments increase at an unprecedented and alarming rate.' It is a fact that it is our 'clear duty to protect our nation.' And it may be a fact, too, that our existing and authorized national defense is 'inadequate for purposes of national security.' As to this latter there exist differences of opinion, but due weight must be given the solemn conclusion reached by the President.



BATTLESHIP ROW: *Aerial view of Los Angeles harbor, where huge super-dreadnoughts, the "backbone of the Navy," are anchored behind the newly-completed 12,500 foot breakwater.*

"Many, however, with all deference, will cling to the belief that if we dedicate ourselves to keeping out of other nations' wars; to refusing to meddle; to refusing to go insane because others are; to guarding our own hearthstone—that if we do this we need not again become participants in a world war."

Problem of Neutrality

"Millions of Americans feel that there should be a better understanding of what policy the new arms program is to support," agrees The *Christian Science Monitor*, of Boston. In short, observes the *Hartford Courant:*

"If the defense of the nation is to be undertaken by means of international collective measures, involving embargoes, blockades, and sanctions against nations, a fleet capable of fighting in distant quarters of the world is a necessity. But if defense against involvements in foreign wars is to be sought by a policy of neutral isolation, such as the Neutrality Act contemplates, such a fleet may be entirely unnecessary.

"Inasmuch as military forces exist only to execute policy, a decision on the recommendations of the President may well be preceded by a clear understanding of what line the United States is going to follow in foreign affairs. Otherwise, the danger exists that, however well prepared militarily, the people of the nation will not be prepared mentally or emotionally for the eventualities that may ensue."

A navy capable of fighting in both the Atlantic and Pacific at the same time suggests to the *New Haven Register* "danger of attack from both East and West. Yet what nations are capable of such a venture?" If we wish to strengthen our defenses, this Connecticut paper intimates, we might well begin to pay off a portion of our national debt, reduce taxes, and inject a little confidence into our business structure.

In the opinion of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, "the country's defense policy should be aimed primarily at defense of continental United States. We should limit and define the extent to which we shall cooperate with Great Britain. Are we to assist her in a blockade of Japan, or take part in a defense of Australia?" "The people are entitled to know what the Government's actual objectives are in its foreign policy," avers the *Springfield Republican*. Continues this well-known Massachusetts daily.

"A navy does not necessarily make foreign policy, although, according to its power and size, it may help to shape foreign policy.

"An expansion of the navy by 20 per cent is easily visualized in more battleships, cruisers, and submarines. But the policy that goes with it remains nebulous. So long as it remains nebulous it must excite suspicion and apprehension, especially among that great body of citizens who are opposed to entering another great war for democracy; who are opposed to fighting to prevent Japanese expansion on the continent of Asia or the Pacific archipelagoes adjacent to that continent; who are opposed to entering any informal, thinly disguised alliance with the 'democratic nations' in western Europe to check with military force the aggressions of the current dictatorships."

According to the *Cincinnati Enquirer:*

"Our Navy already is vastly superior to that of Japan and is wholly able to defend the United States—though not the investments of Americans in China, to be sure. After an extra billion is spent, we still cannot expect to have a navy that will defeat Japan's fleet in Far Eastern waters. A billion dollars just won't buy that much navy!"

Concludes the *Christian Science Monitor* in discussing Japan: "If Japan is building the 43,000-ton ships on which arguments for a two-to-one American program are largely based the fact should be possible of proof. Ships big as skyscrapers are not hid under a handkerchief, nor under a kimono. There are few places they can be launched, few shipyards to hold them. If the naval intelligence people do not have evidence, there is little likelihood that there is any to be had. If they do have it, Congress should get it. If they do not have it, asking Tokyo a question with no intention of accepting the answer is an insult not only to the Japanese but to the intelligence of every citizen who is asked to believe rumors when facts might be less frightening.

"The American people will approve a new arms program if they can be shown reasonable evidence of need for it to support a foreign policy they approve. But they will not relish being 'scared' into navy building."

THEY STILL CHASE RAINBOWS

By NELSON COBURN

STOCK market crashes have very little lasting effect upon small speculators. People never abandon their dreams of castles in the air. They still think they can run their small savings into fortunes and then retire to cozy country homes with log-burning fireplaces and large velvety-green front lawns.

I know a man who was a familiar figure among the small buyers in Wall Street about ten years ago. Like most other speculators at that time, it seemed as though he could do nothing wrong. But when the Big Bang of 1929 came, he couldn't meet margin requirements and was able to salvage only a small fraction of his original investment. If his health hadn't cracked, he might have made this amount do for at least a year, but doctor's bills ran very high and soon he had to draw on his insurance. His son left college and got a job in a department store for about $15 a week. It was two years before the father was able to regain his health sufficiently to contribute again to the support of the family. That was the last I heard of him until the summer of 1936 when I learned that both father and son had been playing the market during that year with fair success. I met the father a few weeks ago. His luck had been bad, he had been unable to weather the severe decline of late 1937, and Junior had taken a pretty bad financial beating, too. I asked him very discreetly whether he had decided that Wall Street didn't pay. His reply was not entirely unexpected:

"The breaks just happened to go against me, that's all. All I need now is a little capital. I've got a sure-fire formula to beat the market now and I know of a stock . . ."

There is no "sure-fire" formula for beating the market. Most small investors think that the simplest way to come out ahead is to buy a stock after it has dropped to a low figure and then sell as soon as the prices shoot up again. Generally, it doesn't work out this way. Smart investors realize that it is difficult to know exactly at what price a stock is going to find a bottom. They don't buy in a declining market on the mere strength of low quotations which seem as though they ought to be much higher. They wait until the general market begins to rise before they buy. True, they will not make as much as the speculator who happens to buy at the precise moment that a stock hits its low level, but at the same time they know that at least there's an even chance that the market will not continue to decline.

Another characteristic of the small investor is that he will often sell on a rising market. It is just as difficult to determine when the market will not go any higher as when it will not go any lower. Two years ago, my family physician insisted that I recommend a "safe" stock—one that was sure to go up and which had very little possibilities of going down. I took great pains to point out that there was a large element of risk in every stock but when he insisted I suggested that he buy a certain stock at 55. He bought 200 shares. In three months the stock had climbed to 64. He began to get jittery and asked me whether I did not think it would be best to sell. I told him to do as he thought best but that I personally would not sell a stock as long as the market trend continued to be favorable. Within two months it had continued its upward movement to 75 before it began to break. The stock was sold at 71, or seven points higher than my physician wanted to sell it for when he had attempted to pick the ceiling for the stock. Of course, it is possible that the stock might have turned at 64 and dropped several points before a sale could have been made. In that case, my physician would have played his hunch correctly. But in the long run, it is far safer to follow trends than hunches.

Going Against the Tide

Can the small stock buyer still make money? The answer is that he can, but comparatively few are making it. Analysis of a recent report by the Securities Exchange Commission reveals that the odd-lot buyers—those who purchase fewer than 100 shares of stock—have absorbed a proportionately greater loss during declining markets and a proportionately smaller profit during rising markets. This can be traced to a number of reasons. Most important is their year-in-and-out practice of buying stocks on a declining market in the thought that stocks will not go any lower—hoping for a quick profit when it does rise, and similarly, selling on a rising market. Another reason is their reluctance to take the advice of those best qualified to give it.

Hundreds of small investors visit brokers' offices each day and ask them to buy stocks generally selling at 10 or lower. They are not too particular, but isn't there a good airplane or oil or munitions stock that is certain to skyrocket right away? The reputable broker—and the overwhelming majority of brokers in Wall Street are repu-



OFFER ACCEPTED

table, contrary to popular belief—will definitely attempt to discourage these buyers, pointing out that the mere fact that a stock is at a low price does not mean that it is cheap or that it will automatically go up. Most brokers will suggest that the small buyer invest his money in a stock which, over a period of years, has shown itself to be fairly stable and which, although it may not spurt upwards, will at least give the buyer some assurance that he will not be wiped out altogether.

But small buyers seldom seem disposed to accept conservative advice. One of them recently walked into the offices of a prominent broker and asked that an order be placed to buy 500 shares of ——— stock at ¾. He had never played the Street before but a friend had told him that the stock had only to go up ¼ and he would make $125, a good margin of profit compared to the total outlay for the stock, $375; that an investment in a stock selling at 50 would mean that the stock would have to climb 18 points before it could yield a similar profit; that for the price of one share of 50 he could buy 66 shares at ¾. This sounds incredibly naïve but it happens every day.

In this particular instance, the broker asked the prospective buyer whether he had any information concerning the particular stock, what its earnings had been, whether it had paid any dividends, what its capitalization was, whether this particular industry gave promise of growing, whether there was anything concrete expected in the way of specific orders, etc. Concerning all this, the would-be buyer was very vague; he had his eyes fixed on a distant bonanza and he wanted to brush aside such earthy things as statistics. Even when it was pointed out to him that the stock had only to drop ¼ of a point and he would lose $125 or 33⅓ per cent of his investment, and that if it dropped ¾ of a point he would be wiped out altogether, he decided that he wanted to take a long shot. The stock was purchased and the buyer anxiously and enthusiastically watched the daily stock market reports. For two weeks nothing happened, just a blank in the space reserved for the plus and minus signs. Then the stock went up ⅛ of a point and the speculator rapidly calculated his profit at $62.50. But the profit was erased two days later when the quotation settled back to the original figure. At the end of three months, the stock had moved eight times, four in each direction, and was still ¾. The bonanza-hunter sold the stock in disgust and chalked up the loss of time and money—he had to pay broker's commissions—to experience.

Tipsters Still Thrive

It is strangely true that the very people who will hesitate to take advice from qualified authorities will be the first to lend willing ears to the tipster. Despite crash, calamity, and casualty, the tipster still seems to thrive. People will still pay for what they believe may be a good steer; for some reason they seem to believe that there are certain individuals who are "in the know" and are able to tell with certainty just how stocks will move. It is estimated that approximately one-third of all out-and-out stock speculation is based upon supposed inside tips. Yet the success of the tipster has been no better than the market itself. When the general trend is favorable, the tipster is fairly safe and his predictions may not fall far afield. But his place in a falling market is distinctly uncomfortable, especially when irate buyers bounce back after the fall.



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THE THIN MAN

The tipster, however, is not to be confused with the reputable statistical house, whose function is to analyze securities, look into the financial condition of the firms issuing them, and to furnish other pertinent statistical information. The statistical house does not attempt to say whether a stock will go up or down nor will it guarantee against losses; all it does is to give concrete information about a particular stock and perhaps to reduce the element of speculation in your investment. I know very few people who make a living out of Wall Street—yes, making a living even today—who do not follow the statistical services regularly. They do not regard the stock market as a clearing house for gamblers but something which requires care and conscientious study. At the same time they fully realize that all the study in the world cannot save the most careful of them from looking like rank amateurs whenever the market goes into a nose dive.

Most Wall Street houses maintain their own statistical departments which are available to all stock-buyers. The small speculator, however, does not seem too anxious to avail himself of these services. I heard the other day of a small buyer who spent almost an entire afternoon impressing a broker with what he thought was a unique situation and one which a broker never encounters: he had $300 to spend and he wanted to buy a stock which would give him $200 profit in three months at which time he would need $500 to go away to college. Would the broker please name such a stock but would he also be absolutely certain that this stock wouldn't drop? The broker said he was sorry, that he knew of no such a stock and neither did anyone else. What the buyer might very wisely do, he suggested, would be to consult the firm's statistical department and look over some figures which would be prepared at his request if they were not already available. These figures might help him decide among a number of stocks whose records had been somewhat better than the average. The buyer seemed a little amazed. "Say," he said, "I came here to buy some stock, and nobody's going to make me learn arithmetic all over again. If this is what Wall Street is, I think I'll do better to buy a dozen sweepstake tickets and hide the rest of the money under a mattress!"

The importance of accurate statistical information has often been stressed by the Securities Exchange Commission. A new regulation of the Commission requires that a firm publish a prospectus about itself whenever it floats a new or additional issue of securities. The prospectus is to contain figures on the financial condition of the organization, the expenditures and profits or losses over a given period, and a complete history of its past operations. This, too, is available to all stock buyers but outside of the brokers' offices and a comparatively small number of careful investors, the prospectus is often just so much paper. Few bother to read it. In fairness to

the buyer who ignores the report, though, I can say for a fact that the average prospectus is so complicated that even an experienced investor will find difficulty in getting anything out of it.

It was surprising to observe the large number of small speculators who came rushing down to Wall Street as soon as President Roosevelt announced the appointment of the Securities Exchange Commission for the purpose of correcting abuses in the stock market. They all thought that the SEC would make it impossible for them to lose. At least two dozen cases came to my attention recently of small buyers whose luck in the market had been bad and who couldn't understand why they had lost because they were certain that Mr. Roosevelt had made everything all right. Even now, after the market has gone through a series of protracted slumps, there are still many who buy stocks on the strength of the existence of the SEC. It is true that the work of the SEC has been commendable and that it has taken much of the racketeering out of Wall Street, but it certainly cannot stop the market from going down.

Widows in Wall Street

The small speculators are still in Wall Street. Thousands of them—salesmen, clerks, teachers, doctors, lawyers, writers, butchers, bakers, housewives, and widows. Yes, widows. Wall Street has always been pictured as the place where rich, unsuspecting widows were divested of their last dimes by cruel, villainous brokers, yet this was the type of analogy similar to the wicked mortgage-holder who would drive the family out into the street unless daughter's hand was given in marriage. Few people actually believe that widows were deliberately victimized in Wall Street and many of them even doubted that widows invested their money in stocks. But at least one part of the widow story is true: there are hundreds of them who look to the broker for a return on their capital. Their investments range from less than one thousand dollars to hundreds of thousands of dollars. They are all seeking a utopia in which their capital will make money automatically and in which there is no apprehension over security.

I have never known a broker who has knowingly or willfully taken advantage of a widow. Having been cast in a role similar to that of an ex-convict ever since the big crash, the broker will lean over backwards in order to regain his standing with the general public. He knows now that the slightest slip on his part will be the signal for a public outcry to restrict him to a point where he might as well close shop. So he proceeds with extreme caution, not only with widows, but with all small speculators or investors. He will attempt to find out whether the buyer has sufficient money in reserve so that any possible loss will not find him in serious circumstances. He will discourage small buyers whenever he can, for he knows that the smaller the order, the louder the howl if the speculation turns out unfavorably. And when a speculator insists upon playing the market, the broker will make every effort to have him invest in a stock where the element of risk is as low as any on the Street, even though the investment may not be in a "boom" stock.

War Boom?

Many people have asked whether this is a good time to buy "war" stocks. With the possibility of another world conflict growing greater every day, they seem to think that oils, coppers, steels, chemicals, shipbuilding, and aviation stocks should promise handsome profits. The last war converted the market into a virtual gold-mine for war stocks and they seem to feel—quite aside from the moral aspects of profiteering in war time—that as long as there's money to be made in a new war, they might as well make it.

The truth of the matter is that the days of sky-high stock market war profits are over—at least, in America. With the last war as its gauge, Congress will impose taxes on war profits so steep that the war speculator will find it hard to survive. Moreover, a new war is likely to be extremely costly and devastating and have as its consequences a depression so severe as to threaten the continued existence of the market. Discounting the future as they do, wise investors will not overrun themselves with stock-buying activity during war time. A friend of mine who is recognized as one of the smartest traders on the Street told me



International

CLOSING TIME

only recently that when war comes he is clearing out altogether. He fears outright Government control.

Well, you may ask, is there any stock or group of stocks which look like "good buys"? The answer to that is that most stocks are good when the general market is good. And just when the market is going to be good is something that no one knows. Small speculators who feel they can afford to play the market would do best not to go against the general market trend. The first thing they have to learn is to control their temptation to buy a stock just because it has a low quotation and looks as if it should be much higher. They will do better to avoid pit prices until the stock is on its way back up again. But then again, there are dozens of cases in which this does not work out, even though it does hold for the general market over the long range. It may be just your luck to run into a stock that is moving against the tide.

Should small buyers play the market? I answer that by countering with another question: "Can they take it if they lose?"

SPANISH PEASANTS AT WAR

By GEOFFREY BRERETON

THE Spanish war has been exhaustively studied in its political and strategic aspects. Nevertheless they are secondary to the war's ultimate effect on the agrarian problem, and particularly to the peasant's own reactions towards the struggle.

The Spanish peasant represents 70 per cent of the wage-earning population, and he and his dependents constitute more than half the total population. In normal times he produces 73 per cent of the country's exports. He is traditionally the most backward, the worst paid, and the most valuable member of the national community. Until his problems are solved, or at least attacked on lines which promise a reasonable solution, there can be no peaceful settlement of Spain—much less a return of prosperity. That would still be true if, through some unforeseen development, the war were to end tomorrow.

The questions that require an answer are these: Would a victory of the Loyalist Government raise the peasant once and for all out of the morass in which he has floundered for generations? Would Franco's victory plunge him irrevocably back into it? Above all, does the peasant himself realize what issues are at stake?

Superficial impressions when traveling through the remoter districts of Loyalist Spain suggest that life there has changed little. Men and women, seemingly oblivious of the war, are watching the flocks and tilling the fields by ancient methods. Mule-carts filled with the spoils of the grape-harvest or with produce for the market creak along the roads. Lorries transport oil pressed from the fruit of thousands of olive-trees which are still, in many places, the property of private owners. The peasants continue to work twelve hours a day, and are content with one meal and the same bare, insanitary dwellings that they inhabited before.

In one small town I came across a band of thirty of them, hitch-hiking towards the nearest military centre to be trained as soldiers in the people's army. They were neither enthusiastic nor complaining—they were bewildered. They hardly understood who was fighting whom, or why. In their village high up in the Sierra, remote from traffic and newspapers, they had no contact with the outside world. They had heard of a revolt, and had supposed that it was a rising of the workers, as it had always been before. Then the Loyalist Government had ordered their mobilization. "Government" to these peasants meant a faraway, oppressive organization. If it told them to fight, they had to obey, but few of them realized that it was in defense of their own interests. The Assault Guard who was with me began to talk to them. He had been an agricultural laborer himself until fifteen months of war turned him into a smart and well-informed soldier.

"You will be trained to fight the fascists," he told them. "If the fascists win there will be no hope for you and your families. You will live again like beasts of burden, with rich men owning the land and not paying you enough to keep yourselves from starving."

The peasants still looked puzzled. They did not know enough to appreciate what he was saying. But the essential fact was that they had been mobilized. They were being moved from their isolation into a world where liberty and equality are freely discussed, and when at last they return home they will know why they have been fighting.

This, moreover, was an exceptional case. I had to go very far from the beaten track to meet it. In villages near the railways or main roads such ignorance is non-existent. The creed of labor is expounded in every plaza and bar. It is put in crude, homely terms, and it leaves the peasants in no doubt as to where their interests lie. For a proof that democracy is not only talk, they see how their own lives are affected by the *Reforma Agraria*.

Agricultural Reforms

The work of the *Reforma Agraria* deserves description in some detail. It synthesizes what the Loyalist Government has already done for that part of Spain which it controls, and what it plans to do for the whole country should it win the war. It is the democratic reply to the anachronistic conditions which the monarchy and its dictatorships made no attempt to change

The Spanish Republic in 1931 found itself confronted with the type of agrarian problem that the more advanced European countries had dealt with and solved at latest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is erroneous to call the Spanish system feudal, but so far as it affected the peasants they might in fact have been living under medieval feudalism. Thirty-three per cent of the total cultivated area was frozen in the hands of the big proprietors, who for the most part were content to make a low rate of profit on their estates by cutting to starvation level the wages of the laborers. Had they sunk capital in the development of the land they would have been rewarded by increased returns, as well as bringing some prosperity to their employees and to the country as a whole by a fall in the prices of agricultural products. But with the same lack of vision which left the development of Spanish industry to foreign enterprise—though there was sufficient capital at home for the purpose—they preferred to rely on high tariffs and sweated labor in order to draw an interest estimated at 2½ per cent. Their property was so extensive that they were still rich enough.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of acres of arable land were allowed to lie fallow. Huge tracts of country yielded only half their potential return for want of irrigation and modern methods of culture.

At the other end of the scale were the small proprietors. Thirty-six per cent of the cultivated land consisted of holdings of less than twenty-five acres, and there were 500,000 holdings of one acre or less. It is hard to say which were the worse off—the small owners possessing no capital to buy modern implements, fertilizers, or even seed, or the laborers working on big estates for an average wage of fifty cents a day

when they were fortunate enough to be employed.

Republican reform was initiated when the Spanish Cortes passed the law of September 15, 1932. This provided for expropriation without compensation of the estates of grandees implicated in General Sanjurjo's attempted revolt of the previous month, for the expropriation with compensation of certain other property, for the immediate settling on this land of peasants in the most poverty-stricken districts, and for the creation of the Institute of Agrarian Reform whose mission was to help with subsidies and technical advice.

The work had hardly begun to take form when the reactionary government of November 1933 came into power, cancelled or delayed the expropriations, and reversed the whole reforming tendency of its predecessor. The outcome was that when the Popular Front won the elections of February 1936, only 17,000 peasants had been settled on 410,000 acres of land, or .7 percent of the cultivated area of Spain. Such were the results, after the reactionary sabotage of five years' work on the most urgent problem that the Republic had been called to face.

The Popular Front Government, which had come in partly on its agrarian program, immediately pushed on with reform, and in six months had opened up to the peasants five times as much land as the reactionaries had given them in two years. This land was not expropriated but, in the terms of the new law, "temporarily occupied." It remained the property of the original owners, who had recourse to legal appeal. It was still only a minute fraction of Spain. Nevertheless, the great landowners took fright, and their panic was a determining cause of Franco's revolt.

Wholesale Expropriation

Since then, 7,454,700 acres, or one-seventh of the total arable land, has been expropriated. The figure is high when it is remembered that it applies only to territory under Government control, and that in this territory are the small holdings of the Mediterranean coastal provinces, which have hardly been touched. The rate of expropriation in the first weeks of the rebellion was, in fact, too rapid. It was carried out indiscriminately by the labor unions, and infringed in some cases on the small bourgeois landowners in Catalonia and Valencia Province. A reaction set in, and the Government took charge of the situation. Considering that it was at that time faced with the most critical phase of the revolt, its action was remarkably swift and decisive.

By the decree of October 7, 1936, Vicente Uribe, communist Minister of Agriculture, cut out the labor unions from this sphere, and introduced the Government-controlled scheme which



OFF TO WAR: *Perhaps this Loyalist militiaman is kissing his son for the last time*

now prevails over the whole Loyalist territory. The decree provided for:

(*A*) *Nationalization without compensation of the property of owners who had taken part directly or indirectly in the rebellion.*

(*B*) *The making-over of expropriated land to collectivized or individual workers, not as their property, but for their use and exploitation.*

(*C*) *The allotment, through the Institute of Agrarian Reform, of necessary implements and seeds, and the creation of a Bank of Agricultural Credit.*

No radically new principles were involved. The significance of the decree is that it was vigorously put into practice. A visit to the offices of the Agrarian Reform in any provincial capital will convince the most skeptical that it is functioning with energy and knowledge.

In less than a year nearly 25 per cent of the cultivated part of Loyalist territory was turned over to the peasants. Ten million dollars were distributed in credits and subsidies. A number of co-operative farms have been started, but there is no fixed policy on this point. It is the peasants who decide, in each district, whether they prefer to work cooperatively or as families or individuals. Many landowners, not all of them small, obviously remain in possession of their property. They employ labor as formerly, and pay wages ranging from $.80 to $1.30 per day.

War is a double-edged tool. It increases the difficulties of organization, especially when the front cuts across normal means of communication and divides provinces which are economic as well as administrative entities. Yet by imposing as a vital necessity the intensive raising of foodstuffs, it forces through experiments which peace would only contemplate. The Agrarian Reform is now fairly launched on the first part of an ambitious Five-Stage Plan which, if completed, will modernize Spanish agriculture to a degree unheard of three years ago.

The full results of agricultural planning cannot show in a few months, or even a few years, but some progress is already apparent. With the passage of time the peasant will grow increasingly responsive to improvements, and will realize that in the schemes of the Agrarian Reform lie his brightest hopes of living at a reasonable level.

Franco's Alternatives

Has Franco anything comparable to offer him? The need for reform is even more pressing in insurgent territory than in loyal Spain. With the exception of the three provinces of Cuenca, Albacete, and Ciudad Real, the Loyalist Government has done its work in regions where conditions were less critical than in the grain-growing and cattle-raising areas of the west and south. This is the land of vast estates, neglectfully exploited by absentee landlords. In Badajoz, Cáceres, Seville, and Málaga the misery of the peasant reaches its depths. What Franco has done for them is a measure of what he would do for the whole of Spain if he ever succeeded in dominating it.

Franco suffers from the handicap of having started his revolt with no program of social reform, and no conception of the problems he would be required to face. His original assignment, in fact, was to raise the army of Morocco and bring it across the Straits of Gibraltar to join Queipo de Llano's forces in Andalusia. Sanjurjo, a general of greater prestige and revolutionary experience, was the destined leader of the revolt. But Sanjurjo was killed on the first day when flying from Portugal to Spain. His death may not have been entirely an accident. "It would have been so easy for someone to put sand in the works," said a member of the F.A.I. recently. It is worth recalling that General Mola, the hated commandant of the Burgos sector, met with a similar fate in June 1937.

However that may be, Franco suddenly found himself at the head of what must be made to appear a great social and political movement. Having been chosen for his competence as a staff officer, it was a novel position for

which he was quite unprepared. He hoped to seize the reins of power in Madrid, and then by a series of decrees to re-establish the status quo in which the interests of a few powerful reactionaries were all that mattered. That was the traditional path of the *pronunciamiento,* and why should he not follow it? But as the strength of the opposition grew clear, his hopes faded. Slogans about "restoring discipline" were not enough. He found it necessary to claim that he was leading a national movement, founded on concern for the welfare of all classes.

Rebel Blueprint

In answer to the questions of foreign journalists, he has roughed out several paper schemes of the type of regime he wishes to introduce. They are interestingly varied. Their chief characteristic is that they become steadily more reactionary as time goes on. On the agrarian question Franco speaks vaguely of improving the lot of the country worker by providing employment for all at a living wage, but he goes no further. His concrete measures have been to decree a minimum wage, and to settle small numbers of peasants on land which either belonged to his opponents or was previously unused. But these are improvised actions which stem from no broad plan of expropriation and subsidy such as the *Reforma Agraria* provides.

Since he derives much of his support from the big landowners (including the Church), who blocked reform in the 1933-35 period, he could hardly, even if he wished, undertake any radical measures in behalf of the peasant. To throw over his conservative backing in a gambler's bid to secure the favor of the hostile agrarian population would be political madness.

Yet if he seriously desired to have the peasants behind him, his best chance would have been to adopt the whole program of his supporters in the Spanish Phalanx. This, the only declared fascist body that existed in Spain in July 1936, advocated a scheme of agrarian reform on national-socialist lines. It demanded a large-scale re-distribution of land, and the grant of agricultural credits to needy farmers. At one time it was possible to picture a state of affairs involving the partial collapse of the Left, and in which the generals and reactionary landowners would also be swept aside. In the consequent re-shuffling of forces, Spanish fascism would have found its opportunity. But that time has now passed.

Army Education

So long as the backward peasants did not see this issue clearly, the Right could hope to bluff its way to power by a clever mixture of threats and unfulfilled promises. But the day of that particular bluff is practically over. Every month of war adds to the political education of the peasants. The fact that all able-bodied Spaniards between the ages of twenty and twenty-eight are now being mobilized by the Republic has as much political as military significance. Added to tens of thousands of older volunteers, this gives an army of nearly 1,000,000 men. Peasants who used to live isolated in their villages now mix with industrial workers, with men of advanced ideas, with all that part of militant Spain that is opposed to the old order. When they go home they will no longer be the sweated fatalists of pre-war days.

Thus the generals, by revolting and failing to win at once, have killed the ultimate chances of the Right in Spain. Before July 1936 the two factors in favor of the Right were disunion in the Left Wing and the inertia or individualism of the peasants. Those factors saved the reactionaries in October, 1934. On that occasion the Right, in control of the whole constitutional machinery, backed by the army and the police, suppressed with difficulty a badly organized revolt of the workers. Only the Asturian miners fought with conviction. The Catalonian bourgeoisie hesitated and gave way. The Madrid workers declared a general strike, but took no concerted militant action. The peasants stood outside altogether. Bad leadership and discouragement and an abortive strike in June held them back.

Those conditions can never occur again. Suppose—though it is an unlikely hypothesis—that the Right were to win a temporary military victory. They could not long hold the country against the combined hostility of all classes of workers, roused, trained, and disciplined by eighteen months or more of regular warfare.

The union of the town and country workers and the realization of common aims and a common enemy, was the one thing hitherto lacking in Spanish politics. The war has done more to bring the peasants within the orbit of a general labor movement than years of peace-time propaganda could have achieved. Spanish labor may curse Franco for having brought unexampled suffering to the country. It should also thank him for having made its victory inevitable—either soon or in a few years' time.



THEIR EARTHLY POSSESSIONS: *Is it possible that these Spanish peasants know less about the war than does the overburdened burro?*

Italy's Sinking Standard of Living

By DALMO CARNEVALI

AN ASPECT of present-day Italy which escapes the notice of most foreign observers traveling in that country is the distressing condition of the food market. Recently the shortages of important products, particularly milk, butter, and cheese, have been more and more frequent and increasingly severe. Even bread is rationed. A common sight on the outskirts of towns is that of people with little baskets gathering every conceivable kind of edible herbs.

According to figures issued by the local authorities in Milan, the population of that city consumed an average of only 79 pounds of meat per capita in the whole of 1936. Actually, the great majority of the people had a considerably smaller share, while those who are better situated, especially the Fascist leaders, consumed much more. It must also be remembered that no other city in Italy has a standard of living approaching that of the great industrial capital of Lombardy. The corresponding figure for Milan in 1933, at the trough of the world economic depression, was 86 pounds per capita.

Foreign journalists and travelers who admire Italy's fine new motor roads, public buildings, and railway coaches seldom get to rural districts such as Calabria, where the peasants have a single meal a day consisting chiefly of bread. Only thus can it be explained that in certain districts of the country at the time of the aggression on Ethiopia as many as 1000 out of a population of 6000 reported for enlistment. In Italy these people, as well as the "volunteers" for the Spanish adventure, are popularly called "volontari della fame" or volunteers of hunger.

The recent increase in wage scales has proved a wholly inadequate measure, and it is significant that the Fascist press has suddenly stopped playing it up as a great boon to the workers. A rise of 10 to 12 percent in wages is obviously not to be compared with a 40 percent increase in the cost of living. In many cases employers have even succeeded in evading the additional expense of the wage increases by dismissing their older workers and replacing them with young men at a lower rate of pay.

Foreigners seeking to gain an idea of the true conditions in Italy should take the trouble to visit the soldiers' barracks at mealtimes, where they will see long queues of half-starved, ragged civilians begging the soldiers for a piece of bread or a cup of soup.

One result of the growing distress which may be observed from simply reading Italian newspapers is the rapid increase in petty thefts, particularly of old iron and other metal objects, which are highly prized in Italy today. A quaint example of this was the stealing of the lead sheeting covering the roof of the famous Bridge of Sighs in Venice.

The general poverty and resulting decline in tax returns have placed local authorities in serious financial straits, and every possible source of income is exploited for all it is worth. Thus penalizing with heavy fines for every conceivable offence has become a flourishing "industry." Any policeman who does not, through his arrests, provide the coffers with at least 5000 liras in fines monthly is in danger of having his salary reduced or even losing his job. One of the favorite methods is to exact large fines from merchants who refuse to deal in goods, the sales prices of which have been newly fixed by the authorities at a level which would rob the merchants of any profit.

In every town and province throughout the country the "Ovra," or Secret Police, has been active in a way which in totalitarian states can mean only one thing—that the government is beginning to feel insecure in its position. The disappointing results of the Ethiopian venture, coupled with the annihilation of a whole Italian division on the Guadalajara front in Spain and steadily deteriorating economic conditions at home, have produced such widespread discontent that the State feels compelled to start a new violent campaign of suppression.

No class of the population has been spared from the vengeance of Mussolini's secret agents. Not only workers, peasants, and business people, but students, professional men, and even a large number of members of the Fascist Party and its affiliated organizations, including the Fascist Militia, are among the victims. Totally regardless of past services or present status, the long arm of the police reaches out to grasp all who are suspected of anti-Fascist sympathies.

The students in a class in the Michelangelo Lycée in Florence greeted their professor and the president of the Central Organization of the Fascist Youth with the singing of the "Internationale" and cries of "Down with Fascism!" In the cross-examination which followed, not a single one of the students—and some of them were members of the Party—would reveal who had organized the demonstration. In Turin, capital of Piedmont and always a center of feeling for the traditional monarchy, hundreds of intellectuals and small office-workers were arrested in a single action. All Tuscany is talking—or rather whispering—about the mass arrest of no less than 180 workers in the Galileo factory in Florence, and hundreds of students and other persons have been arrested in Genoa and the Province of Liguria, where threats on the life of Mussolini were again and again found chalked up on walls. A group of 25 young artists and sculptors in Milan, founded by the celebrated painter Gino Severini, were taken into custody for expressing their sympathy with Republican Spain. In the old university city of Bologna the Fascist police were filled with consternation to find the Monument to Fallen Soldiers decorated with a red flag one morning, while the Fascist emblem was disfigured in a most appalling manner. Police raids in the homes of students and other people in Milan netted a large number of anti-Fascist newspapers which they had smuggled in from abroad.

What is going on in Spain is much more widely known in Italy than one might believe. The people are able to hear the other side of the question on the radio, as well as rebuttals of the colored and often ridiculous reports which appear in their newspapers—all originating in the Ministry of Press and Propaganda. All Italy awaits eagerly the hours of broadcasts from Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, and Toulouse. Never before has there been such a demand in Italy for short-wave receiving sets, although everyone knows the severe penalties meted out to those who are caught listening to "forbidden" stations.

ITALY: THE BLUFFER STATE

The world stands awed by Mussolini's military might but the facts do not support the legend

By EMIL WOLFF

IN ITALY as well as abroad, a legend of Italian might is arising. Mussolini does not hide his bellicose intentions, and openly boasts not only of his schemes, but also of the means he uses to execute them. In order to become the Empire of her dreams, Italy must have the strength to sustain her new rôle. Mussolini says that today he has nearly completed the preparation for the "great day." He states that he has a powerful war machine because he has created it.

The facts, however, are different. Italy today is not more powerful, more armed, or more dangerous than it was seven years ago. The difference is that today the legend which Mussolini has created has been accepted.

Il Duce speaks of eight million bayonets. This figure is exaggerated. During the World War, Italy had about five million men under the colors. Italy's population was then 38 million, and in Italy, as everywhere else, everyone at all able had been drafted. During the last year of the World War, even boys of eighteen were sent to the Front. It is not possible to mobilize any larger percentage of men today than it was in 1918. Today's population at the outside is 44 million. Therefore the Italian army can hardly be larger than six million. Mussolini speaks further of bayonets These six million persons are not all destined to carry bayonets. Only a portion will be able to do it and the rest, as in all armies, will be aiding and abetting the first line fighters through dull routine chores behind the lines.



CRADLE CONSCRIPTION. *Mussolini's youthful military organizations use high-powered recruiting methods Under Fascist banners, children up to 18 years of age sign up for war training.*

While it is true that the present army is slightly superior numerically to what it was six years ago, in the matter of equipment there is no superiority whatsoever. Artillery, which forms the backbone of any army, and particularly of the Italian army, if we are to believe Marshal Badoglio (*La Guerra d'Etiopia*, Milan, 1937), is far from being up to the standard which Mussolini boasts, and which Britishers, tongue in cheek, fear. Most of the present material was left over from the World War, and a large part of it is Austrian war booty.

The Italian press, particularly during the last maneuvers in Sicily, stressed the progress of mechanization in the Italian army. This process is still in its initial stages, and the Russian, French and German armies are much farther advanced. The employment of large mechanized units during the Ethiopian campaign, as well as during the Spanish war, proved difficult and cumbersome. Italian tanks and armored cars proved to be at once fragile and clumsy, unadapted in any case to use on the Italian front which is formed mostly by mountains and for the rest by broken calcarean terrains (Carso), on which neither men nor machines can advance with any facility.

Italy's Navy and Air Force

The Italian fleet which is now rapidly recovering from the state of abandon in which Fascist finances have until recently kept it, is a subject of a great deal of discussion even in Italy. Italy has launched two capital ships (*Littorio* and *Vittorio Veneto*) which will not be ready until the end of 1939. Until then there will be no capital ships worthy of note; the only ones available today are some old boats, remodeled, and in one case, refloated. The submarine fleet, which might prove an important factor in the control of the Mediterranean, is entirely dependent on its land basis, and the introduction of light anti-submarine craft, in both British and French navies, could greatly restrict its activity.

Of the 10,000-ton cruisers, Washington type, two at least (the *Trento* and the *Trieste*) are useless. Italy built the swiftest boats afloat, it is true, but at the cost of their strength. These boats, although constructed with that marvelous craftsmanship which has for centuries been the glory of Italy, are practically of no use in a sea as narrow as the Mare Nostrum, since they can be sunk with airplane bombs, and therefore are not secure even within their ports, since no port in Italy is too far for French or Yugoslav bombers.

First among the techniques used to

impress the people with a strong sense of military security is the reprinting in the Italian press of all the alarms, the plaints, and the appeals of the French general staff which show Italy as the powerful enemy. Italians now believe that they are feared because they are powerful. Furthermore, during the last few years a chief topic of conversation in Italy has been *autarchia economica* (economic independence), a costly goal, which is to be reached with great sacrifice for the sole purpose of being ready for a war.

The Air Force, which in Italy is comparatively young, is, without doubt, the most advanced in the world. Mass flights to Brazil and other distant places proved that its organization and material as well as its pilots are unquestionably first-rate. The number of airplanes, as well as their unit value, is well known. The size and achievements of the Italian Air Force together with the possibility of building new planes continuously makes it second to none.

Pet of the Fascist regime, the Air Force, in a country as small as Italy, can easily control the whole nation and can become a police force par excellence. Mussolini's sons served in the air force, and one of them was promoted to the rank of a regular lieutenant; Mussolini flies his own trimotored plane, though never alone, and all the government officers are required to take their pilot's license. There is no doubt that the Air Force, as Mussolini has often said, is the most Fascist of the armed forces.

One cannot say whether or not aerial warfare will play as important a part in the coming war as Il Duce believes it will. It is safe to say, however, that their effect even in peacetime upon civilian populations, particularly on the French border, has been impressive. Much of this fear could be allayed, it is true, if public opinion would respond to reason and would see that Mussolini's plans are pure wishful thinking when they are not out-and-out bluff. Only Nice and Lyons are within reach of the Italian air bombers, while the whole triangle of Genoa-Turin-Milan, which contains 80 per cent or more of the vital Italian industries, is doomed in case of conflict. Turin, which contains the Fiat works (the Lingotto), and the Savigliano steel mills, and which is the nation's greatest center for the production of aircraft engines, lies directly under French artillery fire.

And even were the production of airplanes unlimited, the production of pilots and engineers *is* limited. During the Ethiopian War specialists were sought everywhere and offered excellent salaries and very favorable working conditions, but the country which had produced countless volunteer soldiers was unable to supply nearly the necessary quota of specialists.

Difficulty is encountered even in securing enough pilots for the planes. All the Giovani Fascisti are given the opportunity to secure a pilot's license without fee, and free training is given



—*De Groene Amsterdammer*

SPAIN, ABYSSINIA, AND AUSTRIA

"Not the 'Pipe of Peace,' but a bit of 'union' tobacco to warm you up"

to all license-holders. Moreover, the requisite for a license is only twelve flying-hours (the Curtis School in Chicago suggests fifty), and aerial navigation is hardly taught at all. The Royal Academy of Caserta, it is true, trains young pilots to be the best fliers in the world, but the reserves on the other hand, do not come up to the standard of the Active Service Air Force. The impressive parade of pilots which Mussolini displays en masse in Piazza Venezia or in parades in Via dell-'Impero, must be accepted with some reserves.

War Without Trenches

In order to assure the Italian people that the next war will be neither long nor wearing, Mussolini and his staff every year draw the same conclusions from the war games—namely, that the next war will be a war of movement.

This means that Mussolini is convinced that no trenches will be dug in Italian soil. Italy, unable to keep up with the armament programs of other nations, will rely on her greater number of soldiers. The Italian belief is that these enormous masses of men, supported by artillery, preceded by tanks, and facing an enemy already broken by the Fascist Air Force, are ready to take by storm any army in the field. Mussolini's reasoning is that a war which he will wage on the basis of soldiers and not on the basis of machines or powers of endurance, will be easy glory for Italy.

The Spanish war has, however, again established the fact that when great numbers of men are opposing each other, trench warfare will ensue. The Spanish land, so broken, so twisted by streams, valleys, sierras, peñas and arroyos, is an ideal theatre for guerrilla warfare, as is evidenced by the fact that this type of activity is still identified by a Spanish name. Despite this, after a few months of dispersed fighting in towns and cities, guerrilla warfare was given up and a front was formed, and in the points of major pressure, the situation reproduced faithfully the World War. Once more the air force failed to be the decisive factor, and could be used as a weapon only where no anti-aircraft or air force opposed it (Guernica, Canga de Onis).

The cultural and psychological background of the Fascist soldier, and the reason for his congenital failure, have been explained in masterly fashion by G. A. Borgese. In his *Goliath* he reveals the soul of Fascism and he also explains why Fascist soldiers are, in spite of fifteen years of training and propaganda, inferior to the Italian soldiers who during the last war showed themselves second to none in gallantry and bravery.

The results of the military education and of the military conscience on which Mussolini gambles so largely in speaking of the superiority of the Italian soldiers are still to be seen. If the Ethiopian war was fought in a delirium of enthusiasm, the reason was chiefly that the blundering British foreign policy had aroused even the most hidden patriotism of the Italians. At the beginning, the war awakened little enthusiasm in the Italians. Anyone who witnessed the first sailing of the boats for East Africa in the spring and summer of 1935 was undoubtedly impressed by the quiet sadness of the departure—a sadness which could not be disguised by the noise and cheap gifts which people on the payroll of the Fascio of Naples were proffering with great ostentation. Sailings for Spain proceeded in the utmost secrecy, though not for fear of the Non-Intervention Committee.

Another element which can easily be spread by propaganda is faith in

the unknown. During the crucial months of November, 1935, to March, 1936, when war against Great Britain seemed certain, a rumor circulated through Italy and was referred to several times in the press, even making its way to the American press. This rumor had it that Marconi had invented a mysterious death ray (*il raggio della morte*) whose properties, still jealously kept secret, were such that no navy or air force could even approach the coasts of Italy. The Government, of course, made no statements, but skillfully-managed propaganda showed that such silence was part of the secrecy. The *raggio della morte* helped to relieve internal pressure. At this same time, the British fleet was being threatened, according to another rumor, by a mysterious death squad (*squadre della morte*), made up of choice volunteers who promised to hurl themselves with their planes loaded with high explosives onto the decks of the British ships, thus sinking them in spite of all resistance.



International

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN: *Mussolini's trip to Germany enabled both ends of the Rome-Berlin axis to meet for the first time on German soil. In the rear are Rudolf Hess, Nazi leader; Count Ciano, Il Duce's son-in-law, and Foreign Minister Von Neurath, of Germany. (Left to right).*

Boring from Within

The third means which Mussolini counts on to avoid a long weary frontal trench war, is the disruption of the enemy's morale. The experiment began, according to Gaetano Salvemini, as far back as 1925, when the Italian police kept a corps in France to attend to the anti-Fascist emigres. Mussolini has always been the patron of young and insecure Fascist parties elsewhere. He has hoped to create a center of similar ideas, and also to create unending strife and disorder in the existing government.

Mussolini would, of course, have gone much farther if his propaganda budget would have allowed. In the United States, where, according to a Palazzo Chigi saying, European wars are won, the experiment of the Fascist League of North America ended in complete failure. In South America however, where strong Italian colonies are often a deciding factor in politics, Italian envoys and pro-Fascist churchmen had a large hand in the general swing toward the right. In Uruguay in 1933, Dr. Gabriel Terra made himself dictator, and in Argentina practically the same thing was done by General Justo, who retained Saavedra Lamas, a liberal, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to allay suspicions concerning his internal dealings. Current events in Brazil are being watched over in a kindly manner by Il Duce, who counts Sao Paulo State, populated largely by Italian immigrants, as his most completely organized South American colony.

But France and Great Britain have been the scenes of Mussolini's greatest efforts to create distress and insecurity. And luckily for him, large investments of capital have not been necessary. In Great Britain, Sir Oswald Mosley organized a party at Mussolini's suggestion without asking a penny from the fountainhead. Recent events however, have practically ended Sir Oswald's enterprise. Rumor has it that the dull-witted Irishman who attempted the life of Edward VIII confessed that he acted upon the orders of a foreign embassy. If further evidence has been discovered against the embassy, no word has been whispered on the matter of responsibilities.

But it is in France that terrorism has reached a climax. The *Action Française*, an organization of intense traditionalists, the honesty if not the fanaticism of whom we must appreciate, has never been the most important factor of the French right-wing movement. Not until the bloody days of February 1934 did the right-wing movement begin to be a real threat to democracy. Reactionary Frenchmen, like Mosley's Englishmen, saved Mussolini's pennies by paying their own expenses. Tardieu's revelations at the trial of Colonel de la Rocque demonstrated that the governments which preceded the Front Populaire had paid the Rightists with taxpayer's good money in order to throw a scare into the Leftists. Laval, who is a personal friend of Mussolini, on one occasion while dining at Alfredo's, Rome's most famous restaurant, declared himself a staunch supporter of Fascism, and shared with Tardieu and a few others the hope of becoming Duce of France. Jacques Doriot, a repentant Communist, joined the group, leading what is called a "mass movement."

Mussolini's interests in the game are twofold. The first is to create a sympathetic and powerful group to support Fascist politics, and the second is to hamper internal affairs in France. The daring and shamelessness of Fascist agents in France has been boundless since the time of Laval, and the "fear-of-complications" attitude of the Front Populaire, instead of mollifying Mussolini's spirits, quite naturally heightened his aspirations.

In June 1937, Carlo Rosselli, leader of the Italian anti-Fascists, and his brother Nello were murdered in Bagnoles de l'Orne, a quiet spa, where Carlo was recovering from the effects of a wound he had sustained with the International Brigade in Spain. The French police, as was to be expected,

found no trace of the murderers. A month later, the seat of a labor union in Paris was wrecked by dynamite; traces of the explosive found in the debris revealed their Italian origin. Pirate submarines at the same time began to sink boats; some of the boats were French and were carrying supplies to the Valencia government. The identity of the pirates remains unknown. The anxious good will of the French government throughout all these incidents has been so excessive that the comic weekly *Le Canard Enchainé* proposed to change the name of *Boulevard des Italiens* to *Boulevard des Inconnus*.

The "Fifth Column"

General Franco has been greatly aided in his endeavors by what is called the "Fifth Column," an organization of pro-rebel sympathizers within loyalist territory whose purpose is to hamper governmental and military activities. Mussolini seeks to create a similar "Fifth Column" everywhere, and particularly in France.

The Fifth Column in France was unearthed recently. The police discovered a mysterious association which the press refers to by the romantic name of *les Cagoulards* (the Hooded Ones), and whose real name is *Comité Secret d'Action Revolutionnaire*. Arrests have been made by the score and probably the whole Fifth Column will be swept away. An amazing number of weapons, some of them of considerable size, have also been discovered in all parts of France, their make clearly revealing the helping hand of a foreign government. Mussolini's plan now seems frustrated, but the French Minister of the Interior refused to mention the foreign government so keenly interested in French internal affairs. Mussolini, again allowed to go scot-free, is ready to start all over again. To make the idea of the plot more plausible, the French press, unable to obtain statements against Italy, linked *les Cagoulards* with the innocuous duc de Guise, a lonely Pretender to the French throne, a man who has lived and enjoyed for so long the role of Pretender that he probably would be greatly embarrassed if he had to give it up, even to become King. Immediately after the story broke, the officious *Giornale d'Italia* challenged France to war as an answer to a speech of Minister Campinchi—a speech which, according to the Quai d'Orsay, was never made. The incident which the *Giornale d'Italia* was trying to create was intended as a diversion from the embarrassing subject of responsibility for the Cagoulards.

If Mussolini has done fairly well in France with little expense, he has done even better in the French colonial empire, though slightly more expenditure of capital has been necessary. Through a net of propaganda, often not even disguised, he has spread trouble throughout all French North Africa. In Algeria, Arabs who were rioting against working conditions have been swamped with Fascist propaganda. Doriot has assisted the Fascist program a great deal with pressure directed against the governing group, against the administration, against the Front Populaire, and of course, against the Jews. In Morocco the Moors became openly rebellious against the French administration, and what is more, in August 1936 the Resident Peyrouton, it appears, planned a coup similar to Franco's, hoping to march 100,000 crack troops to the aid of Franco in Spain, and then, with Franco, to march on Paris.



International

BRITISH FASCISTS: *Young Londoners belonging to Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists try on their new uniforms.*

Mediterranean Domain

No competent military man believes in the importance of the Italian army or in Italy's chances in a general war. Nobody believes that the Italian Air Force, though perfectly efficient, will necessarily play the role which Mussolini has planned. Nobody believes that the next war will be the war of movement on which the Italian staff must rely *faute de mieux*. But at the same time, Mussolini's fifth army is working wonders, even though it suffers occasional setbacks.

Everywhere in Europe and in the Moslem world there are parties which are, directly or indirectly, commanded by Il Duce. Where one fails, another arises. When the Rexist party was defeated in Belgium, a new movement, known by the abbreviation DINASO (National Socialist Flemish Party), took its place. When Egypt, through treaties with Great Britain, became hostile to Italian maneuvres, the great presses (*Al Ahram, Al Mokattam, Al Balagh,* etc.) still remained at the service of the Italian legation, and a man belonging to the group known as the "green shirts" tried to murder the anti-Fascist Nahas Pasha (Nov. 29, 1937). Similarly, when de la Rocque's cause was lost and Doriot's in danger, the Cagoulards were created.

Mussolini, who until 1935 was forlorn and powerless, today can count as his a real Mediterranean domain. Ethiopia and Lybia are a constant menace to Suez, as Ceuta and Algeciras are to Gibraltar. Mussolini is once more in a position to threaten both France and England in the Mediterranean.

Mussolini, therefore, is already fighting his war. And in this manner he can fight forever. Marshal von Blomberg, while a guest of Italy, was shown Italy's military machine in all its might, and after the performance refused to comment. When the Stefani Agency requested his impression, he answered that while a military machine is a useful thing, it is not sufficient; the character of the soldiers is still the prime factor. In other words, while complimenting Mussolini's eight million bayonets, he did not compliment the holders of the bayonets, in spite of the vaunted Fascist fighting spirit.

But Mussolini has no intention of using either his bayonets or bayonet-holders. He has no reason to. A war, fought without an army, and won fragment by fragment in far away fronts or in the very land of his enemies, is enough for him. Nonetheless, the legend of Italy's military machine will continue to grow. It is the only justification for the willful blunders of French and British policy.

HITLER'S TEN MILLIONS

By CHARLES HODGES

WHEN Hitler thunders reverberated against the Reichstag sounding-board of Nazi policies, the echoes proved disconcerting to the Third Reich. Instead of the *Mein Kampf* theme—"Common blood belongs in a common Reich"—the Austrians rallied to Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg's defiant interlining of the Fuehrer's optimistic verbal absorption of the Danubian buffer state. In neighboring Czechoslovakia, the Prague government let it be known that any "Reich protectorate" over German minorities in this democratic island of dictator-ridden Central Europe would have to be fought out. Paris paused in its perennial parliamentary crisis to back its Little Entente ally; Rome recalculated her impending price to Imperial Britain; even London's hem-and-haw play for continental balance of power permitted, one understands, an encouraging aside to France and the Central European spokesmen of independence.

But what of these "more than 10,000,000 Germans in States adjoining Germany . . ." whose future has so aroused the Nazi?

This near neighborhood of what Nazi propaganda calls "the great commonwealth of the German people" constitutes the strategic areas in the Reich border states now under pressure. Seen through Nazi eyes, there are a hundred million Germans in Europe who ultimately must be incorporated into New Germany. This purpose, the coincidence of the frontiers of the Third Reich "with the frontiers of German blood," aims to complete the destruction of the "Versailles system" in the Old World.

Were the object not the blood and bone of Nazi policy, the picture resulting could be dismissed as fantastic. Here is the diplomacy of a Great Power, however, in action within the framework of these ideas of territorial revision. The "natural" boundaries of Germany, therefore, are interpreted in terms of the "racialism" which has played so sinister a rôle within the country. Round the mass of 67 million Germans now redeemed by Nazism, we find German leaders looking at apparently 6 millions of "the living flesh of German border peoples" in

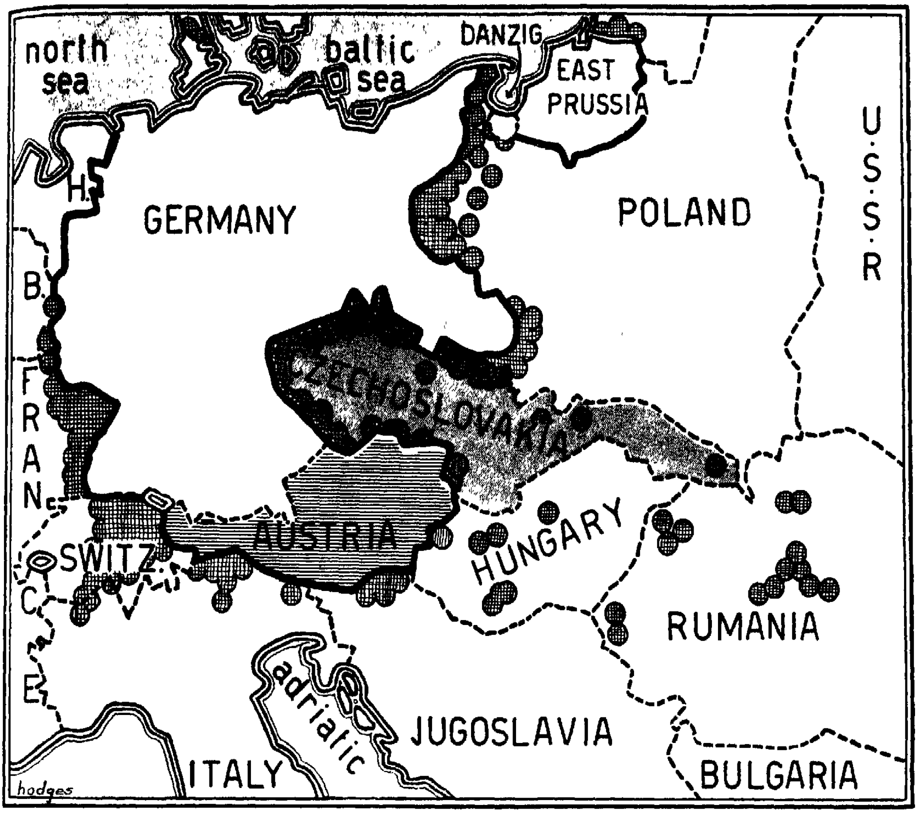


Austria; 3½ millions as a minority in Czechoslovakia; fully 4½ millions more in Poland, the Baltic States and Denmark; just under 2 millions, to the west, in Alsace-Lorraine; a good 3 million in Switzerland; and a dubious claim to more than 14 millions in Holland and Belgium to fill up the hundred-million total of Germanic Europe. This leaves "linguistic islands" of half-forgotten blood brothers, down the Danube in the very heart of Roumania and stretching eastward prophetically to the German "communes" on the Volga in the Soviet Union, for the future play of Nazi anthropological diplomacy.

Going round the map with these fanatic Nazi eyes, we see the Third Reich as a racial holding concern. Their more immediate revamping of Europe would claim, under the logic of their race politics, all of German-speaking Switzerland; the recovery of the Upper Rhine provinces from France, the retrocession of Eupen and Malmedy by Belgium; the incorporation of Luxembourg; the Austrian "anschluss," cold or otherwise; the South Tyrol, the Achilles heel of the Rome-Berlin partnership; the Germanic districts of Croatia at the expense of Jugoslavia; the Germanic linguistic clots on the ethnic map of Hungary; the half-encircled west end of Czechoslovakia; the Polish Corridor; the Free City of Danzig; the Memel District between East Prussia and Lithuania; and the unredeemed Northern Schleswig from the Danes.

This enumeration, of course, needs qualification. Austria and Czechoslovakia are hot spots on the Nazi diplomatic map. Thanks to blunders in domestic policy and Nazi infiltration, these two border states represent "practical" objectives of German pressure. Poland, at the other end of the scale of Nazi immediacy, because of agile diplomacy, is a moribund issue today. The rest of the willy-nilly elements of the Nazi-conceived German "folk" are pawns in the great game of power politics—useful to Berlin, when needed.

The basis of Nazi doctrine becomes clear when we go behind the smooth, round phrases of this "Aryanized" Germanism. Austrians, for example,



Boundaries of Nazi Germany and Austria

Germanic peoples now outside these political frontiers

may *speak* German but they certainly do not *think* German in the now-dominant Prussian-Nazi manner. This is natural, for the Austrian is a racial conglomerate. The product of his Alpine home, he represents pockets of valley people, which include pure strains of Slavic blood, as the fag-end of the historic processes of European settlement after the collapse of the Roman Empire. The folk wandering, too, explains why the Sudeten Deutsche, giving Nazism its opportunity in democratic Czechoslovakia, are Germanic but only a minority of them avow the Third Reich.

The resistance, therefore, of Austria to Hitler's high call to national suicide becomes an elaborate composite motivation. Beneath the obvious linguistic and cultural bond, history has moulded the Austrian national temperament—intensely local in outlook; deeply religious, outside the proletariat of the irreligious cities, with a tenacious peasant allegiance to Catholicism; easy-going, with a casual contempt for Prussian efficiency. In such a setting, the Nazi ideology is a minority creed of fanaticism that returns to the birthplace of Hitler as an amazingly alien way of life.

If the majority of Austrians would like to go along with the Third Reich in many parallel ways found in the underlying and surviving deeper Germanism culturally common to both, without becoming just another province of Nazidom ruled from Berlin, the larger part of the Germans in Czechoslovakia remain loyal to this border state. These people on the south side of the Sudeten Mountains, rimming the plain of Czech Bohemia, feel too the cultural tug of Germanic civilization. Post-war readjustment, which did not take them from First Reich but which left them stranded with the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, has been difficult; the Czech and Slovak resurgent nationalism turned the tables, in master-and-servant terms, upon the Bohemian Germanic population after the Hapsburg collapse; and time only now has been solvent enough to wear away some of the sharp edges of mutual racial antagonism. This, Hitlerism has been trying to capitalize in its assertion of a "protectorate" over the whole German minority in Czechoslovakia

In sum, the real danger to European peace today comes from the fact that these pan-German doctrines cannot be put across even in the two most favorable regions without a tension-provoking, brutal "putsch" from the Nazi Fatherland. Austria may succumb to the second Nazi drive directed from without, Czechoslovakia can and has chosen to fight dismemberment. If Hitler presses the issue here beyond sabre-rattling—or, we perhaps should say, Goering beyond tuning up the Nazi cultural bombers—he will meet face to face a stubborn opposing race which will not give way without war.

REVOLT OF THE ROBOTS

The union organization of automobile workers has come about only after years of struggle

By HERBERT HARRIS

This is the eighth and concluding article in a series on American labor to be published in book form by the Yale University Press later this year.

THE mass production of automobiles has been for years the somewhat platitudinous symbol of American "progress," a word which is almost always associated with mobility as if to confirm, even after a hundred years, the validity of de Tocqueville's view that we as a people have the "morale of an army on the march."

Until the beginning of 1937, however, there was very little which resembled "progress" in the management-labor relations of our four and a half billion dollar motor industry. The 433,000 men and 18,000 women employed in making passenger cars, trucks, hearses, station wagons, buses, taxicabs, and ambulances faced, and in part still face, conditions more medieval than modern.

Despite the widely-publicised five-dollar-a-day minimum, and hourly rates that reached a high of 75 cents, annual earnings of auto workers averaged less than $1300 in the prosperity year of 1926 and less than a $1000 in the depression year of 1935. Such wages, of course, are relatively good when compared with those paid elsewhere and when the makeshifts of frugality are stretched over the seasonal lay-off periods to which the motor industry is particularly prone.

Certainly it was not against the size of pay-envelopes, per se, that General Motors workers went on a series of sit-downs at the year's end, 1936. The cause for this spectacular strike which lasted 44 days, involving 40,000 workers directly, and 110,000 indirectly, and paralyzed 60 plants of a giant corporation in 14 different states, was deeper than so much cash return for so much work done.

It expressed the pent-up resentments of men in revolt against being dehumanized, against being only a badge, a number, a robot in thrall to a vast and intricate succubus of machinery, draining them of energy, threatening to cast them on the scrap-heap within a few short years, their youth gone. It reflected a long simmering rebellion against humiliations inflicted by a great company which, towards its workers, lacked even that rudimentary sense of responsibility that prompts any dirt farmer to pasture a faithful horse. The company, no more callous than its rivals, sapped the health and vitality of its workers and then turned them over to the government to support so soon as approaching middle age diminished their usefulness.



Louisville Times

THE IMMOVABLE AND THE IRRESISTIBLE

The conveyor belt system as developed by Taylor and blessed by Bedeaux and applied by all motorcar manufacturers, is sometimes hailed as the "highest triumph of American technology." In the impersonal terms of the blue-print it probably deserves this praise. In terms of human beings, however, its efficacy is quite generally abused. Speeds recommended by installation engineers as assuring "peak efficiency" are often stepped up, forcing workers to draw upon the uttermost limits of their strength and endurance to keep in rhythm with a mechanical pace-setter.

Inside vast oblong buildings of brick, glass, and stone, under the hot glare of arc lights, amid the whir and chugchump of wheels, an army of automata daily stand alongside a great belt moving in front of them inexorably at the touch of a distant button. At the far end of the belt, a body frame, a metal skeleton, bolt-sinewed, begins its journey. It reaches the first man who puts on a rim, goes to another who sets a fender, while underneath men on their backs on little roller carts tighten axle bolts, each man doing the same thing, eyes fastened on the chassis, sweat pouring from their faces, jaws grimly tight, lift, turn, screw, lift, turn, screw with the tempo often imperceptibly quickened, unable to leave the line to get a drink of water, hour on hour, with the straw boss warning step lively, with the fear of losing the job if you don't keep up, making you strain tired muscles till your own body is one throbbing ache while the belt, beautifully impersonal, flows on.

Such scenes occur constantly, especially at times of peak production, and are virtually the same whether the individual plant is owned by Ford, or General Motors, or Chrysler, who between them control 93 per cent of the domestic business, or by independents like Nash, Packard, Studebaker and Hudson who divide the remaining 7 per cent of American auto sales.

When the shift is over the workers tumble half-dead with fatigue into buses, trolleys, or their own cars. Some acquire nervous twitchings which are popularly called the "shakes." They get home too tired to do anything but eat and go to bed. They are too all in even to read the paper or take in a movie with the wife or attend a union meeting.

"It takes your guts out, that damned line" is the refrain of thousands of auto workers in Detroit, Flint, Hamtramck, Saginaw, Pontiac and other Michigan communities, which together form the center of the world's motor car universe. In recent years they have been increasingly recruited from the hills of Tennessee, from the farms of Michigan. Beginning in 1922, ending about 1930, their migration to Detroit, along with others, accounted for 47 out of every 100 automobile employees. Less than 1 per cent of workers in Detroit motor factories are natives of that city. The young backwoods men and women who came there were lured by

visions of a Big Money paradise. They were mainly "good American stock" but tending to be as parochial as they were strong, healthy, intelligent. They were also unskilled, nor did they have to be otherwise. With the mounting mechanization of the industry about 45 per cent of its jobs can be learned within 2 or 3 days, 35 per cent within a week, 7 per cent within two weeks, and 13 per cent within a month to a year or longer.

During the past two decades the industry's emphasis upon youth has kept displacing older employees at an ever accelerating rate. Significantly enough, small loan firms in the Detroit area refuse to consider auto workers over 40 as even "fair risks."

But this disregard of seniority rights, which means simply that the man longest on the job has a prior claim to it, especially at a time of re-hiring after a slack season, was only one among many grievances plaguing the workers since the end of the World War. Others include the "incentive" or bonus plans by which a group of workers, geared to the human metronome of the fastest among them, receive extra money for extra lump output. The calculations for figuring the return of each worker in this operation are so abtruse that often they have no way of finding out how much they earn.

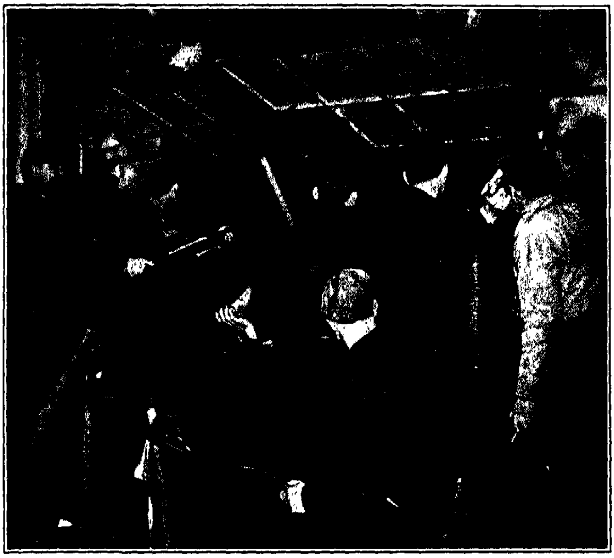
But more injurious to individual satisfaction on the job is the practice of espionage in which motor-car manufacturers were among the most conspicuous offenders until the revelations of the LaFollette Senate sub-committee, investigating civil liberties, caused cancellation of many contracts with such private detective firms as the Pinkerton Agency to which General Motors, over a period of three years, paid $419,850, or Corporations Auxiliary which cost Chrysler $72,611 for 1935 alone. (There are 228 other detective agencies dispensing what is euphemistically called "industrial service" It is, of course, nice work if you can get it, as the $50,000 and $60,000 a year salaries of executives in such concerns attest. American corporations have spent $80,000,000 a year for this espionage activity.) Civil liberties have never been so outrageously violated as in this setting of men to spy upon workers' efforts to form a union of their choice.

The general knowledge among auto workers that the man next to them on the line may be a secret agent, eager to amplify a kind word about unionism into a plot to "take over the factory," and impelled to make up lies out of whole cloth to justify his pay, freezes the warmth of normal human intercourse of men working together. Everyone keeps a buttoned lip, does his stint silently in an atmosphere where every man is his potential enemy. Even the most casual reference to the political situation has been construed by stool pigeons, if it suited their purpose, as "subversive" doctrine, as agitation, as trouble-making. The talk of auto workers, save among proven friends, is talk of sports, of equally innocuous subjects.

Moreover, under the division of executive authority that prevails in the industry, the foreman, who is management's surrogate, right on the job, exerts tremendous power. He sometimes exacts tribute from the workers, allowing them to keep their posts at so much a week, or "selling" less strenuous assignments. He can reward his friends, punish his enemies with a vengeance. In his little world he swaggers around with a swollen sense of his importance. He is the petty tyrant, personified; and his hire and fire decisions are rarely checked on by his superiors.

Against such conditions—lack of seniority, irregular employment, elaborate methods of payment, the despotisms of the foreman, the auto workers inveighed in vain for years. Detroit's own Chamber of Commerce boasted that the city was "open shop," examplar of the American plan which is a bogus way of describing contemporary variants of serfdom.

And to improve their work-ways they time and again tried to build unions. Right after the World War, for example, the United Automobile Aircraft and Vehicle Workers was granted an industrial charter by the A. F. of L. The new movement gained considerable momentum in the various "body" plants but in 1921 called a strike for which it was improperly prepared, and promptly exploded, while fragments were captured by a boring-from-within Communist contingent that also soon expired. The disintegration of the U. A. A. V. had been hastened by internal squabbles over rival craft claims more vitally by the discharge and black-listing of its moving spirits whose names were forwarded to company managers by panders planted for this purpose. The same motif was to repeat itself monotonously for the next decade, like the theme of Ravel's *Bolero*.



STRIKE WARFARE: *Sit-downers in the General Motors strike of January, 1937, use a fire hose to prevent company guards from entering the building.*

In 1926, however, the A. F. of L. decided that the time was ripe for unionizing the nearly half million auto workers, almost totally unorganized except for a handful of painters, machinists, pattern makers. The Federation in 1926 held its annual convention in Detroit and William Green announced that jurisdictional claims would be soon suspended since the repetitive and mechanized nature of mass production blurred craft lines.

Somewhat gingerly various General Motors chieftains let it be known that they might look with favor upon the creation of unions within their major plants as an experiment in management-union cooperation. Feelers were put out to arrange a meeting of minds between William Green and Henry Ford, but the latter was too busy dismantling his Model T machinery at the time to discuss anything quite so esoteric. As a matter of fact, the A. F. of L. proposed to start a unionizing drive in motors by the dubiously astute strategy of getting the employers to help them begin it. The Federation shogunate talked in grandly vague style about the "social wage" and the identity of interests between ownership and labor in that mass production needs mass markets. It was an approach which today especially has great potential merit, and deserves more study and honest evaluation than it is likely to get. But the A. F. of L. failed to spotlight the issue with either showmanship or common sense. Its leadership was too feeble to command the respect of employers, to win the allegiance of workers.

Moreover, the local heads of the Federation's affiliates in the Detroit area were up to their ears in municipal politics. They were "doing all right" for themselves. And with the exception of Detroit branches of Arthur O. Wharton's machinists, A. F. of L. officials didn't relish the prospect of bestirring themselves, re-arranging dues, favors, and personnel, and otherwise undertaking the difficult spade-work of arousing a "bunch of ignorant hill billies" to union consciousness. Within a few months the whole idea of bringing unionism to motors had fizzled out like a bad firecracker.

Early in 1933, however, goaded by wage cuts, lay-offs, inhuman resort to the speed-up, workers began to walk out in a congeries of minor, infra department strikes that were yet portents of more to come. And on September 22, the Mechanics Educational Society, an independent union which had enrolled nearly all of the industry's highly skilled tool and die makers, pulled out hundreds of its adherents in protest against incomes which had shrunk from an average of $2717 in 1929 to $1300 in 1933. In the Detroit area, such "aristocrats" of labor, accompanied by many commoners, walked out at Buick, Chevrolet, A and C Spark Plug, Fisher Body, Cadillac, Dodge, Hudson, Plymouth, Packard and extended their strike to Ford at Edgewater, New Jersey and Nash at Kenosha, Wisconsin.

Meantime the NRA codes for the motor industry were being formulated in the summer of 1933. The weather was hot, the atmosphere hectic, and the codes displayed both characteristics. They were transparently pro-employer—to such an extent indeed that it was the auto workers who first re-christened the NRA as the "National Run Around." The manufacturers wrote their own ticket, and punched it. They already had their association which, despite the absence of Mr. Ford, enabled members to get together in maintaining uniform labor and price policies. They didn't need the NRA's sanction to indulge in such forms of infra-industry collaboration. Acting in customary concert, they inserted in the auto codes an "averaging clause" to govern hours, purposely phrased in sheer gibberish. What lucidity it had was based on the assumption that only *average* hours per week could be limited. That is, five 48 hour weeks, plus a 48 hour week of lay-off, were to equal six 40 hour weeks. There was also the slick "merit clause," a Philadelphia lawyer's way of violating the spirit of the famed Section 7a which, among other things, forbade discrimination against unionists. Since merit or competence is judged always by the employer, any worker who favored unionism by word or deed could suddenly be found to be incompetent and fired on some trumped-up charge.*



World Feature Service

POLES APART

Angered by this trickery, the auto workers cast about for guidance towards unionism's goal. They had a confusion of choices. The I. W. W., the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the American Industrial Association all entered the arena with unions eager for members. At last the A. F. of L. yawned out of its somnolence. Its organizers were men who had been graduated from the Brown Derby, "I'm tough, see, have a cigar," pot-bellied school of the old-time walking delegate. They were hobbled at every step by the jurisdictional jealousies of the various crafts. Despite such handicaps, however, an estimated 210,000 auto workers more or less quietly joined the A. F. of L. "federal unions."†

But the new unionists were bewildered. They couldn't get their questions answered. They asked if they were going to become a nation-wide industrial union, or whether they were to be kept waiting until the membership was subdivided into craft groups. Nobody knew, least of all the field organizers. The A. F. of L. was marking time, its most costly and colossal luxury from its earliest days. Meanwhile, to forestall the growth of any genuine unionism and to comply with the law, and not the intent, of the collective bargaining provisions of the NRA codes, the employers began to fashion company unions, often forcing men to join on pain of forfeiting their jobs.

Meanwhile, too, as the speed-up, and longer hours for slightly increased pay continued, the A. F. of L., goaded by rank and file insistence, set March 20 as the date on which auto workers all over the country were to go on strike, and with a single bold stroke end company unions and all the chicane and abuses they implied.

At President Roosevelt's request, however, this "threat to returning prosperity" was averted by Federation leaders and many long days of muddled mediation ensued. Out of the final settlement were hatched two new eggs of the Blue Eagle, both of them, in the opinion of most auto workers, definitely rotten. The first was the Automobile Labor Board which was to prevent company reprisals against unionists, and to guarantee collective bargaining rights. It was presided over

*Ironically, in view of later developments, the only other industry to obtain this same concession from the National Recovery Administration was the chemical industry which, like General Motors, is also dominated by the du Pont family.

†A union form devised by Gompers at the turn of the century to enroll the unskilled under the A. F. of L. banner. The federal union, members of which pay dues of 35 cents per month, or $4.20 per annum, is looked upon by A. F. of L. officialdom as a feeder from which the skilled will be drained off and allocated to craft unions in accord with jurisdictional rules. For three decades federal union spokesmen have complained that they pay dues but receive neither voice nor vote in shaping policy

by Dr. Leo Wolman, a brilliant statistician but far less gifted in promoting harmony. For nine months the Board listened to a recital of workers' woes with the bland impassivity of a brass Buddha and displayed a fine scorn for action of any ameliorative kind.

The second egg was the proposal for proportional representation by which the fraudulent company unions, along with the bona fide variety, whether A. F. of L. or otherwise, were to be heard equally in all negotiations between managers and men. Soon three warring groups—the company unions, the A. F. of L., and non-Federation unions—were at loggerheads, demonstrating that the industry's employers had been very astute in once more applying the doctrine of "divide and rule." In the long run they outsmarted themselves, though for a time the contemplative inertia of the Automobile Labor Board, the craft jealousies within the A. F. of L., the organization conflicts outside of it, provoked an estimated 75,000 unionists into turning in or tearing up their union cards out of sheer disgust, in the Detroit area alone.

The elections held early in 1935 under the auspices of the Labor Board clearly reflected the prevailing temper of the nation's auto workers. Out of a total of 154,780 ballots cast, 111,878 workers voted for "unaffiliated representation." In other words, the majority were so fed up that they didn't want any of the existing unions to act as their agents. Only 14,057 voted for the A. F. of L., 7,071 for independent unions, and 21,774 for the company-run kind. Some hundreds of thousands of workers refrained from thus registering their will, since they in despair and discouragement believed that even this gesture was a waste of time.

Yet the deep desire to be organized swirled like a strong current temporarily dammed up. The A. F. of L.'s federal locals had meanwhile banded together in a loose alliance under the name of the United Automobile Workers. It was captained by Francis J. Dillon, an A. F. of L. old-timer hand-picked by William Green against the majority votes of the delegates to the U. A. W. convention at Detroit in August of 1935. The latter finally agreed to permit Dillon to remain at the helm until an appeal citing his unfitness could be considered by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., which was scheduled to convene at the Federation's own annual sessions in Atlantic City two months later.

But this appeal somehow got side-tracked in the tumult that surrounded the withdrawal of John L. Lewis & Co. from the A. F. of L. to form their Committee for Industrial Organization. In any event, Green insisted on keeping Dillon in command of the U. A. W., a major blunder. For Dillon epitomized the old-fashioned approach to unionism adhered to by the more conservative craft leaders who dominated the A. F. of L.'s officialdom. On the other hand, the United Automobile Workers were more and more convinced that unionizing techniques devised for an age of bustles and bicycles built for two were not applicable to an era of brassieres and hydraulic brakes. They were heartened by the formation of the C. I. O., founded, as it was, on the premise that either mass production workers were to be organized, with considerable speed or that "labor's voice" would soon be modulated down from at best a mild forte into a very soft and plaintive pianissimo.



ARMISTICE: *Glad to be able to return to their homes after a long sit-down vigil, these automobile strikers hail news of strike settlement in the General Motors strike. Many of them had vowed not to shave until victory was obtained.*

"Independent" unions such as the Coughlin-sponsored Automobile Industrial Workers Association and the Associated Automobile Workers of America, shared the affection of the U. A. W. for the "industrial idea." All three groups began to talk about a fusion of forces, looking to the C. I. O. for guidance. They didn't get it at first. The C. I. O. was already embroiled in 57 varieties of controversy and had to feel its way for a while. By the time Roosevelt was reelected, however, it was sending scouts and advisers into the Detroit area to assist the U. A. W. in ousting Dillon and hence to shatter A. F. of L. influence for many miles around. To get rid of Dillon, of course, required no Machievellian strategy. His pro-employer sympathies, his efforts to thwart strike efforts in nearby Toledo's Auto-Lite and Chevrolet plants had lashed the rank and file into a frenzy of antagonism. In the spring of 1936 the U. A. W. supplanted him by electing Homer S. Martin as its president. He was thirty-four years old, a former minister, emotionally identified with the underdog. He had won the national hop-skip-and-jump championship at college, and combined a study of sociology with his preparation for the cloth. In 1932 he was named pastor of the Baptist Church in Leeds, Missouri, a Kansas City suburb. His congregation in part consisted of auto workers and he was moved by their plight to sermonize upon the "man who pays workers less than a living wage . . . and takes advantage of the depression to drive down living standards and then comes to church on Sunday is no Christian but a . . . hypocrite." He also remarked upon the difficulty of saving men's souls when their bodies were undernourished and their children crying for bread. A few more homilies upon this general theme found him a preacher without a pulpit. The deacons of the church,

composed of leading citizens, observed with choler that such views were more subversive than supernal.

Martin then took a job in a Kansas City Chevrolet factory where he embraced the gospels of unionism in devout and articulate fashion. Immediately he was out on his ear again. He was classed as a trouble maker. He began to organize in real earnest, becoming head of a federal local, and then vice-president of the U. A. W. under Dillon, whom he detested, a sentiment that was cordially returned. In appearance and manner Martin resembles the beau ideal of a Y. M. C. A. secretary. Boyish and wholesome looking, he always looks fit even after a week of arduous 16-hour days.

More gifted as an evangelist than as a negotiator, Martin has several associates who possess the virtues he lacks, and who, despite internal dissensions, form with him a union cabinet marked by both ability and brains. His first vice-president, Wyndham Mortimer, for example, is a shrewd, quick-witted bargainer, with a sense of realism acquired from his experience as a former coal miner and steel worker constantly discharged for union zeal. He is older than Martin and the spokesman for the so-called radical faction within the U. A. W. He espouses the doctrine of de-centralized control in union affairs, a course which, it is alleged, is dictated by Communist Party efforts to capture various locals. On the other hand, Martin—finding his text in the centralization of authority in the motor industry itself—wants the union to be fashioned in the same structural image.

Late in December, 1936, after a vigorous organizing drive, the U. A. W. sent a letter to Mr. William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, asking for a conference on the general subject of collective bargaining. The letter chanted the litany of auto workers' plaints, and pointed out that local attempts to settle questions of wages, hours, and work conditions with branch officials had always arrived nowhere with lightning speed.

The company replied, through Mr. Knudsen, that it could not engage in any such conversations, and suggested that Martin and his followers seek adjustment of grievances with local plant managers. This was nonsense. The corporation's industrial relations policy was determined at the top, and local administrators throughout the country merely carried out the orders of their superiors.

"It's the merry run-around again," muttered U. A. W. members and in exasperation many of them spontaneously sat down in the Fisher Body Plant at Cleveland, on December 28, 1936—ringing up the curtain upon the most spectacular and significant capital-labor drama of the post-crash period.

Next day the sit-down was extended to Fisher Body Plant No. 2 in Flint, Michigan, where the U. A. W. had



Pittsburgh Press

Just When We Thought It Was All Washed Up.

submitted a specimen contract to the plant manager, asking him to ponder its terms as a basis for future discussion. For answer he fired several staunch unionists. Stunned and angered by this "sock in the teeth," U. A. W. members and others sat down. Next morning workers in Fisher Body Plant No. 1 heard the rumor that the company had begun to remove necessary tools and dies to weaker union places like Pontiac to anticipate production stoppages of any large-scale sympathetic strike. In protest U. A. W. men, along with their well-wishers, sat down at Fisher Body No. 1 with a gaiety that was later transformed into grim tenacity of purpose. Like a crazy billiard ball, the movement caromed to Anderson, Indiana; to Kansas City, Missouri; to Norwood, Ohio; to Atlanta, Georgia.

The high command of the C. I. O., which had recently annexed the United Automobile Workers, was surprised and shaken by the suddenness of this sit-down epidemic and would have preferred smallpox or something simple instead. From the standpoint of John L. Lewis and his aides, the timing of this strike in motors was simply dreadful. At the moment Lewis was throwing nearly all the C. I. O.'s new might of money and men into the S. W. O. C. drive on steel, proceeding on the theory that if this most impregnable fortress of the open shop could be forced to yield to the C. I. O.'s assault the whole industrial front could be more readily conquered. To Lewis, as to his Marshal Ney, Philip Murray, success or failure in unionizing steel was to be Austerlitz or Waterloo. They hadn't reckoned on any new major engagements on an unprepared salient.

Yet they were duty bound to send succor to Homer Martin and the U. A. W. which, as a union, was still wet behind the ears. Its leaders were courageous and intelligent but they lacked experience in all the multifarious activity —from publicity to maintenance of morale—that any big strike entails. With a prayer Lewis dispatched John Brophy, the C. I. O.'s Director of Organization, to U. A. W. headquarters in Detroit's Hoffman Building as the herald of many more reinforcements and supplies to come.

Primarily as the result of its sit-downers' 44-day defiance of General Motors, the United Automobile Workers today has some 360,000 dues-paying members out of an industry potential of 450,000. It is thus the youngest and third largest among the C. I. O. unions. It has collective bargaining contracts with all the independents and with two of the Big Three, General Motors and Chrysler. Currently it is trying to unionize Ford against an opposition as stubborn as a peasant's prejudice, and as strong as a billion dollars.

The U. A. W. is young, exuberant, modern-minded. Its leaders have quickly learned what it's all about under the pressure of tremendous responsibility and the stress of stirring events. They have gone beyond the old-time objectives of unionism. Five cents of each member's dollar-a-month dues, for example, are allocated to educational activity featuring excellent courses in economics, American history, trade unionism, parliamentary procedure. It has its own research director, William Munger, an able labor publicist who also edits the *United Automobile Worker*, weekly eight-page tabloid, the union's official organ which in an editorial in its Thanksgiving issue for November 27, 1937 remarked that "Thanks to C. I. O., labor" can henceforth "escape the black pit of 1931–32."

Cultural Barometer

V. F. CALVERTON

IN ENGLAND several months ago I was both surprised and depressed at the sad sick state into which the British drama had fallen. I went to theater after theater in hopes of discovering some English play which I could become stirred by, excited about, or at least entertained with, for the evening. I did not care very much whether the play was a tragedy, a comedy, or a farce. I saw play after play of every variety, but not one which was worthy of comment. Fearing that I might have missed several plays in the less obvious sections of the city, I talked to two or three drama critics on well-known London papers, but they all confessed that there were no British plays which they could recommend. Naturally, at that point, I raised the question as to why British drama was so uninspiring and so uncreative. The answer was twofold: that the best creative forces of this generation had been killed off in the War, and that the decline of England as a national power and as a world influence had resulted in a deterioration of its literary potency.

It was not until I came back to the United States that I fully realized how completely bankrupt the British stage had become. (Incidentally, the only play that I found in England which had anything to recommend it was *The Satyr*, a drama which I later discovered was written by an American, and produced by an American, Chester Erskine.) The American stage by contrast was vital, energetic, creative. On Broadway, and below and above it, plays were being put on which were among the most interesting events of the time. Not only are English plays feeble by comparison, but so also are the plays of practically every other nation. The stage in Europe has never been so "dead" as it is at the present time, whereas the stage in America has never been so alive as it is today.

Interestingly enough, the majority of the plays which have attracted most attention and deserve most commendation are those which fall into the social or radical category or those which represent the most exciting and audacious innovations in technique and interpretation. Among the former are *Pins and Needles, The Cradle Will Rock, Golden Boy,* and a number of Federal Theater productions, most notably "one third of a nation," which is one of the Living Newspaper projects; among the latter Orson Welles' production of *Julius Caesar* is most conspicuous.

Pins and Needles and *The Cradle Will Rock* succeed by virtue of their satire which is directed at our system of society with its economic injustices, social inequalities, and political perfidies. *Pins and Needles* is the lighter of the two, the more deft, the more subtle, the more delightful, but the less challenging and trenchant. *The Cradle Will Rock* suffers from a host of inadequacies: exaggerated contrasts, strained situations, and a pathetic plethora of the obvious, but at the same time it drives its point home with a vigor and cogency that cannot be denied. Utilizing one of the most original and striking techniques of the season, Mr. Blitzstein, the author, has staged his play against a simple, unadorned background, reminiscent of an Elizabethan set in its bareness, resorting to gesture and mimicry in order to get a number of his best effects, and allowing only a rare exit or entrance to interrupt its steady, irrepressible flow. The play opens with almost all the characters on the stage and closes with most of them still there; the main exceptions are those who enter to be killed or exit for the same reason. The town which Mr. Blitzstein attacks with the whip of satire and the flail of irony is called Steeltown; it could be any town in which the steel industry dominates the economic life of the community. In prose and verse and with simple piano music as an accompaniment, he shows how the steel magnate controls the mayor of the town, the newspaper owner, the racketeers, the judges, the pastor, in fact everybody in the town except the labor union and



MODERNIZED SHAKESPEARE: *The characters in the current production,* JULIUS CAESAR, *wear everyday dress. The play represents an "exciting and audacious innovation in technique and interpretation."*

the labor union leader whom he attempts to buy off and, failing that, tries to get rid of by more expeditious and drastic measures.

It is interesting to note that *The Cradle Will Rock* was originally scheduled as a Federal Theater play, but opposition to it prevented its production under those auspices. Its challenge, however, consummating in its call and clamor for a union, an ever stronger and stronger union, to defeat the dictation of the steel magnate, is no more daring or provocative than that hurled at the audience in the Federal Theater play: *one-third of a nation.* The title of this latter play is taken from President Roosevelt's second inaugural speech in which he said that he found "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished." The play is a dramatization of the status of slum-housing in the United States today, delineating in graphic, gripping detail the horrible conditions under which so many people are forced to live, pointing out how it has come about that they have been reduced to such squalor and what can be done to rescue them from it. The author of the play, Arthur Arent, is no less merciless in indicting the landowners as the criminals in the situation than Mr. Blitzstein is in condemning the steel magnate for the conditions of life that prevail in Steeltown. In fact, Mr. Arent gives names and places, tracing from past history how landlordism has grown into a worse and worse menace from century to century and from generation to generation. While less imaginative, less original, and less ingenious than *The Cradle Will Rock,* this play is based upon sounder fact and suffers from less exaggeration and distortion of situation and interpretation. In the making of *one-third of a nation* research work was undertaken of a most extensive variety, in books, newspapers, documents, and then first-hand investigations of the slums of today by trained observers, expert photographers, all of which was used by the author of the play, gone over by the actors and actresses so that they would be able to imbibe the spirit of the drama, and then utilized as a guide by the scenic designer, Howard Bay, who achieved a definite innovation in stagecraft in his set for the production. By means of constructing a four-story tenement house with the front walls torn away, he was able to depict both the outside and the inside of the dwelling, which, in terms of stage dimensions, is a colossal affair, 36 feet high x 14 feet deep, and 47 feet across the stage.



New Spirit in the Theatre: Clifford Odets' Golden Boy, *a scene from which is pictured above, is one of the current outstanding theatrical presentations*

Some of the scenes of the play, modeled after definite photographs out of which the actual situations were drawn, are so realistic they make the audience squirm and shudder. The most unforgettable of the various scenes is the one of the Harlem "hot-beds," which are beds that are rented out to different Negroes in three eight-hour shifts, each Negro, aching for sleep, being forced to fling out the Negro of the previous shift. *One-third of a nation* carries the "Dead End" psychology from the wharf into the home where the roots of rottenness really begin.

In *Golden Boy,* Clifford Odets' most recent play, we turn to a different kind of theme, although implicit in it is something of the same spirit and sentiment. *Golden Boy* is the story of an Italian youth who is a gifted violinist, but who is haunted also by pugilistic ambitions, and who finally forsakes his music for the prize-fight ring. His father, an Italian of romantic vintage, pleads with him to give up fighting and return to his music, but his exhortations fall on deaf ears. In his heart, however, the boy hopes to become the champion without hurting his hands, which are so important to his musical career if he ever returns to it, but he soon realizes he can't win victories unless he hits straight and hard and forgets about his hands. At length, he becomes the champ but ruins his hands in the struggle, after which he takes to speed and his impresario's mistress for relaxation. He buys a Duesenberg car, and after his best fight, dashes off with the girl in his new car, only to meet his death in a smash-up a short while later.

Mr. Odets, who is one of the best known dramatists in this country today, and who has always striven to write plays with social implications, has written one of his most interesting and arresting plays in *Golden Boy,* but certainly not one of his best social plays by any means. Whatever social message is to be derived from *Golden Boy* is difficult to ascertain. By straining a point, Mr. Odets might maintain that he is trying to show what is happening to American youth today, even the most talented; unable to find jobs; unable, as in the case of the protagonist in this play, to find a livelihood in his music, youths are driven into other fields, where money, speed, and destruction await them. As they give up their ideals, they surrender their souls and finally their lives upon false altars and in futile places. But many other dramatists and novelists who have never been concerned with endowing their works with social meanings and significances have rehashed that theme in one form or another, shifting the characters, varying the situation, altering the conflict. One of the critics on *The New Masses* made a valiant attempt to show that *Golden Boy* is a truly revolutionary play, but is doubtful if even Mr. Odets, in his most optimistic moments, has been able to per-

suade himself that such is the case.

It is important to observe at this point that all these plays, and they are among the most interesting and certainly the most original now playing in New York, revolve about working class people, representing in that respect a continuation of the proletarian *motif* in modern drama. It should not be forgotten that this proletarian *motif* is a new development in drama as it is in all the arts.

The New Shakespeare

In the days of Shakespeare, the leading characters in drama were aristocratic; following Shakespeare, with the rise of the so-called *bourgeois* tragedy, the leading characters became middle-class; it was only toward the end of the 19th century, beginning in the novel with *Germinie Lacertux, L'Assomoir,* and other novels that the proletarian *motif* received birth. It is only in the 20th century, however, that it has matured.

When we turn to Orson Welles' production of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar,* we are confronted with a curious combination of a modernistic interpretation of an old drama. *Julius Caesar* is no proletarian play. It is a play written, as were all Shakespeare's tragedies, in keeping with the aristocratic conception of literature that prevailed at the time. The main characters are great generals, nobles, illustrious people, not commoners. Shakespeare didn't believe it possible in a tragedy for an audience to sympathize with the misfortunes of humble people. He could only sympathize with the tragedies of a Caesar, a Brutus, a Macbeth, a Lear, a Hamlet, nobles all.

What Orson Welles has done with Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is most ingenious, although in places not altogether effective or felicitous. The business of putting Shakespeare on in modern dress is not new. Over ten years ago, Horace Liveright produced *Hamlet* in modern dress, all his leading characters appearing in evening clothes instead of in aristocratic costumes and his minor characters in attires befitting their parts in terms of their present-day functions. The production aroused considerable comment and ran for a somewhat extended period, but the general reaction was not of such an enthusiastic variety to merit similar productions of other Shakespearean dramas. Orson Welles' production, however, has other virtues to recommend it besides its originality of attire. Its interpretation of the roles of various characters in the play makes it a different *Julius Caesar* from any previous. While there can be little doubt but that the Welles interpretation is not the interpretation that Shakespeare aimed to give the play, there can be no doubt but that the interpretation is one that has never been attempted before. Mr. Welles strives to make Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* into a carbon copy of Mussolini and to give to the *conspirators* a revolutionary aspect consonant with the spirit of *oppositionists* who live in Italy today. In short, Mr. Welles contrives to interpret Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in terms of Mussolini's Italy of today. The result is that the character of Julius Caesar as envisioned by Shakespeare suffers considerable distortion and mutilation. Even the other characters are construed in ways differing from previous interpretations of their roles. The consequences are that the Julius Caesar of Orson Welles is a Julius Caesar which will vex the devotees of the old school of interpretation, but delight those who enjoy novelty even at the cost of distortion. The background used, with its simple brick wall, its unadorned elevations of structures, its bare geometry of design, adds to the general effect of the interpretation.

Turning now to the cinema, there is one picture which deserves four stars for the month. That picture is *The River,* which like *one-third of a nation* is a product of the Farm Security Administration. *The River* is an attempt to depict what has happened to the midwest sections of this country as a result of the destruction of timber and arable land by people who lacked knowledge of what it was that they were destroying. The *river* is the Mississippi into which dozens of other rivers, streams, creeks, rivulets, runs, all pour, or which, as the commentator says, carries all the water down two-thirds the continent, and has made of itself, since the recent vandalism of man, a colossus which the American people have had to spend their best energies to control. The cinema, simple and plain as a photograph, yet inspired by imaginative shots and scenes suggestive of the life of the river has a quality about it which is epical. There are no stars—the star is the river itself, the long winding passage of waters forcing its way through the center of the country, rushing across the lowlands, flooding villages, towns, and cities, the overflow of which man has had to combat from year to year, unceasingly and relentlessly.

Today, as the picture shows, the Government is having trees planted in the very soil in which not long ago the trees had been all cut down. Trees, absorbing water as they do, are more necessary for the prevention of floods than levees or dikes. New dams are being built by the Government, new flood walls, new levees, new protections of every kind to beat down the invasions of the river. *The River* is a masterpiece of social documentation and cinematic dramatization. It fuses propaganda with art, makes of the river a thing of wonder, and conjures out of water and earth a magical symphony of design and motion.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE recent celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Emanuel Swedenborg has served to call the attention of the world at large to the real greatness of the man. Born January 29, 1688, the son of a professor of theology who became Bishop of Upsala, Swedenborg has been recognized as one of the foremost scientists, philosophers and mystics--not only of his own day, but of all time. The order of his development was a natural one--first a scientist, then a philosopher, and finally a mystic.

Swedenborg anticipated many scientific facts and positions usually regarded as of much more modern date. His contributions in the field of palaeontology alone would have been sufficient to perpetuate his fame. Long before Kant and La Place he arrived at the nebular hypothesis theory of the formation of the planets and the sun. Some of the chief features of the present-day theories of the electronic construction of atoms were anticipated in his "molecular magnetic" theory. He was first to use mercury for the air pump and devised a method of determining longitude at sea by observations of the moon among the stars. He suggested the use of tanks for testing ship models, invented an ear-trumpet for the deaf, improved the house-stove of his country, cured smoky chimneys, designed machine-guns, and even sketched a flying machine.

But the chief contribution to posterity made by Emanuel Swedenborg was in the realm of the spirit. Until middle life a scholar, scientist, practical administrator, legislator and man of affairs, he devoted his latter years to spiritual and psychic inquiry. He did not reach or grasp the infinite and spiritual through geometry, physics or metaphysics, but through visions and mystical experiences. He never attempted to preach or found a sect, but after his death those who accepted his revelation of divine nature and the laws or rules which underlie it as well as principles governing human conduct organized themselves into a "Church" which is known as *The New Church* or the *New Jerusalem Church*.

Swedenborg described the spiritual world as very much like the present world. The chief difference is that the spiritual world is more immediately responsive to divine influences and therefore more perfect. A world of land, water, sky, clouds, sun, trees, fruit, flowers—it is composed of spiritual and imperishable substances. It is a real world containing everything that is useful and beautiful here, so ordered as to be perfectly suited to the needs and requirements of the spiritual beings who live there.

In Germany

The N. C. W. C. News Service reports that "the systematic destruction of Catholic schools in Germany has reached the point where soon none of them will continue to subsist. Catholic associations in Germany have now virtually been destroyed. Officially Church holy days are no longer widely observed in Germany. Orders have just been issued by the Nazi authorities that the Epiphany, Saints Peter and Paul and Immaculate Conception feasts will be considered as weekdays from now on when public offices and schools will remain open. . . . Only recently it was reported that the number of candidates for the priesthood in Germany does not meet requirements any longer."

The chief interest in religious developments in Germany during February, however was the trial of Pastor Martin Niemoeller, the most famous of the Protestant leaders of the opposition to the totalitarian State. Arrested last July 1, Pastor Niemoeller was finally brought to trial on February 7, charged with "sedition," "misuse of the pulpit," "inciting the public to disobedience to the laws of the state" and "violating the law forbidding malicious attacks on the state and the Nazi party." On the plea that "the testimony was of a nature involving danger to the state and people" the trial was conducted in secret. It was a disappointment to all concerned. The three attorneys who were scheduled to defend the Protestant leader were dismissed by him on the grounds that the "trial" was not a proper one, and that a formal defense was useless. The star witnesses for the defense were not permitted to testify. The public were excluded from the trial and could learn practically nothing of the proceedings. The prosecutor was refused the twenty-month sentence which he had demanded for the pastor. The court sentenced him to seven months' honorable "fortress imprisonment" which was cancelled because of the eight months the accused had already spent in prison. The 500-mark fine for reading the names of parishioners who had left his church was not collected for the same reason. The trial lasted much longer than the ten days originally scheduled for it. The verdict completely ignored the chief charge of sedition. The Nazi Minister for Church Affairs (who had lost prestige when Dr. Otto Dibelius was acquited last July of libeling the Minister) received another blow in the verdict. Perhaps the most disappointed persons were Pastor Niemoeller and his wife. For, although he was actually exonerated on the charges preferred against him, "Dr. Martin" was immediately re-arrested by the secret police and rushed from the court to further imprisonment in Alexander Platz Prison. No reason was given for this arrest. Parishioners of the persecuted Church leader were unable to conceal their bitterness when they heard of this latest outrage.

News Briefs . . .

The next Lutheran World Convention will be held in Philadelphia in 1940. This will be the first time that the Convention has met in America, the three previous ones having met successively in Eisenach, Germany, Copenhagen, Denmark, and Paris.

For the first time in history a minister who is not a member of the Church of England addressed the recent Convocation of York. The Archbishop of York invited the Reverend M E. Aubrey, moderator of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches and Secretary of the Baptist Union of England and Wales, to address the assembly. This was in accordance with a resolution passed in 1934 by both the Convocations of York and Canterbury, and is another step in the plan for increasing cooperation and understanding between the various denominations in England. Organic unity seems to be more certain of achievement in England now than anywhere else in the Christian world.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

Naval Mission

The mystery behind the visit to London of Captain Royal E. Ingersoll, Chief of the United States War Planning Department, which has already been the subject of excited questioning in the United States Congress, turns out to be quite an Oppenheim affair.

What Captain Ingersoll brought with him to London was nothing more nor less than copies of the stolen plans of the greater part of the new Japanese naval programme—stolen with great skill in the latter part of November by the United States Intelligence service operating in Tokyo.

The British Intelligence people had had no luck—and possibly a trifle less zeal, considering the long period of first open and then undercover co-operation between the Japanese and British Governments which certainly had a somewhat demoralising effect on the local personnel who were often more anxiously engaged in co-operating with the Japanese in spying on the Americans and the Russians than in spying directly on the Japanese themselves.

Whether that factor is to be rated high or low, the fact remains that the British did not get their hands on those plans: a fact which had the very natural consequence of causing them from time to time to send reports suggesting that perhaps these particular plans about which everyone was beginning to get so excited did not really exist after all.

Then the Americans found them and stole them.

It was a month or so ago that Captain Ingersoll after a quick Atlantic crossing sat down with the British Admiralty and showed them the plans.

As far as can be learned, they were already fairly well informed about the possibilities of a new Japanese big battleship programme: the point that gave them the jolt was the cruiser programme, showing Japanese intentions to exceed the Treaty limits in this direction on a scale which left no doubt that a bid was being made for absolute mastery of the China and Pacific seas so far as the raiding of commerce was concerned.

It was on the basis of this startling information that the recent request for information was addressed to Japan by Britain and the United States—producing a somewhat comical situation in which the two powers firmly asked for an official disclosure of information which was already in their possession down to the last detail, and the Japanese press flew into a rage on its Government being asked to "disclose" plans, copies of which everyone in the Japanese Admiralty knew were already being studied in the Washington Navy Department and the British Admiralty.

—*The Week*, London.



Il 420, Florence

ENGLISH EXPLORERS IN AFRICA

"Fly for your life! It is an Ethiopian lion!"

"Nonsense! We do not recognize Ethiopia!"

Behind the Russian and German Military Purges

. . . The Reichswehr presented several requests to Hitler: They demanded the resignation of Marshal Von Blomberg and the concentration of all powers of the Army, Navy and Air Corps in the hands of the Army command (as has been established in France in accordance with the principle advocated by General Gamelin).

Furthermore, the Army chiefs sharply criticized the orientation of the Reich's foreign policy during their interview with the Fuehrer. They protested against too close collaboration with Italy, against intervention in Spain, against cooperation with Japan, and advocated rapprochement with London, a lessening of the tension with Paris, and, above all, an improvement of the relations followed by rapprochement with Moscow.

Shortly after the Army chiefs withdrew the industrialists arrived at Berchtesgaden. Their spokesmen were severely critical of the system of economic autarchy attempted by Goering. They attacked the proposal for the nationalization of the war industry. The representatives of the Ruhr mining region didn't hide their dissatisfaction with the activities of the new "Hermann Goering Mining Society." And joining the Reichswehr and the industrial magnates, the Junkers of the East explained that the Four Year Plan is ruining German agriculture. The Fuehrer listened, as he does so often, without giving a positive answer.

But at this time there entered a new and not unexpected element which hastened the Fuehrer's decision. Mr. Himmler, Chief of the German Police, submitted documents showing that the group of generals surrounding and headed by General Fritsch belonged to a secret organization whose purpose was to place the second son of the Crown Prince upon the throne.

The attitude of hostile suspicion that Mr. Himmler entertains towards the Reichswehr is well known. The

rumor was current during this summer that, informed by his secret agents in Russia, he did not hesitate to hand over a package of documents to the Soviet Embassy in Berlin which pointed to the existence of clandestine negotiations between the German and Soviet General Staffs.

The trial and execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky and his friends in Russia came in consequence of this act.

Mr. Himmler reported "The Royalist Plot" of the Reichswehr to Hitler at the end of January. On January 27 (by strange coincidence the birthday of Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II) the rumor was current in Berlin that the police were going to arrest a number of generals. Mr. Himmler thus was preparing his revenge for June 30, 1934.

An atmosphere of tension hovered over the capitol. Will the Reichswehr passively await the expected executions? General Fritsch, a convinced monarchist, decided to risk the consequences and called a number of generals to his home to form a plan of resistance. It was decided that the Reichswehr would occupy the Palace at 64 Wilhelmstrasse (the Foreign office), the building next to the Chancellery, on January 28. By this gesture Von Fritsch intended to show Himmler's police that he was ready to oppose force with force. At the same time plans were laid to occupy strategic points in Berlin to prevent a coup of the Gestapo.

On the 28th and 29th, Berlin lived under the shadow of fear. A number of important personalities, more or less compromised in the plot, suddenly left the city.

On the evening of the 29th the crisis was over. It was learned that the Fuehrer had signed the resignation of Von Blomberg, as the Reichswehr had asked, as well as that of Von Fritsch for reasons of grave indiscipline.

—From *Le Temps*, Paris, February 5, 1938

The Idea

The trouble started when Sir John Lorden, a past president of the federation and a former Member of Parliament, described the virtue of the House of Lords in rejecting the Addison Housing Bill and the infamy of the Commons in its treatment of property owners. He resented the charge that property owners wanted slums. "Who made the slums?" he asked. "The tenant every time. The landlord cannot get into the houses to do the necessary repairs."

—*Manchester Guardian*

The Latest German Dry Purge

The date of February 5, 1938 will have an importance equal to that of June 30, 1934 in German history.

Nevertheless the interpretation of the events of June 30 left no doubts. It was a victory over the extremist elements of the National Socialist Party; especially its military formations. The opinions concerning February 5th, however, are very conflicting. Was it a new success of the Army over the Party, or was it a coordination of the Army by the Party? One hears both interpretations in the French press and in the entire foreign press with the exception, of course, of the



Birmingham Mail

SPOIL-SPORT

German newspapers which proclaim the unity of the country and the progress of "the National Concentration in the hands of the Fuehrer."

In trying to examine the facts objectively it seems difficult to maintain that the events of February were to the exclusive advantage of the National Socialist Party. During the days preceding the crisis, when the resignation of Field Marshal Von Blomberg was a certainty, it was generally believed that his successor would be either General Goering who represents mainly the political National Socialism, General Von Reichenau who is known to be as favorably disposed towards the Party as was Von Blomberg, or even Himmler who is the chief of the Elite Guards and the Gestapo.

But what do we see? All the candidates whose appointment would have been regarded as factors controlling the Army in the interests of the Party have been eliminated. General Goering, it is true, received the title of Field Marshal, but this is a pap of consolation intended to pacify his frustrated ambition and to soothe his vanity. It does not confer any new military power upon him. The new Field Marshal and Commander of the Air Forces is practically subordinated to General Keitel. The latter replaces, at least nominally, Marshal Von Blomberg. General Von Reichenau received a new command but this doesn't constitute an advance. As to Mr. Himmler, he not only failed to become Minister of War but it was denied officially that he would even become Minister of the Interior.

This makes the situation sufficiently clear. However it becomes ever more clear when the new personalities who are at the head of the Army are considered. General Keitel and General Von Brauchitsch are officers who are known to represent the ideas of the Army and will be decisively hostile to the interference of political elements with military affairs.

But how to reconcile this thesis of the victory of the Army over political interference with the elimination of General Von Fritsch and the 43 generals in his entourage? This is answered by reports published in *Le Temps* and *Le Matin*. It seems, even if there was not a monarchist plot by Von Fritsch and his following, there was at least a plan of action which was to be transmitted to the Fuehrer Chancellor Hitler could not accept this plan because, firstly, it was conceived without his knowledge and, secondly, because it prescribed a determined political line. It is conceivable that the Army considered that General Von Fritsch committed a grave error and consequently weakened not only himself but the Army and the generals who shared his intentions.

From all this it appears that in the meantime the Fuehrer tried to arbitrate and to effect a reconciliation, under his personal authority, between the Army and the National Socialist Party.

These are the facts which place the day of February 5, 1938 on a par with June 30, 1934. The crisis is still latent in military circles which refuse to tolerate any political interference, and political circles which struggle to coordinate the Army as all else has been coordinated. From time to time these continuous fermentations provoke explosions. That which took place is undoubtably not the final one. By the very nature of the facts it is apparent that the

present equilibrium between the Army and Party can be maintained only artificially . . . only by the unique and uncontested prestige of the Fuehrer.

—Editorial in *Bulletin Quotidien*, Paris, February 7, 1938.

The "Axis" Reaches Central Africa

The explosion at the munitions factory of Segni, Italy, confirmed a fact which all Italy knows quite well: the munition factories of the peninsula are operating 24 hours a day manufacturing shrapnel. Aeroplane factories and shipyards also are operating full blast. Why are all these armaments, munitions, gasoline and provisions being piled up? And why are six divisions: four Italian and two native, with 150 military aeroplanes maintained in Libya? It is because a possible British-Japanese conflict would offer a favorable opportunity for Mussolini to strike.

A European conflagration would quickly bring about the immobilization of the fighting fronts. To wait for a victory would cost time and money. Neither the Italians nor the Germans have time and money.

They hope that the final outcome will be influenced by strategical operations in Africa. That's what they think in Rome. It is enough to look at the map of Africa to understand their intention. The Germans want Lake Chad. Chad, however, is separated from the southern part of Italian Libya by a French corridor which would be easy to occupy.

The Italians want the mastery of the Mediterranean. Therefore they want Egypt, and the Suez Canal and Tunisia, and thus be in a position to form a barrier in the Mediterranean extending from Italy through Sicily and the Island of Pantelleria.

Thus, the Italians and the Germans meet in Africa with common interests. This is probably known in Paris. Certainly, however, it is not sufficiently known because, although war may not be inevitable, one must consider its tragic and increasing probability.

France is mainly preoccupied with its inner social problems; but the internal and external problems are in reality one. Only a strong and united France will make the enemy hesitate and remove the prospect of a threatening tomorrow. In order to eliminate this terrible danger it is necessary that all timely military measures should be taken in France and in Africa because it is enough to be ready, to be really prepared, to prevent being attacked.

—Correspondence from Rome to *L'Intransigeant*, February 3, 1937.

Descendants of Guillotined Aristocrats

We should have no illusions. If France continues the foreign policy which has been pursued for three years and, to tell the truth, since the World War, she is headed toward the end of her status as a free nation.



Il 420, Florence

WITH HIS EYES SHUT

(*Mrs. Roosevelt reports that her husband suffers from hallucinations and somnambulism*)

Uncle Sam. "*Be careful, Mr. President! Wake up and open your eyes or you will run into a wall!*"

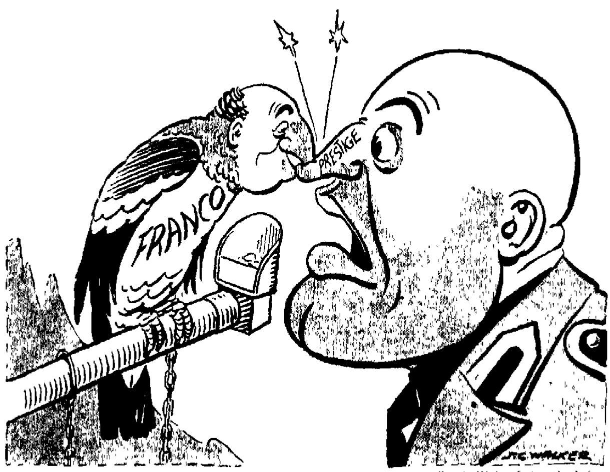
Whose fault is it? We will not spare anyone. First of all the fault is that of all those of the Left who, from the day following the Armistice, treated the anxieties of certain Frenchmen regarding the re-armament of Germany and its evident desire for revenge, as contemptible political maneuvers. They declared that those who desired that France should remain strong had "sold themselves to the steel barons," that "they are conjuring phantoms" and that "the Germans think only of loving us." It is they who condemned the occupation of the Ruhr and attacked our wish to have the treaties respected. It is they who went so far as to maintain that our real defense against the appetites of our neighbors, would be disarmament and even went so far as to preach general strike in case of war. It is they who only two years ago rejected any serious action against Mussolini because through him spoke "the Italian people who are pure in heart and suffer only a temporary crisis of dementia which will pass away." We do not hesitate to say that these people were very guilty.

Since then, however, they have recovered their senses in face of the mounting audacity of the nations of prey and now they begin to understand their duty to their country. However, in the meantime others have risen and are working for the degradation of France. These others are the representatives of the Right parties.

They have demanded impunity for the aggressor of the Ethiopian people, which was followed immediately, with the precision of clockwork, by the German occupation of the Rhine provinces; a direct threat to our security. They wanted no sanctions because, to them, it was nothing but an answer to the Franco-Soviet Pact (as if Germany had waited for the pact before she declared her intention of tearing up the Treaty of Versailles). I know some of them who said that in case of war they would refuse to fight because "they are not under the orders of Moscow." They have applauded the policy of Mussolini which tries to annihilate us in the Balkans. They have praised the policy of the English Lords who are ready to satisfy all the desires of the German dictator. They have appealed with all their soul for the victory of Spanish Fascism which would bring about the total

encirclement of France and would make it impossible for France to maintain her connections with her colonies: That would be the end of France as a great power. They have preached "peace at any price," even if that price would be the submission of their country to all the whims of their neighbors.

From where comes all this anti-patriotic rage? From the fear of Communism? They know perfectly well that Communism is an impossibility in France, though they never cease to gloat over its defeats and make these defeats appear greater than they really are. For humanitarian reasons? For love of peace? Don't make us laugh! Those of the breed of Maurras [French Royalist leaders] are prepared to set fire to the whole world in order to see their doctrines triumph. Just propose a crusade against Sovietism to them or a repetition on a large scale of February 6, 1934 [Royalist riots in Paris] when they would be sure this time to crush the detested regime, and you'd see how they love peace! This all comes from their hate of democracy, which fills them with terror as it begins to threaten their privileges and takes on the appearance of reality instead of remaining the empty facade as it has been so often during the past 50 years This hate makes them willing to deliver themselves bound hand and foot to foreign chiefs whose dogma has for its basis the anathema of democratic regimes. Has not one of them declared with pride that he was "the grave-digger of the immortal principles?"



South Wales Echo, Cardiff

CAN HE WITHDRAW AND SAVE HIS FACE?

We find them again as they have always been: holding up their class interests above the interests of their nation. They are the sons of the emigrés of 1792, these sons of the men who desired the victory of Brunswick, who in Ghent built bonfires on the eve of Waterloo, who returned with the armies of the Holy Alliance and whose only care was to keep us in the humiliation imposed upon us by the Treaties of 1815.

Today these criminals are worrying. They hear rising in the face of this degradation and threat an immense rumbling in France which affects even their own following. They wish, therefore, to escape retribution and begin to deplore, not without extraordinary audacity, a situation of which they are the authors Listen to them apropos of the impunity of Japan! "Force triumphs," laments *L'Action Française* (Royalists daily) with a song against the regime. "Our inaction is a scandal," says an editorial of the *Figaro* (Right wing organ). "The democracies," writes *Le Jour* (Conservative daily) "are decidedly incapable of a single gesture which would still save us: a gesture of force and pride. . ." Are we dreaming or are we really reading this in these newspapers? Who was it who for three years has been demanding that France should abstain from the policy of "Force and Pride"—which they now have the impudence to demand so suddenly?

What phenomenal impudence for those elements to throw into the face of democracy their refusal to see farther than their momentary tranquillity—when it is they who have never ceased to exploit this instinct and have rejected interventions from pure class interests!

Our Tartuffes should not deceive themselves. Their mask won't deceive us. Should misfortune place France some day in the position where she can no longer make a move on the world's checker-board without the permission of the dictatorships, when she will not be allowed to say anything without their consent, in short, if under the mask of liberty she would actually be a subjugated nation, we will know whom to hold responsible for our shame and from whom, when the day comes, to demand a reckoning.

—Julian Benda in *La Depêche de Toulouse*, February, 1938 Official organ of the Radical Socialist Party.

Reaction to Brutality

Alarmed and enraged by their spectacular defeat at Teruel, the Fascists turn to even more bestial savagery and dedicate themselves to the sowing of death in cities far removed from the battle front where an unarmed population falls butchered by the bombs of their hired airplanes.

Daily the press reports the killing of dozens of women and children by the cowardly machine gunners.

These infamous acts are inspired, it is said, by the desire to terrorize our rear guard, to provoke despair, and to weaken the spirit of sacrifice in order to break the morale of our fighters.

Such imbecility gives rise to surprised abhorrence.

Our people are not the people of Mussolini and Hitler. They are not accustomed to obey the desires of tyrants who wield the whip of permanent terror and clank the chains of enslavement, violence and hunger. No! As the number of their victims mounts, the more terrible will become our vengeance!

The shuddering of the terror-stricken mother as she looks upon the broken body of her child is not only the expression of frightful pain but also of hate; of concentrated and violent hate which surges to vent itself upon the authors of her bereavement.

—*Tierra y Libertad*, Daily of the FAI ("Federacion Anarquista Iberica") Barcelona, January 15, 1938.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Feb. 4 - Mar. 3

DOMESTIC

FEBRUARY 4—Twelve conference chairmen present the President with considerably toned down resolutions of the little business men. The resolutions had been either moderated or omitted to such a degree that they were hardly recognizable as the caustic declarations rushed to adoption on February 3. President Roosevelt declares that some of the resolutions are possible of fulfillment and some are not.

The President announces that he has signed the new Housing Bill. The Bill is expected to open the way for the biggest small-homes-building movement in the history of the country. The Government expects the Bill to spur recovery by the increased demand for durable goods and wide gains in employment in the building trades.

FEBRUARY 5—Stewart McDonald, Federal Housing Administrator, notifies lending institutions throughout the country that they might resume making insured loans for modernization and repair under Title One of the recently amended National Housing Act.

FEBRUARY 6—Dr Charles H. Lee, 71-year-old rector of historic Christ Church on St Simon's Island off the coast of Georgia, is shot and killed while preparing a sermon in his rectory.

Dr Walter A Jessup, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, denounces the fierce competition among colleges for tuition-paying students, as well as the exploitation of students, in the Foundation's 32nd annual report, made public today

FEBRUARY 7—Admiral William D. Leahy, in answer to questioning by the House Naval affairs Committee, says that in the event of war in any part of the world, the United States Navy has no understanding involving the giving or receiving of aid and has no thought of obtaining assistance from any other nation in case of war.

FEBRUARY 8—Secretary Cordell Hull writes Senator Key Pittman that there is no agreement, understanding, or other arrangement with any government for the prosecution of a joint naval policy Senator Hiram Johnson praises Secretary Hull for ending "ugly rumors."

FEBRUARY 9—Twenty-six brigadier and major-generals are slated for retirement from the U. S. Army. Others may go for physical reasons known only to the examining doctors

FEBRUARY 10—Mr. Roosevelt urges Congress to appropriate an additional $250,000,000 to provide "a reasonable measure of relief" for an estimated 3,000,000 workers who have lost their jobs during the last three months and to help continue the employment of 1,950,000 persons now on the relief rolls. Available relief funds can take care of only 1,700,000 of the needy unemployed through the fiscal year ending June 30.

Criticism of Cordell Hull's foreign policy is renewed by Senator Johnson as foes of Navy expansion assail building program.

FEBRUARY 11—In response to demands that the governmental naval policy of the United States be explained in full, Carl Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee announces that the $800,000,000 Naval Bill states exactly the naval policy. A draft of this bill is read by Vinson. The core of the Naval Bill will be a force strong enough to protect the Atlantic and Pacific simultaneously, with the policy laid down that the Navy can not be used for aggression but only to guarantee security.

FEBRUARY 12—Public relief rolls now embrace 1,255,000 of New York's 7,470,000 men women and children as rolls enlarge at the rate of 5,000 a week The total, however, is still 300,000 below the peak of March, 1936.

FEBRUARY 13—At least 250 Army officers are in base hospitals taking physical examinations which will probably exempt them from further duty in the field service. General Craig presages the retirement of the disabled by rushing the examinations

Strategists of the General Staff and air corps decide that military airplanes in the event of war will not bomb civilians.

FEBRUARY 15—Senators King and Austin are the only two members of a Senate Judiciary Sub-committee who vote to bar the newly appointed Solicitor General, Robert H. Jackson from holding office In spite of a three-session, four-hour bombardment by the two Senators, Mr Jackson was approved by the sub-committee, 5-2.

By vote of 107-40, the New York State Assembly for the third time in four years defeats a resolution providing for ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

President Roosevelt defines defense policy of the navy for a fleet able to guard both coasts at one and the same time regardless of the ratio that the number of its ships might have to the number of ships in any foreign navy.

A House committee approves plan of the President for an additional $250,000,000 for the relief fund

House votes to wipe off $2,500,000,000 loss on the books of the RFC and maintain capital of Commodity Credit Corporation

FEBRUARY 14—Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, chairman of the Red Cross, dies in Washington. The 59-year-old naval physician was a close friend of the President and to the late President Wilson

The United States Treasury, in order to cheapen money and add to its bank funds, eases its gold sterilization policy.

The Crop Control Bill, asked by President Roosevelt as one of the four pieces of major legislation needed to complete his New Deal program is passed by the Senate, 56-31, and sent to the White House

The Supreme Court upholds a South Carolina law limiting the weight and size of trucks traveling on her State highways.

Representative Hamilton Fish assails Naval Bill Mr. Fish asserts that the Bill heads the United States for war and that the President is attempting to police the world.

FEBRUARY 16—The Agricultural Adjustment Act, embodying the most energetic farm relief experiment the United States has ever attempted, is signed by the President. Mr. Roosevelt warns that the measure will increase the present authorized cost of such legislation and that additional revenues will be needed to give it full effect He did not suggest a means of raising the additional revenues.

Mr. J. P. Kennedy, Chairman of the Maritime Commission, declares that the maritime industry, is either "ripe" for settlement of labor disputes or "overripe for ruin."

FEBRUARY 17—The Grace Line and Colombian Line are consolidated, with the Colombian Line receiving $700,000 on mail contracts.

In a report to President Roosevelt, Secretary Roper's Business Advisory Council urges sweeping changes in the National Labor Relations Act.

Mr J. P Kennedy in his final report as Chairman of the Maritime Commission, says that high shipbuilding bids threaten the maritime program. Costs are said to be three times as high in domestic ports as they are in foreign ports Mr. Kennedy suggests that cargo ships be built in foreign shipyards when costs in America are twice as much as costs in foreign ports.

Records of the Home Owners Loan Corporation show that Uncle Sam owns 71,733 homes by foreclosure at the end of 1937 This figure represents an increase of 50,500 in a year.

FEBRUARY 18—President Roosevelt declares that a "balance" of commodity prices which would promote a "balanced" expansion of production which would in turn increase income and employment is the immediate goal of the Administration's economic policy.

Rear Admiral Emory S Land is named by the President to succeed J P. Kennedy as Chairman of the Maritime Commission The President let it be known that the new chairman is expected to carry on the "two-fisted, hard-hitting" policies of his predecessor.

Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, has $1,500,000,000 ready as Mr Roosevelt ends curb on RFC loans.

FEBRUARY 19 Secretary Hull assails foe's use of "sinister propaganda" in trying to "wreck the most important policy which our country can pursue to promote its economic well-being and peace." He declares further that the Smoot-Hawley Tariff has been a disastrous economic boomerang.

FEBRUARY 20—Phillip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, says Union upset New Deal "foolish economics" in steel pact; stopped tide of pay cuts.

FEBRUARY 21—The Senate shelves Anti-Lynching Bill in order to get at Relief Bill, ending Southerners' 30-day filibuster.

FEBRUARY 22—Secretary Ickes pleads for vigilance by world's democracies to escape Communism and Fascism in the first broadcast of a Cabinet member to the people of Great Britian and the British Domains

The Senate rejects an attempt to increase

supplementary relief appropriations to $400,000,000 by vote of 53-22.

FEBRUARY 23—Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, J. P. Morgan partner and long a United States treasury aide, dies in New York City.

FEBRUARY 25—President Roosevelt says that he considers the dreadnought the greatest power in naval weapons in spite of planes.

The Pennsylvania State Democratic Committee ratifies Earle-Jones slate, ignoring John L. Lewis' demands that Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Kennedy head the State.

FEBRUARY 26—According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a European spy corps designed to carry on an espionage program embracing such matters as mobilization plans for the defense of the Panama Canal and passage of its agents into Soviet Russia on forged passports, collapsed with the capture of three members of the spy ring.

FEBRUARY 27—J. B. Hutson, Assistant Administrator of the AAA, announces changes in the national farm program to make it accord with the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, including the establishment of a 12-cent per bushel payment for wheat for farmers who cooperate in the program A restoration goal is set. It will cover 6,000,000 acres of land to be returned to grass in agrarian States.

FEBRUARY 28—Dr. Glenn Frank, Chairman of the Republican Committee on Program, outlines the task that faces the Committee in formulating a party policy Dr Frank's speech hits the New Deal as a "bunch" form of government and offers a comprehensive plan for rejuvenation of the Republican Party

The Federal Trade Commission takes a step to break up an alleged price-fixing combination in the sale of golf balls when it orders eight leading golf-ball manufacturers and their trade association, together with the Professional Golfers Association of America, to stop fixing prices and discriminating as to prices to certain purchasers.

Bernard M Baruch declares that the United States must choose between the profits system and the hope of gain and "the new European idea of State regulation and the fear of punishment" Mr. Baruch adds, "If it became clear tomorrow that America has definitely chosen her traditional profits system, forces would be released that would rapidly hasten recovery and re-employment"

The United States Supreme Court refuses to review New York's judges' denial of injunction on open shop

The Senate accedes to monthly allocation provision of House and adopts the $250,000,000 deficiency relief appropriation

Democrats differ on Reorganization Bill as Byrnes opens debate in Senate.

MARCH 1—Despite expressed opposition by Mr. Roosevelt, the House Naval Affairs Committee allocates $10,000,000 to aircraft out of $30,000,000 provided in the billion-dollar naval construction bill for experimental purposes. The interesting feature of the allocation is the $3,000,000 set aside for an experimental dirigible

Bernard M. Baruch tells Senate Committee that explicit definitions should be given monopolies and that he was opposed to attacks on big business on a broad front for the sole purpose of breaking it into small sections.

The repeal of the undistributed profits tax, modification of the capital gains tax and the elimination of a new tax on closely held corporations were advocated in a severe indictment of the proposed tax bill contained in a Ways and Means Committee minority report made public today. The committee, voting along party lines, approved the measure 17-7.

Senator Byrd opens fight in Congress on Reorganization Bill as giving President Roosevelt too much power.

Glenn Frank committee makes bid for support of G. O. P. independents and conservative Democrats.

MARCH 2—Dr E. A. Morgan demands that the TVA be thoroughly investigated by Congress.

The United States attempts to claim many of the small islands in the Pacific Their importance as possible air bases is cause for question concerning ownership to arise.

MARCH 3—Approximately 150 die and 20,000 are left homeless in Southern California, the result of extremely heavy rains

Resolutions, both in the House and the Senate, back Dr. E. A. Morgan's demand for an investigation of the TVA

Donald R Richberg urges creation of Federal Industrial Bureau to further business cooperation

The President in a letter to Secretary Perkins assures 1,000 diners celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Department of Labor, that the Administration program for the workers would not only bring extended benefits to wage-earners but to "all our people in the years to come"

Jay Hormel, Minnesota packer, tells Senate Unemployment Committee that from past experience he advocates the annual wage plan, contending that when men are assured of year-'round work, they assume responsibility, thereby lowering overhead

Senators Bailey and King in reorganization debate accuse the Administration of using a patronage blacklist.

INTERNATIONAL

FEBRUARY 4—The Fifteenth Infantry, U. S. A., is ordered to leave Tientsin, China, where it has been guarding the Peiping railway since 1912 Marines from the Embassy guard in Peiping will take their place

Italy announces her complete acceptance of a new anti-piracy measure proposed by England's Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden The announcement is known in London shortly after receipt of an account of the sinking of another British ship by airplanes believed to have been of Italian construction.

FEBRUARY 5—The United States, France and Great Britain present Japan with practically identical notes, each of which threatens to cause the greatest naval race in the history of the world. The notes demanded that Japan reveal whether she intends to build battleships in excess of the 35,000 ton limitation set by the defunct London Naval Treaty of 1930.

FEBRUARY 7—Anthony Eden tells the House of Commons that Great Britain will, in the future, act against Rebel aircraft and submarine attacks.

FEBRUARY 10—Reconciliation between Italy and Great Britain advances a step when Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and the Italian Ambassador Count Dino Grandi hold a friendly discussion Eden appears willing to drop his demands for a certain percentage of foreign troops to be withdrawn because of the haggling and detail such a plan would necessitate. In place of the percentage withdrawal plan, Mr Eden is willing to set a fixed number such as 20,000 or 25,000 whose withdrawal would be followed by the granting of belligerent rights.

FEBRUARY 12—Great Britain receives Japan's answer to her note requesting Japan's intentions as to the building of large battleships. The Japanese refuse to give the requested information, upon which England declares that she is prepared to join a huge naval race and has ample funds to do so.

The United States receives Japanese note apologizing for the affronts to American citizens in Nanking. In the note Japan admits that army discipline broke down amid the confusion.

Adolf Hitler holds a surprise meeting with the Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg.

FEBRUARY 14—Germany threatens Austria with added terrorism unless Austria capitulates to her will and appoints a pro-Nazi to the key Cabinet post.

Great Britain opens naval base at Singapore with three American warships witnessing the ceremony.

FEBRUARY 15—The Austrian Government surrenders to the threats of Germany and gives Nazi sympathizers, Interior, Justice and Foreign portfolios.

The presence of pro-Nazis in the cabinet, coupled with the recent meeting between the two Chancellors, indicates that Anschluss, the post-war German ideal of a union with Austria, is near at hand

FEBRUARY 16—Great Britain decides to "write off" the Austrian question and not cause any trouble

France minimizes the importance of the Austrian affair, hoping to reduce the anxiety of the public

FEBRUARY 20—In the most militant speech of his career, Chancellor Adolf Hitler, over a world wide radio hook-up, declares the right of self-determination for the 10,000,000 Germans in Austria and Czechoslovakia He also indicates force must be used to break up the status quo when all else has failed He promises to go ahead with plans to enlarge the army He assails the foreign policy of Great Britain and singles out for a direct attack, England's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden Hitler also demands the colonies that were in the possession of Germany before the World War

The Japanese seek iron concessions in Mexico Discussions between the two countries indicate Japan's willingness to modernize a west coast port in return for iron ore.

FEBRUARY 24—Germany accepts formula presented by Great Britain regarding "volunteers" in Spain, following the lead of Italy. This action paves the way for the withdrawal of foreign combatants and the granting of belligerent rights to both sides.

FEBRUARY 26—Koki Hirota, Japanese Foreign Minister, in address to Diet, tells of plans

that he hopes will halt Navy race. He states that an appeal to the leading powers is under hopeful consideration.

FEBRUARY 27—Nazis in Graz, Austria, decide to cancel rally as the government sends troops, tanks and bombers.

A Tokyo Admiral issues the statement that Japan has already won the naval race with the United States.

FEBRUARY 28—The German Ambassador in America delivers orders to Nazis in America demanding that they resign from the Bund and all similar organizations.

MARCH 1—United States and British oil concerns lose their wage fights in Mexican Supreme Courts, then defy decision.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

FEBRUARY 4—Uprisings, believed to have been inspired by Tokyo, are quickly suppressed in Canton by authorities and soldiers.

FEBRUARY 8—The Japanese attack is shifted to avoid stiff defenses at Suchow. The new strategy is to move in on the western flank of 400,000 Chinese defending the important Lung-Hai Railway in North China.

FEBRUARY 13—Chinese lines are smashed south of Changtse by Japanese advances totaling 90 miles in two days, bringing them within 40 miles of the important junction of the Lung-Hai and Peiping-Hankow Railways in Northern Honan.

FEBRUARY 14—Reinforcements are rushed to Northern Honan by worried Chinese officials

FEBRUARY 15—Japanese advances upon the Lung-Hai Railroad are temporarily halted by strong Chinese air attacks

FEBRUARY 18—Japanese drive shifts to Shansi Five air raiders reported shot down by Chinese fliers at Hankow.

FEBRUARY 20—Foreign observers in Shanghai estimate casualties to be 1,000,000 for the Chinese and 260,000 for the Japanese

FEBRUARY 23—For the first time in the war, China carries the fight to Japanese territory. Twelve Chinese airplanes bomb Island of Formosa.

FEBRUARY 24—Japanese airplanes bomb many Chinese airdromes in strenuous effort to locate the base of the Formosa raiders

FEBRUARY 25—100 planes engage in dog fights over the city of Nanking

FEBRUARY 27—Chinese air raids again halt Japanese push toward the Lung-Hai Railway and the Yellow River.

Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek informs Hankow that she must resign as commander of the air force because of ill health.

FEBRUARY 28—Chinese push mobilization of people on a mass scale; admit critical situation at Shansi.

Mobilization bill is expected to be passed by Japanese despite opposition.

MARCH 1—Shansi battles cause Chinese to retreat. Troops from Honan territory move to divert Japanese at Shansi.

MARCH 2—Japanese succeed in cutting road from Shansi over which Communists sent supplies to Shansi guerrillas.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

FEBRUARY 17—Loyalists report trapping 1,000 Rebels north of Teruel and making gains on Cordoba front.

FEBRUARY 22—Rebel forces recapture Teruel as the Loyalists fight their way out to resist drive for the coast.

FEBRUARY 27—Loyalists now permit priests to say private mass. One church is opened.

FOREIGN

Argentina

FEBRUARY 20—Dr. Roberto M. Ortiz is inaugurated President of Argentina. American planes carrying note of good-will from President Roosevelt are cheered upon their arrival.

Austria

FEBRUARY 14—Germans threaten to terrorize Austria anew if pro-Nazis are not given key posts in the Cabinet.

FEBRUARY 16—The Nazi-oriented Austrian Cabinet frees 3,000 political prisoners. Jews and Catholics apprehensive as the newly appointed Interior Minister leaves for Berlin

FEBRUARY 19—Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg reassures Jews that they have nothing to fear from Nazi influence. At the same time Seyss Inquart declares that no further changes will be made in the Austrian Government.

FEBRUARY 21—Jews in Vienna are terrorized by Nazi mobs. Street clashes result in an official prohibition of all political meetings except those of the Fatherland Front.

FEBRUARY 24 — Chancellor Schuschnigg pledges a free Austria, explaining that Hitler promised no interference with Austrian independence

FEBRUARY 27—Nazis in Graz cancel rally as government sends armed force to quell meeting.

FEBRUARY 28—Situation in Graz remains tense as troops stand by to check Nazis.

MARCH 1—15,000 Nazis, defying Seyss Inquart, stage a torchlight parade for him in Graz

MARCH 2—Styrian Nazis win important concessions from Seyss Inquart in conference.

MARCH 3—The Austrian Government repudiates its concessions made to Nazis in Styria.

Germany

FEBRUARY 4—Chancellor Adolf Hitler ends the National Socialist Cabinet crisis by assuming personal charge of the army and the third Reich's foreign policy. Col Gen. Hermann Goering is promoted to Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg and Werner von Fritsch are relieved of their posts on the grounds of ill health Joachim von Ribbentrop is appointed to succeed Baron Constantine von Neurath as Foreign Minister. All told, Hitler, in this surprise move, retired 15 generals and shifted 25 others.

The complete reorganization of the Ministry into the executive organ of Field Marshal Goering's Four Year Plan is announced.

FEBRUARY 10—The Reich denies rumours of a mutiny in the army because of declarations made by Hitler on the 4th of this month, although officials admit unrest exists.

FEBRUARY 13—Cardinal Von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, preaching to 20,000 Catholics at a celebration of the 16th anniversary of the coronation of Pope Pius the XI, challenges Nazis' denials that the persecution of religion is going on in Germany

FEBRUARY 21—Germany charges that Anthony Eden persistently opposed Nazis' objectives and thereby delayed European peace.

MARCH 1—Field Marshal Goering reminds nearby countries that the Reich air fleet, on its third anniversary, has become a threat.

MARCH 2—Martin Niemoeller, Protestant leader, serving out jail sentence and paying $600.00 fine, is freed and then rearrested by German secret police.

Great Britain

FEBRUARY 10—In a night test flight, a Royal Air Force pilot sets a record for land planes of 408.75 miles per hour.

FEBRUARY 15—Great Britain minimizes the Nazi triumph in Austria; holds path for deal with Germany has been smoothed.

FEBRUARY 20—Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, against any settlements with Italy and Germany. Resigns over the issue.

FEBRUARY 21—Prime Minister Chamberlain's foreign policy, helped by Italian acceptance of the British plan on "volunteers" in Spain, is backed by the House of Commons.

FEBRUARY 22—Neville Chamberlain, terming the League of Nations impotent, wins official support of his policy in the House of Commons by a vote of 330–168.

FEBRUARY 25—Anthony Eden backs the British Government by refusing to divide the party He insists upon an Italian threat. Viscount Halifax succeeds Eden as Foreign Secretary.

FEBRUARY 28—The appointment of Viscount Halifax as Foreign Secretary by Chamberlain is upheld by the House of Commons 226–99

MARCH 2—A new British arms estimate places probable total cost at 1,500,000,000 pounds

MARCH 3—The English Army is allotted 106,500,000 pounds for the fiscal year starting on April 1

Rumania

FEBRUARY 10—Upon the demand of King Carol, the Government of Octavian Goga resigns In place of Goga, King Carol appoints Patriarch Miron Cristea, head of the Orthodox Church, who recently attracted attention by his anti-Jewish declarations. The proclaimed government amounts to a dictatorship, being known as a government of "national concentration."

FEBRUARY 15—Wide dissension in Rumania indicates major changes in the reign of Miron Cristea

FEBRUARY 20—King Carol establishes Fascist Constitution; sets up a cooperative State and ends trials by jury.

Russia

FEBRUARY 8—Russia finds it necessary to curtail production quotas. Blames worn machinery and over-driving of workers in Stakhanof speed-up.

FEBRUARY 14—Stalin urges the workers of the world to give political aid to Russia in case of attack on the Soviet.

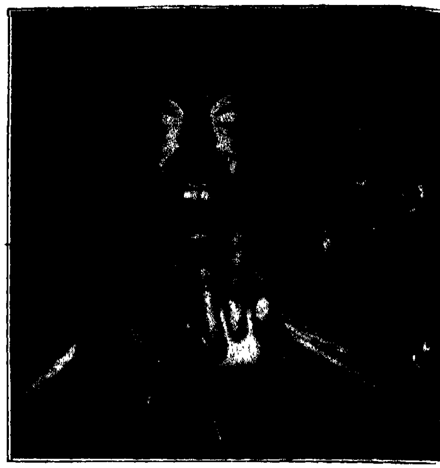
FEBRUARY 19—Ivan Papanin and his Polar party are rescued after a nine months stay in the North Polar area by the icebreakers *Taimyr* and *Murman*. All the data collected by the party of four is safe aboard ship

ROOF OF THE WORLD

HIGHEST country in the world, Tibet is perched on tablelands averaging almost 17,000 feet above sea level, its peaks scaling up to 25,000 feet. It is a country of fabulous wealth but its remoteness in the vast interior of Asia has prevented the outside world from rushing in to exploit its resources, strip it of its gold and precious stones, and "civilize" its 3,500,000 people—all of whom are well-to-do and potential customers for Western industrialists.

Tibet is not totally inaccessible, and several occidentals have penetrated its interior, among them Harrison Forman, author and explorer, whose exclusive photographs of that country are shown on these pages. There are no railroads nor automobile highways connecting Tibet with the outside world for the terrain is so rugged and irregular that the physical problems of construction—to say nothing of the excessive costs—immediately eliminate practical consideration of such plans. Even the airplane has difficulties in Tibet's high altitudes, especially in landing and in taking off. White men who have visited Tibet have done so on foot or by mule from neighboring provinces. The journey is not easy; the country is heavily broken and travelers are forced to dismount frequently. Strenuous climbing saps the energy and the high altitude causes nose-bleeds and hampers normal breathing. Moreover, bandits roam the land and more than one expedition has had to use its guns.

Tibet is now autonomous, but several nations are strongly concerned with its future development. The Chinese like to refer to it as their dependency and are in a good position to dominate the country from the key positions of Sinkiang, Chinghai, and Hsikiang, Chinese provinces bordering Tibet on the north and east. Great Britain is interested in Tibet because of the proximity to India, which it borders on the south and west. John Bull also fears possible interference from Japan, which has always cast longing eyes at Tibet, not only because of its wealth but because it feels that Tibetans have closer racial ties to the Japanese than to the Chinese. Finally, Russia looks apprehensively southward from her Mongolian wastes and is determined to do whatever she can to keep



Gold statues are as common as cigar-store Indians.



Chanting Lamas, or priests, in an open-air procession. One-third of the men become priests.

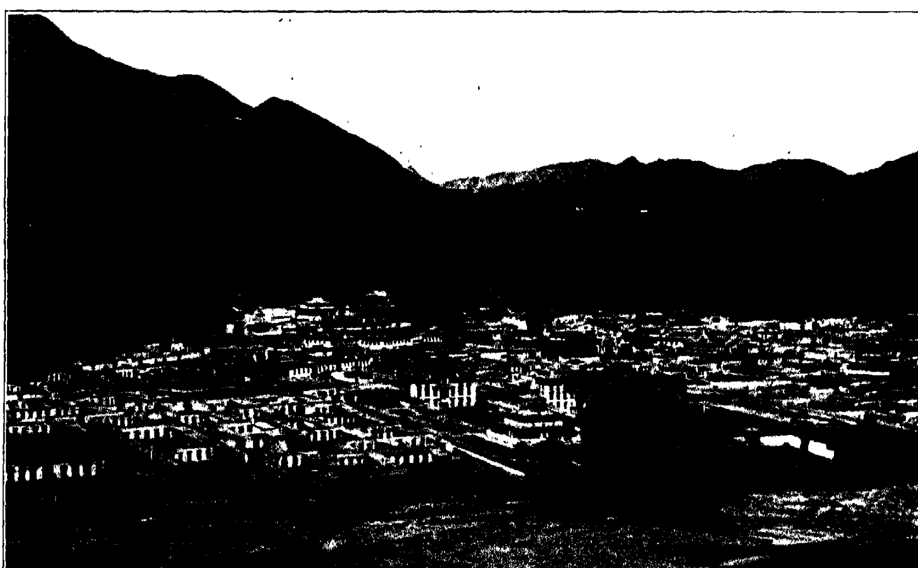


The Panchen Lama, "Pope" of Buddhism, the religion of one-third of the peoples of the world.

Tibet from being nailed to the imperialist mast of Nippon.

There are still further complications. Tibet today is a land without a ruler or a definite structure of government. Nominally, it is ruled by a Dalai Lama, who has control over the political and temporal affairs of the country, and by the Panchen Lama, whose importance as a religious symbol is not exceeded anywhere in the world. Both have died of mysterious ailments; no satisfactory evidence has ever been presented that either the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama has died a natural death. Tibetans have claimed on occasion that outside powers, especially those which were thought to have been frowned upon by the Lamas, strongly resented their absolute influence.

When a Dalai Lama or a Panchen Lama dies, his position is not filled by election or appointment. According to the sacred Tibetan Scriptures, a new Lama is born the precise second the old one dies. At the very point of death the soul or spirit of the Lama is supposed to enter the body of a new-born babe. Called the "Reincarnation," the child assumes powers which are accepted without question. To date, however, no child has been brought forth whose claim has been accepted by the Regents.



The town of Lhabrang Gomba, which is set in a valley, is thousands of feet above sea level.



Tea, put up in bricks, is often used for money.



The yak gives a very rich milk, a favorite food.

The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama have not always agreed. As far back as 1924, the Panchen Lama went into voluntary exile in disagreement over pro-British political ideas fostered by the Dalai Lama. But though the Panchen Lama left Tibet his influence never ceased, for he was spiritual ruler over hundreds of millions of Buddhists the world over. His power, in fact, was even more absolute than the Pope over the Catholics; in the eyes of his followers the Pope is God's Representative but the Panchen Lama *is* God. It is easy to understand, therefore, the joy with which the Tibetans welcomed the Panchen Lama back to Tibet early in 1936—several years after the death of the Dalai Lama had left the country without a head. Harrison Forman's photographs of the welcoming celebration are the only ones available anywhere.

The Tibetans, although far removed from the outside world, are much more literate than most of the other Oriental races. One-third of the men become priests; the high rate of celibacy in the nation has brought about polygamy and polyandry. The average woman has three or more husbands.

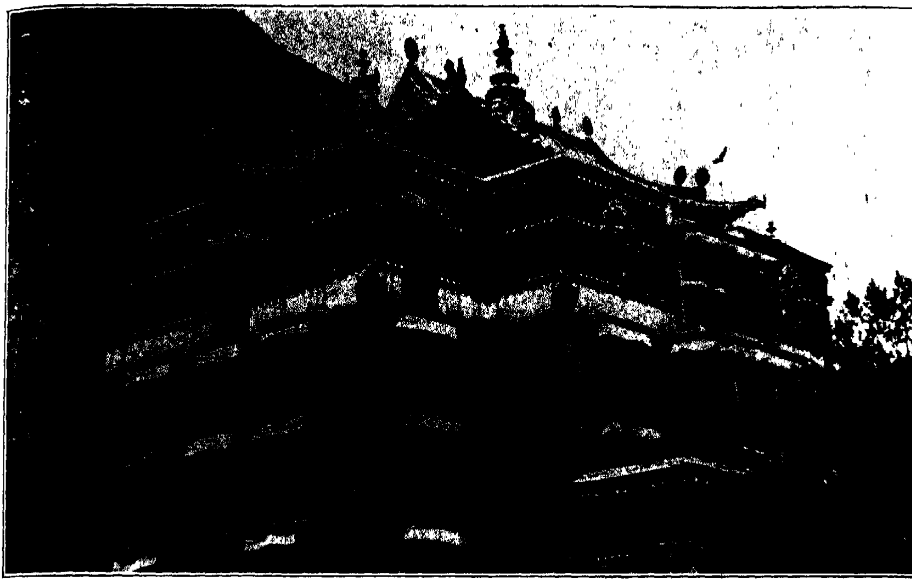
Tibet's wealth has been the envy of imperialistic powers



Tibetan women wear their jewelry on all occasions.



Every man in Tibet carries a gun; there are no laws.



Typical idol house. Gold is so plentiful that it is used to sheet the roof. Walls are four feet thick.

for hundreds of years. Gold is so plentiful that it is often used instead of sheet metal work and for exterior decorations of buildings. Precious stones are worn by the natives with the casual unconcern and nonchalance of Americans wearing wrist-watches. The world's finest and greatest supply of musk—sold in the Western world at $50 an ounce, or more than worth its weight in gold—can almost be had for the transporting. Tibet's musk and other riches are now carried out of the country by beasts of burden, but little commerce of this type is carried on.

Transportation holds the key to the development of Tibet. Mr. Forman believes that within five years the long-delayed exploitation of Tibet will get under way in what may be one of the most significant and portentous gold rushes in history. It will come, he says, not with the construction of motor roads or railroads, but with the development of airplanes capable of taking off and sustaining heavy freight loads at Tibet's high altitudes. But as for the Tibetans, they will not welcome the great birds of the white man. They know that these birds sometimes carry large round bundles which drop from the air, killing many people and tearing huge holes in the good earth.

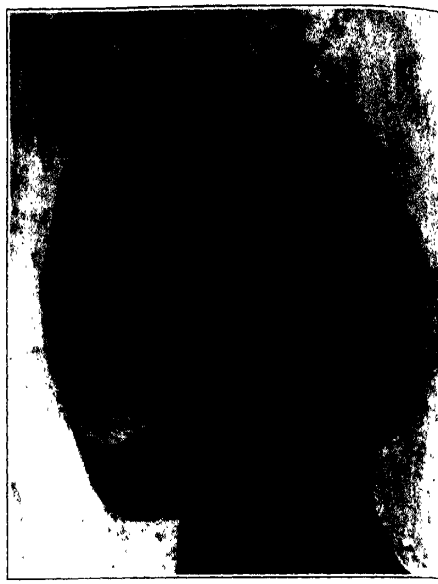


The movie camera of Harrison Forman holds a strong fascination for Tibetans, young and old.

WPA FEDERAL ART PROJECT

IN AUGUST 1935, the United States Works Progress Administration launched the Federal Art Project. Until that time sponsorship of the distressed artists had been in the hands of municipalities. Under the direction of the Federal Art Project the country was immediately divided into regions, with each region having local administrators concerned primarily with peculiar needs of the artist within their own regional boundaries. Salary scales were based upon standard of living in the particular localities. Artists and art teachers were chosen to delineate the direction and the goals of the Project as well as to advise the art groups rapidly enrolled in communities throughout the nation. Public buildings were surveyed to determine the allocation of murals, easel paintings and graphic prints. Divisions of the Projects were established to provide competent instructors for schools, clubs, settlement houses and neighborhood centers. Office and clerical workers were employed, as well as research workers whose job it was to provide historical and technical information to muralists and easel painters. In addition, it was necessary to enroll news writers to keep the press and public informed as to the work accomplished by the Project.

But to most citizens the Federal Art Project, even after two successful years of work, is still a vague undefined agency contributing little or nothing to the life of the community in return for thousands of dollars of taxpayers money. This is an unfortunate situation and one that does injustice to a remarkable endeavor. Statistics and chronological listings will not do justice to the scope and quality of the art produced by the Project. Nor is it fair to place primary emphasis upon production. Of greatest importance is the knowledge that so many talented people were permitted to cultivate their most valuable human endowment in a time of despair. That they were encouraged at this time, a time when genuine American cultural patterns are taking shape, to give expression to these patterns will prove a refreshing addition to contemporary life, and an invaluable gift to posterity. Such intangibles cannot be calculated in dollars and cents.



"Portrait of Lupe," painting by Rufino Tamayo.

The Federal Art Project has opened new vistas to the public. Through the establishment of art galleries, and art centers where the general public may go and see at first hand, and learn the function and meaning of art, the Project has stimulated a new consciousness. It is estimated that more than a million people have actively participated in the exhibitions and discussions since the first of thirty



"The Story of Richmond Hill," mural by Phillip Evergood.



"Disease Prevention and Cure," mural by Ruth Egri.

Federal galleries and art centers was made available to the public. Such common meeting places afford an opportunity for the artist to establish a more understanding relationship with those who see his work. He is made aware of their preferences, and they, in turn, become acquainted with the mechanics of art, and are encouraged to view art as a common, everyday experience. And it is this policy of intermingling the workmen and the audience that, to the credit of the Project, has done much to remove art from the sterility of cloistered museums, and made it a part of American life available to the average citizen.

In sum, the Federal Art Project has sponsored not only the creative divisions of easel painting, graphic arts, murals and sculpture, but also art teaching, American design, photography and posters. The easel division alone has produced some thousands of oils, watercolors, and drawings. The best of these paintings have been allocated to public and semi-public institutions.

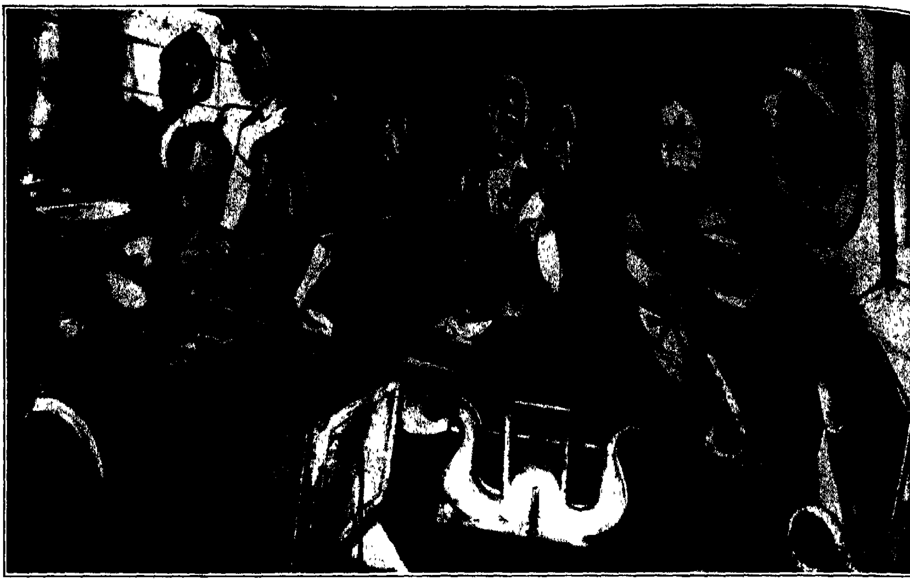
An outstanding example of the subject matter contained in these paintings is found in the two series done for the United States Military Academy, at West Point. One series is devoted to cadet uniforms worn since the Acad-



"Bread and Family," mural detail by Harold Lehman.



"Double Portrait," by James Guy.



"Jazz Band," color lithograph by Boris Gorelick.

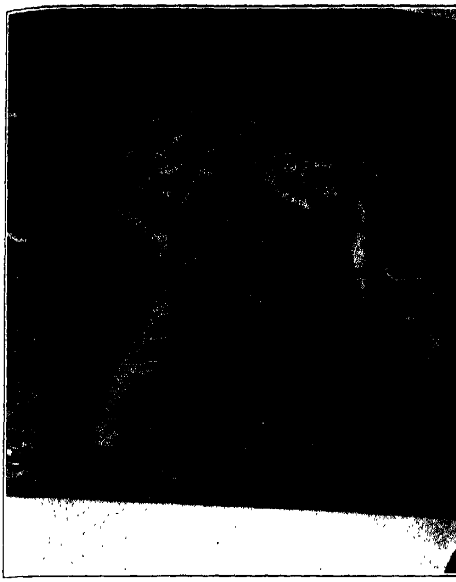
emy's founding, and the other series is concerned with the Academy's historical buildings no longer in existence.

Another example of subject matter is a series executed for the Merchant Marine Academy tracing the development of carrier vessels from 500 B.C. down to the present day. However, the listing here of incidental subject matter does not mean that the individual artist is hampered or limited. In fact, he is permitted, for the sake of artistic fidelity, the widest latitude of choice. And it is this policy of freedom that, under the guidance of the Project, has done much to develop young talent, and to demonstrate again that the sustaining essence of superior craftsmanship is still the sense of integrity keenly felt by the craftsman.

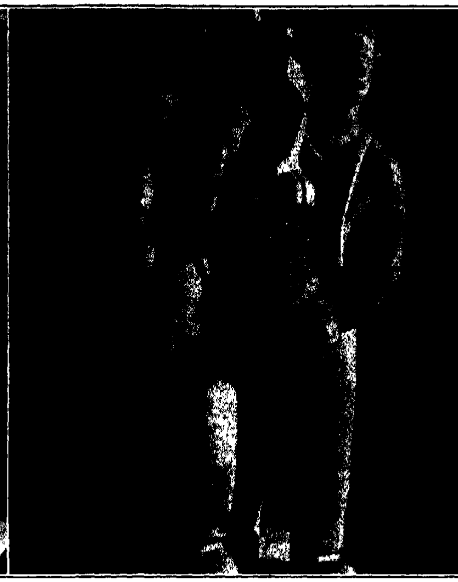
One of the significant aspects of the paintings produced by the easel division appertains to their use in therapeutic institutions. For many years the therapeutic value of art has been a controversial problem. In view of this the Project allocated some very carefully selected works to institutions for the tubercular. What positive results have been attained is not a matter of record since only the invalid knows how much more bearable life can be in close, daily contact with fine paintings and sculpture.



"Mrs. Manchester's Musical Program for the Homeless Men," by Elizabeth Olds.



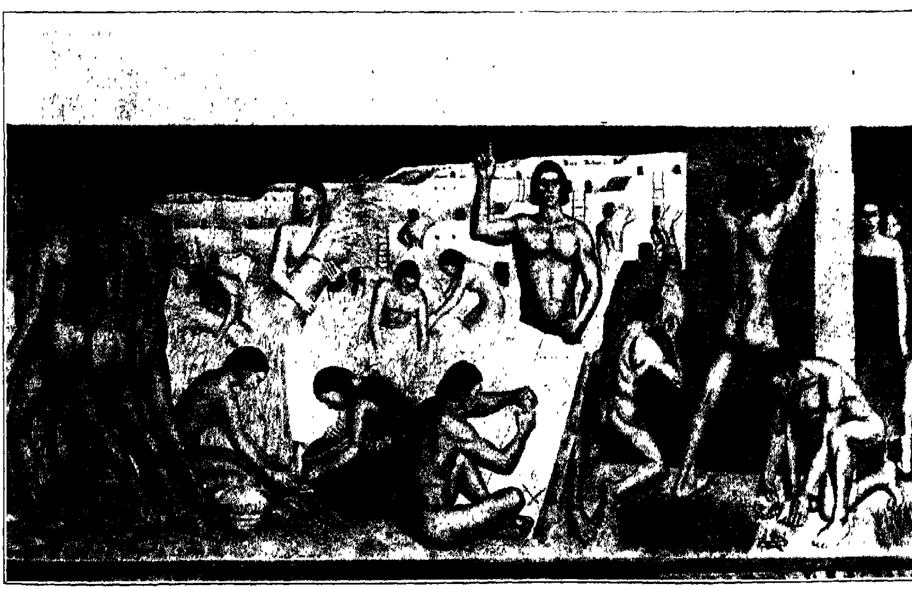
Mural detail by Edward Laning, presented to Ellis Island.



Sculpture by Milton Hebold.

Perhaps, of all branches of art, mural painting is the most expressive of America. On the sweep of wall or panel the artist finds the scope to record significant and dramatic phases of American life. And it is fascinating to see the influence that American folklore has had upon much of the Project's subject matter. Throughout the West, there are many WPA murals that have not forgotten the cowboy, nor the Indian. Nor has the exciting life of the American pioneer been forgotten. It has appeared, and is appearing upon the walls of our public buildings where the present generation, and those who follow may possess it as a tradition and as part of their daily lives. And it is this subtle pictorial pressure that will go a long way in moulding a citizenship as deep and as broad as the lands that sustain it. In hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, armories, courthouses, low-cost housing developments and in penal and welfare institutions these mighty murals of American tradition produced by the Project are on view for all who will but pause and raise their eyes.

The paintings are there on the walls; they will remain so long as they hold the public's affection. The work of the Project will outlive the cause that made it possible.



"Primitive Indian Civilization," fresco by Michall Newell.

Travel

NO FAREWELL TO VIENNA

THE gasp heard 'round the world when Adolf Hitler forced Austria into complete submission was due for the most part to those who abhorred the thought of dictatorial conquest, especially by Germany. But expressions of distress and resentment were not caused solely for political reasons: there were those who feared that another of Europe's historic and colorful areas would be lost to the world, hidden under the blanket of a political emblem. Vienna, particularly, must have caused untold anguish to those who hoped that this famous cultural center would not be sacrificed to the expansionist frenzy of an apparently insatiable ruler.

What bearing will the concessions made by Austria have upon the country as a travel center? Will those who had planned to visit the beautiful heights over Vienna, the same heights on which Beethoven often climbed in order to gaze at the city, be permitted to walk and gaze where they wish, or will they be directed here and there as is sometimes the case when dictators decide what the tourist shall or shall not see? What of the city itself? Will many prospective visitors re-arrange their itineraries because they have no desire to patronize anything having a remote relation to the swastika or the fasces? One way of answering these questions would be to see what has happened thus far in the dictatorships themselves. Now that Austria has been forced into outright *anschluss* with Germany, she has made a number of agreements which may affect the traveler in a manner somewhat similar to his status in Germany, and it seems reasonable to believe that an examination of travel today in Germany, or even Italy, will throw some light on the type of travel conditions or restrictions which may be adopted in Austria.

Both Germany and Italy have resented outsiders coming into their countries for the purpose of making comparisons, but they are definitely anxious to attract as many foreign tourists as they can. Americans, particularly, are courted, for all Europe knows the flexibility of their pocketbooks and their desire to buy up as many experiences as they can in the short time available so that they may return with the satisfaction of knowing that they have compressed two years' travel and enjoyment into two months. Moreover, Americans on vacation abroad are not dippers but plungers; when they go into restaurants they order full meals—"A large steak with plenty of gravy, Charles, and don't forget to save a big slice of that three-layer cake . . ."

"The Americans are coming!" is a cry that precedes every group of tourists from the States and the excitement is hardly less than that caused in this country by Mr. Revere's famous chant some centuries ago on the subject of the British, with the notable difference that Europe's preparations are on the side of welcome—and solicitous—hospitality. The American is made to feel as if Europe is his, and all for a mere pittance. The bowing and scraping proceeds at a pace that is a tribute to the resiliency of the human vertebrae. Whether the American visitor appreciates that there is a possibility that the ceremonies may have something of the strained or unnatural quality about them, it is difficult to say, but it is certain that many of his carefully-nourished illusions would be cruelly destroyed if the Europeans did not live up to the Hollywood conception of the curtseying Continentals.

Americans returning from Germany say that the burghers are still offering up steins to their health, despite philippics that blossom forth occasionally in the press whenever word reaches Germany that some public official in the United States has criticized the Reich. Unpleasantries are not aired openly and the American who is on a vacation and not on a political investigation will find little to make him feel that there is any resentment against Uncle Sam's citizens. Germany, in fact, has taken official pains to eliminate anything which might give American tourists offense. During the Olympics of 1936 decrees forbid signs or posters about which Americans had heard uncomplimentary descriptions in their own country. These restrictions vary according to the time of year. During the height of the travel season they become more stringent and American tours see few indications of the general campaigns against minorities reported in the press at home.

Germany offers the American visitor



Vienna is a history in stone, reflecting the periods of its growth.

on an organized tour conveniences not available to the individual traveler. There are special group accommodations and the guides are as friendly as can be found anywhere on the Continent. Sightseeing trips feature the most picturesque and prosperous villages and there is not much opportunity to see between the lines. The beautiful German countryside has not lost its warmth of color, nor have the buildings and houses been robbed of their informal appeal. Apparently, there are certain forms of beauty which can resist even structures of government. And these are the beauties most frequently exhibited to the foreign tourist.

The regulations which have proved most annoying to American tourists in Germany are those concerned with monetary exchange. Not more than 50 silver marks can be taken into Germany. Travelers are required to state before entering the country the exact amount they have in any currency. If they wish, they may change their dollars into travelers' marks but they must figure their advance budgets very closely, for if they underestimate the amount of travelers' marks they may spend on their trip inside the country they may have a difficult time obtaining more. They cannot leave the country with more money than when they entered; the economics of the regime do not permit any money to pass out of Germany.

The gayest city in Germany, comparatively speaking, is still Berlin. At night there are bright places to go and there is singing and waltzing; it almost seems as if the real Germany had been waiting for night to fall before taking on the jovial spirit that used to be so frequently identified with the German people.

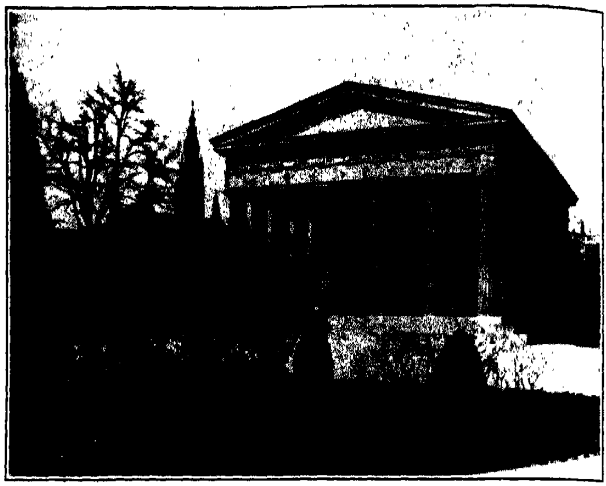
Leaving Germany and spending some time in Italy, the American traveler is impressed with the general lack of restrictions upon his goings and comings and with the convenient system of monetary exchange. The dollar is highly valued in Italy and there are many special advantages. Italy has become a country of discounts for the tourist: there is a reduction of 50 per cent on the Italian State Railways for individual passengers and 70 per cent for those traveling in groups of eight or more; honeymoon couples are allowed 70 per cent reduction prices on second and third class return tickets from any frontier station and port to any destination, provided that Rome is included in the itinerary; hotel coupons have been reduced 30 per cent for children and servants; gasoline has been discounted from 40 to 80 per cent, depending upon the hotel accommodations and length of stay; special short season tickets are issued at reduced rates, conditional upon a minimum stay in Italy of 6, 12, or 25 days.

One of the most helpful aids to American tourists is the publication, *Tourist News*, published every month. The paper contains a list of museums, galleries, monuments, institutes, etc., with the visiting hours and entrance fees, a calendar of the religious feasts and celebrations of the month, the addresses of the leading restaurants, cafes and dancing places, rail and airway time-tables, and local and suburban bus services.

On the basis of the American tourist's experience in both Germany and Italy, therefore, it may be seen that the picture of travel in Vienna may alter very slightly, if at all. The chief changes may possibly be in the system of monetary exchange. But beyond that, Vienna will still be Vienna, a city where history is written in stone.

Austria's capital reflects its past through its buildings. The Stephansdom reflects the period when it dominated in what is now known as the "Ring," the circle of fortifications thrown around the city in the sixteenth century when the threat of the Turks arose. When Italian influence was very great in Vienna, the culture of the city began to follow the Roman pattern—in architecture especially. The industrialization that came during the nineteenth century brought with it the most sweeping changes of all. The old city walls were pulled down and the city spilled over to include its suburbs. The thousands of people who came from the farm to work in factories had to have dwellings and workers' residences began to spring up.

The increase in the numbers of those in the working classes, as well as the economic crisis of the 1870's, brought on the growth of powerful socialist workers' parties, the eventual outgrowth of which was the Social Democratic Party, which was extremely active in rebuilding a substantial part of the city. Immediately following the World War, an attack was started on Vienna's slums that carried through up to 1934. More than 52,000 new flats and 8000 small houses were built, taking care of the needs of 180,000 people. It was during this post-war period that Vienna's famous experi-



The imprint of early civilizations has been left upon Vienna.

ments in social housing were made. The new multiple residences featured tree and flower filled courtyards, an arrangement of the wings to allow a maximum of light for each flat; only 30 per cent of the area was taken up by construction. These buildings have completely changed the appearance of the workers' sections of Vienna.

With the fall of the Social Democrats, the immense low-cost housing projects came to an end The new Government has attempted to carve its mark on history, as have most of its predecessors, with a building innovation of its own. This is the "charity home," a simple, three-story family-house which has already been introduced in St. Brigitta. In addition, the Government is attempting to encourage the unemployed to settle on land on the far outskirts of the city, where there is sufficient land for each member of the jobless to be self-supporting

Though its buildings tell its history, Vienna is by no means a city of uninterrupted structures. Only one quarter of Vienna is taken up by buildings and streets; the rest consists of soft-colored gardens and meadows, wooded hills, and even some farm-land.

HERE AND THERE

BECAUSE of the Spanish Civil War the modern world is more familiar with the Basque people than at any other time in history. They are an individual race possessing a peculiar language, the origin of which has not yet been satisfactorily established.

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 4

1. The Mayor of New York City, who receives $40,000 a year.
2. Each member of the President's Cabinet receives $15,000 a year.
3. The Secretary of the Treasury ranks next to the Secretary of State.
4. Newton D Baker served as Secretary of War under Woodrow Wilson.
5. Newton D. Baker was once a member of the World Court.
6. The Kellogg-Briand Pact was designed to outlaw war.
7. Fifty-nine nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact.
8. Joseph C. Grew is our Ambassador to Japan
9. No, Chiang Kai-shek is Commander-in-Chief of the Army.
10. The President of the Chinese Republic is Mr Lin Sen.
11. The Boxer Rebellion
12. Japan produces practically no cotton or rubber, and very little iron and oil.
13. The principal food crop of Japan is rice.
14. The United States is Japan's best customer.
15. Of all countries, the United States sells Japan the most goods
16. Trade between the United States and Japan is about three times as great as that between the United States and China
17. New Orleans is about six degrees nearer the equator than Tokyo.
18. Japan has only about three-fifths of one percent as many automobiles as the United States.
19. The trade of the United States with Japan is about twice that of the United States with Brazil
20. The largest city in South America is Buenos Aires, with a population of 2,230,000.

And they are an original race. Basques of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for instance, made themselves known to posterity by engraving terse little mottoes, or perhaps an item of historical interest on their houses. To the Basque, a home is a prized possession. And these little mottoes are not only historical relics, but also a precaution against the time when the home would have passed into the hands of another family. The mottoes insured the retention of original names and inscriptions.

One of the most famous of these mottoes is inscribed upon the wall of a house in Cambo. It reads: "The past deceived me. The present torments me. The future terrifies me—1707." Another motto cheerfully proclaims: "If we have little and peace, that is enough." Perhaps the traveler reading these mottoes today may wonder at the nature of contemporary inscriptions inscribed as of 1938. The Spanish Basque without doubt has many things to say. He might carve into the walls of his home the names of the air squadrons that bombed Guernica. Or he might dishonor the name of some non-Spanish regiment that blew off his arm or leg. Certainly there is sufficient subject matter for a million mottoes.

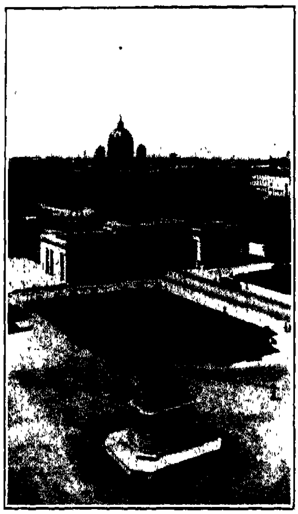
On May 2, the opera season will open at Covent Garden, London. It will run for seven weeks and give opera lovers not only the pleasure of hearing old favorites such as Lauritz Melchior, Richard Tauber, and Beniamino Gigli sing, but will present Sir Thomas Beecham, Wilhelm Furtwangler and Erich Kleiber as conductors. And it may be of interest to Americans to know that Sir Thomas Beecham is not only a superlative musician, but also a full-fledged Britain. Apparently the British are not ashamed of their native artists in the field of music. It is a contrast to the attitude of the American opera and symphonic patrons who not only seem to scorn native talent but insist that the American artist defraud them by employing an Italian or Polish name.

In Florence, two Verdi operas, and "Marcantonio e Cleopatra," a new work by the composer Malipiero, will be features of the Florentine Musical May which will open April 28 and continue to June 10. In addition, the festival will present French and Hungarian opera and Weber's "Euryanthe," given by the Vienna Opera Company under the direction of Bruno Walter.

As always the spring and summer season is surrounded by a spiritual aura. At Lucerne, Switzerland a revival of its historical Passion Plays will take place from July 9 to September 11. The performances will be given on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays in the evenings on the square of the Hofkirche, the Cathedral dedicated to St. Leodgar. In the middle ages, Lucerne was famous for its Passion Plays. Its Passion Play Association was founded in 1470 A.D. and still exists today, the senior by 100 years of the Oberammergau organization. The Early Passion performances were played in Weinmarkt Square on an open-air stage. The exact plans of these presentations which lasted two days have been preserved in the town's archives as unique documents of the European theatres. Prof. B. Evans of the Ohio State University has, together with local Lucerne scholars, done outstanding work in behalf of the Lucerne Passion Plays. Prof. Evans is now preparing an edition of old Lucerne texts with commentary in English.

Nearer home the holy season is no less neglected. In Havana, visitors at Easter time will view the two shrines that occupy the Cubans attention. Of

the two, the Cathedral, in which Columbus was long believed to be buried, is the best known. But of more interest is the little Templete, a shrine of great significance to the Cuban. It is a small Doric building near the Plaza de Armas with a giant ceiba tree growing beside it. And it is this tree that draws the spirit of the knowing. For it was under a ceiba tree (silk-cotton tree) that Columbus first said Mass in the New World, and under such a tree



Only one-quarter of the city is occupied by buildings or streets; parks, gardens, and meadows take up most of the remaining space.

that Diego de Valazquez said Mass when he founded Havana on its present site in 1519.

Such historical events as these has secured for the ceiba tree, with its smooth gray bark and heavy veins, a special esteem throughout Cuba. The tree now shading the little Templete was grown from a shoot of the one under which Valazquez once stood, and was planted almost 200 years ago when the original tree grew old and was cut down.

World Fairs are no longer a novelty. Tourists have very nearly satiated themselves upon the greater and greater wonders on parade at each new exhibition. It remains for Norway to offer something to stimulate jaded travelers. From May 12 to September 18, Oslo presents an Exhibition of Crafts and Industries. The Exhibition, which celebrates the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Oslo Association for Handicraft and Industry, will be Norwegian in character, although Sweden, Denmark and Finland will cooperate fully to make the Exhibition representative of all northern Europe.

Oslo, located on the Oslofjord, is an ideal setting for a summer fair. It was here that the Vikings enjoyed the light of the long summer days. The Exhibition grounds, located on a bay of the Oslofjord is easily accessible.

Industries, handicrafts, art, shipping and whaling, and educational and social activities will be depicted in the main exhibits. The whaling industry, in which Norway has always played a leading part, will be exceptionally interesting. Plans call for life-size models of whales and of the decks of ships.

Recently, an item has been discovered that, if it hadn't already been acquired by the British Museum, would be an interesting addition to the Norwegian Exhibition. It is a rare terminal post of a Viking ship, the only known one carved in the shape of an animal. The head of the post is either that of a great bird or that of a dragon, with four large teeth on each side of its jaw. Its neck is carved in a criss-cross pattern and the piece originally decorated a ship built in the ninth century. For many years the post was used by an engineer, who found it while dredging near Termonde.

The island of Rathlin, between Scotland and Ireland reports that it is being discovered with increasing frequency by travelers. Of course, it boasts a legend of historical interest. Here, it is said, Robert the Bruce watched the persistent struggle of a spider to spin its web, and thereby was encouraged to continue his own struggles against great odds. Rathlin, scarcely six miles long and only one broad, is inhabited by fisher folk. It possesses a monastery founded by St.

Columba and it remembers Marconi who made some of his earliest experiments in wireless there.

The Irish are never without a ghost or an enemy to fight. In this case, County Kildare reports a phantom who appears irregularly. Legend says that he is the Earl of Kildare and that every seven years he rides across the plain of Curragh on a white horse shod with silver. In his hand he is supposed to carry a silver cup. And when this cup disappears, the legend states then the race of the Fitzgeralds shall have died out. And the silver horseshoes also have a significance, for according to one tale the night riding Earl will return to destroy Ireland's enemies when they have worn off.

Most popular stopover on the New York to Florida run is Savannah, one of the South's most historic cities. A favorite tourist attraction is the cemetery on the outskirts of the city in which the bodies of Union soldiers killed during the Civil War are buried. According to the story, the custodian of the cemetery was offered $200 for every Northern soldier he buried. The custodian died rich, and, according to the story, no one knows whether his affluence was due to Union soldiers alone or to a combination of soldiers and anyone else who came to his attention.

The World Today in Books

(*Continued from page 7*)

Viva Minami!

Books on the Far East have been plentiful during the last six months but it is doubtful whether any of them has the sensational appeal of *Japan Defies the World,* by James A. B. Scherer. With as much finality and conviction as he can distill from the English language, Mr. Scherer states that Japan has already selected its dictator to head its Fascist State and that man is General Jiro Minami, governor-general of Korea, the "concealed Mussolini" of Nippon.

Minami's drive to establish himself as ruler of Japan began, according to Mr. Scherer, several years ago when he sounded the keynote for the conquest of Manchoukuo. Since that time he has been consolidating his position and today he rules Japan by "long-distance telephone." Directly responsible to him are Prince Konoye in Tokyo, General-Count Terauchi in North China, and General Matsui in Shanghai, all of whom are his "front men." Minami is reluctant, for the time being, to blossom forth in his dictatorial capacity, says Mr. Scherer, for he has a distaste for publicity.

Cooperating with Minami are what corresponds to "America's sixty families"—the four families of Japan. Not only does this small group own half the national wealth, excluding the Emperor's possessions, but it controls the political parties, and intermarries with the nobility and manufactures everything. Mr. Scherer identifies the four families as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda, all of whom, he contends, are heavily supporting the China campaign.

How much of this is true? It would be difficult to provide an answer if the author were not Mr. Scherer. He is the authority on Japan to whom authorities go. When he lived in Japan —as he did for many years—foreign correspondents would ask for his help in "angling" stories. One of his test-books was required reading in the Japanese high schools. Only last year the Japanese Consul at Los Angeles, acting for the Emperor, bestowed on him the Order of the Sacred Treasure, for valuable service in the cause of international friendship. But there are two Japans to Mr. Scherer: the one he knew before the advent of the militarists, and the one he sees today. It is the Japan of today—with its militarists and Fascist manifestations—that he will not whitewash, despite medals or special honors that the government may throw his way.

James A. B. Scherer does for political Japan what John Gunther does for Europe and for industrial Japan, what Ferdinand Lundberg does for the United States. The book wastes no time in making its point and in making it directly. It is far from cumbersome reading and can be completed in an hour or two.

Strong Man

Chiang Kai-shek, about whom more has been written and less actually known, is the subject of a competent, readable biography, *Strong Man of China,* by Robert Berkow. It is unfortunate that most of the foreign correspondents in China speak no Chinese and must obtain their information about the man who rules a nation of 450,000,000 from secondary sources. Mr. Berkow has sought to find out at first-hand what Chiang is like, what he thinks, what his plans are for China, what his own role might be in the future of China. *Strong Man of China* is the result. Mr. Berkow describes Chiang Kai-shek as looking like neither a peasant nor an aristocrat. He is slight of build, remarkably agile for a man of fifty, and carries himself with military jauntiness. He has a yearning to get things done quickly and frets when his projects are delayed, yearning for "sweeping, drastic reforms." Chiang has a temper. He barks and yells orders and demands that his subordinates be as active as he; he has no patience for the traditional Chinese politeness and trait of saying something complimentary to conceal an uncomplimentary thought. Summing up, Mr. Berkow calls him "the military man in action."

The complete authority Chiang Kai-shek has over the Chinese people is little short of amazing. When he was released after the famous Christmas kidnapping a national celebration was staged that had few parallels in Chinese history. China was glad that he still lived to guide the State: "a Chiang alive and not in control of China's destinies would have been as inconceivable as a Lenin in Mexican exile, a Mussolini in a monastery after the March on Rome."

Prophet of the New France

Another important recent biography is *Leon Blum: Man and Statesman,* by Geoffrey Fraser and Thadee Natanson. M. Blum, say the authors in their introduction, is one of three men who stand out in the post-war period for their attempts to "bring order out of chaos, prosperity out of ruin, content out of deep-seated revolt." The other two are Vladimir Lenin and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The authors recognize that Blum no longer holds the key position in the French Government but they contend that he is still the moral and spiritual leader of a "great experiment." Just how this experiment will turn out they do not profess to know but they seem convinced that given some measure of co-operation by the moneyed class, which has been greatly alarmed over Blum's Socialist label, the Popular Front Government could make definite progress.

The *London Times* summed up the ministerial crisis which saw Blum give way to Chautemps when it said: "The fundamental weakness of M. Blum's position was that, as Prime Minister of a Front Populaire Government he was pledged to carry out a programme of social system, while, as a Socialist, he was convinced that effective reforms would only be secured by a drastic reconstitution."

The authors seem to accept this view but point out that additional reasons were the failure of cooperation by the "possessing classes," and the difficulty of reconciling so many diverse elements in the Popular Front.

Recent politics, however, comprise only a small portion of the books. This is a full sized biography, describing in detail Blum's schooling and early life, his career as a writer, "revolutionary," literary critic, and philosopher. Blum is one of the most versatile men in France's history. "Everything he touched seemed to shine." His activity in all fields has shown the skilled touch that defies anything short of success.

Radio and Its Future

For those Americans who are seriously concerned about the future of radio, *Telecommunications,* by James M. Herring and Gerald C. Gross will supply them with an authoritative background. This book gains increasing value in view of the sweeping changes which are scheduled to take place in radio in the immediate future. It is perhaps the only source available for the layman which treats radio comprehensively and in perspective with all allied forms of communication. Both authors are eminently qualified for their job. Mr. Herring is a faculty member of the Wharton School of

Finance, and Mr. Gross is Chief of the International Division of the Federal Communications Commission.

The Indian Scalps No More

Today the problem of the American Indian is concerned more with his preservation than his extermination. It was not very long ago, though, that the slogan seemed to be that, "a good Indian is a dead Indian." *The Apache Indians*, by Frank C. Lockwood of the University of Arizona, does much to restore the Indian to a more respectful niche in history. The author gives a detailed and comprehensive history of the Apaches from the days of the Spaniards down to the present. He tells of them in terms of moral code, food, dress and conduct. He tells of their savagery and treachery of the pale-face. It is an authoritative work based on contemporary reports, documents, and personal interviews.

History's Business People

That there is need for a work such as that contributed by Miriam Beard in *A History of the Business Man* is easily apparent to anyone who has attempted to draw some coherent meaning from the myriad ramblings in the daily press of those who speak for and against business. It will be to the distinct advantages of both these parties to call a truce while each of them pursues a little useful knowledge on fundamentals which have been almost entirely ignored. These fundamentals may be observed in generous proportions in Miss Beard's book, a study of the business man down through the ages. The book shows careful planning, painstaking research, and intelligent construction, and has the advantage of an interesting treatment.

Alone among those who play vital parts in every civilization, the business man has been seldom noticed by the historian. Miss Beard suggests in her introduction that his own character excluded him from orthodox historical works.

Miss Beard closely examines the business mind and the business personality in the various roles of ancient trader, medieval merchant, eighteenth-century monopolist, pre-war individualist, and the twentieth-century big business man.

The Silvery Tongue

Included in *Lords of Speech* by Edgar DeWitt Jones, are fifteen thumb-nail sketches of our more famous American orators. Windjammers long before the Yankee Clipper ships carried the fame of our native wind-jamming around the world, these men viewed oratory as a religion. The necessary equipment included a loud voice with a pleasing tonal range, an overheated imagination worked under forced draft, basket-full of biblical quotations, and an unmitigated gall. Rare was the orator who brought to his work clarity of thought and scru-pulous logic. Certainly Woodrow Wil-son qualified as such a being. Willi Jennings Bryan, with his golden quence, was the type most often fo and so dearly beloved on our polit soap box.

Mr. Jones admires these powe speakers whose great orations w "the very flower of literature." H is the great Clay, lean of flank and fiery of tongue, hurling acid or oil, as the occasion demanded. And Bryan whose peroration, "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold," will live forever. Such were the liquid-tongued utterances, and in all fairness even the cynic will not begrudge the author's admiration.

A Program for America

Democracy's dilemma should not be difficult to solve, says Alfred J. Snyder in *America's Purpose*. Though it is the rope on which the tug of war between the right and left is conducted, American democracy, he writes, can free itself of the hold of the extremists. The nation's first task is to re-examine the Declaration of Independence; in it are contained the principles which we can now apply to the solution of our problems. Outlined also in the Declaration is the path towards equality. We have embarked on that path, says the author, but our progress has not been consistent and at times we have even wandered off the course. Our continued evolution demands, he says, that we readjust our economic maladies lest we be drawn into the plight of the dictatorships. For one thing, ownership by society "of that which is essential to society as a whole, is both natural and the inevitable development of our American principles." Without interfering with the work of actual production or distribution, he adds, the Government can take over ownership and control by "acquiring the paper indicia of ownership."

Mr. Snyder's book has been carefully composed. It is provocative reading, made all the more so by his cle and logical presentation.

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CURRENT HISTORY





Why can this man HAVE MORE *and* WORK LESS?

THIS is the mystery man. Dozens of foreign commissions have traveled thousands of miles to find out why it is that, working only 40 hours a week, he can buy an electric refrigerator with one month's pay. Workers in foreign lands labor many more hours a week, but to them a refrigerator is a luxury beyond their reach.

Why is it this typical American workman can buy an automobile with 4½ months' pay? Few workers abroad have automobiles—it would take all they could earn in a year to buy one. Why is it that American workers enjoy radios, telephones, electric lights, and hundreds of other comforts and conveniences almost unknown to foreign workers? Why do we enjoy the highest standard of living known in any country?

The American worker has more because he produces more. And he produces more because he has abundant power to help him—power that increases his own ability manyfold.

General Electric scientists and engineers, by developing electric machinery, have put into the hands of American workmen the greatest force ever devised for producing more goods for more people at less cost—the force of electricity.

G-E research and engineering have saved the public from ten to one hundred dollars for every dollar they have earned for General Electric

GENERAL ELECTRIC

1938—OUR SIXTIETH YEAR OF ELECTRICAL PROGRESS—1938

★ **Much expert opinion has been offered on Austrian affairs. During the last days of Austrian independence, opinion was sharply divided. Lord Astor asked rhetorically: "Is it a worthwhile issue that the Germanic people of Austria should join the Germanic people of Germany?" Robert Strausz-Hupé, an Austrian by birth, writer, lecturer, and cosmopolite poses the question in the less abstract terms of economic survival. Emphatically he protests that post-war Austria could not live alone.**

★ No one knows the total of persons executed, or imprisoned, in Russia since the first of the now famous Moscow Trials. Perhaps no one will ever know. However, it is interesting to note the number of old Bolsheviki who have been liquidated by Stalin. **Alexander Bakshy,** a well-known Russian translator and frequent magazine contributor, makes the count. Most of the old Bolsheviki are gone. Stalin is now virtually alone, with the memory of his old comrades.

★ **Genaro Arbaiza** is a Peruvian. Born in the Andes, he reached maturity as a member of a small white colony living with and upon the Indians. Feeling himself a trespasser, amid the remnants of the once great Inca civilization, he went to Argentina. There he established a reputation as a journalist and short story writer in the Spanish tongue. Today, he writes in English of Peru, and of a son of the *Conquistadores*. It is a new chapter to the history of passion and plunder, although neither element is new to Peru. Mr Arbaiza is also the author of the Latin-American Notes appearing regularly in *Current History*.

★ If being the son of an Admiral qualifies a man as a naval expert, then **John C. Winslow** is doubly one, since he is also the brother of a naval officer. But more than that, Mr. Winslow is a serious student of naval affairs. With as much enthusiasm as any big-Navy exponent, he has watched the growth of the sea arm under the paternal eye of the sailor in the White House.

★ There are twelve Morgans on the TVA payroll. That is a fact without significance, since there are twenty-three Moores also on the payroll. But the Morgans have been in the news. One Morgan has been deposed as director of the project, and another Morgan has taken his place. The job pays $10,000 per year. And that's tops among the eleven remaining Morgans on the project. **Burt M. McConnell's** compilation of editorial opinion throughout the country confines itself to the larger aspects of the TVA problem, and lets the Morgans fall where they may.

★ **George Fielding Eliot** is a military expert, and not a political seer. He writes of Lithuania, and of the Baltic States, and

(*Continued on page 67*)

CURRENT HISTORY

MAY 1938

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ARTICLES

FEATURES

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N. B. COUSINS

The World Today in Books

ONE does not have to stoop very low these days to put an ear to the ground. Indeed, the rumblings of what is going on in the world are strong enough to be felt, let alone heard. Even those of us who regarded our surrounding oceans as infallible shock-absorbers against foreign groundswells are ready to admit that at least they have sensed a tremor. Certainly, there is little in the picture of a war-bound world around us, churning and quaking under the expansionist frenzy of dictators, that is conducive to uninterrupted calm.

Nor can we safely take the view that such vibrations as we may hear or feel are all from without. Recent developments in this country have not been without their own repercussions. When we fell off our economic stride late last year—just when it appeared the stride could not be broken—forces not easily halted were thrown into action The many millions out of work, new and old, could scarcely have been expected to remain politically idle, yet the prospects today of returning a fair number of them to their jobs are not much brighter than they were at the very pit of the dark days of 1932–33.

There are more than a few who will point to the uneasiness at home and the turmoil abroad as offering final proof of the "inevitability" in the very near future of a choice Americans will have to make between two types of totalitarian states. They believe that there is no longer any question of the coming world clash between fascism and communism; that the United States cannot possibly hope to play the bystander's role but will be inexorably drawn into one camp or the other. Democracy's ability to take care of the needs of all its people, they contend, has been brought into serious doubt, while the dictator state has a vastly lower unemployed population ratio, notwithstanding its other defects.

Whatever the answer, little can be gained by flocking to one credo or the other, merely because it is felt that a choice will have to be made eventually anyway. Moreover, and this is brought out very effectively in *Political Institutions*, by Edward McChesney Sait, there is little historical basis for the belief that a choice is "inevitable." It would appear from Dr. Sait's sound, constructive study that the thing to do now is to repair the foundations of our democracy wherever they may have shown weakness, rather than to prepare the way for the successor state to democracy. The type of fatalistic thinking that anticipates this crushing out of democracy has been answered and disproved nowhere as thoroughly as in *Political Institutions*. For once having analyzed the forces which bring totalitarian states into existence, Dr. Sait subjects the makeup and operation of those forms of government to an examination which leads him to observe that even the "paper theories" of their underlying philosophies are unworkable.

Dr. Sait has little in common with the theorist. Political institutions do not follow the paths outlined for it by the doctrinaire, he contends, but are the results of an almost endless series of changes and new experiences. They take shape like the "coral islands, planlessly, by a series of minor adjustments that result from the more or less mechanical reaction of man to his environment." This does not mean that each state must necessarily start from scratch. "Having been built, by trial and error, in one community, and there having established their value, they may serve, in another community, as ready-made patterns for imitation." A political institution which has already succeeded in one state and which is the model used by another state is more likely to be adapted to the particular needs of the second state, undergoing transformation under the stimulus of the new environment, rather than be put into operation without modification.

The import of Dr. Sait's conclusion should not be lost upon the advocates of the "planned" totalitarian state. Torchbearers of fascism and communism, both of which pursue political philosophies rooted more in concept than in experience, will find a storehouse of evidence in *Political Institutions* to demolish completely their arguments in favor of a form of society arising from theoretical rules. Like international law, the effective state "has not been created by the textbook writers, the intellectuals, but by the behavior of states in their mutual dealings, by conflict and compromise The doctrinaire—the artificer of long-term plans—has never succeeded in building anything except chimeras." One may well ponder, then, this question: when the blueprints of a totalitarian state are of no use, can demolition be far behind?

Dr. Sait does not profess to believe that his study of political institutions

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Political Institutions	Edward McChesney Sait	Appleton Century	$4.50
The Politicos	Matthew Josephson	Harcourt, Brace	4.50
Education of A Diplomat	Hugh Wilson	Longmans	2.50
A Mirror to Geneva	George Slocombe	Holt	3.00
The German Octopus	Henry C. Wolfe	Doubleday, Doran	2.50
Watch Czechoslovakia	Richard Freund	Oxford	1.50
The Fight to Live	Paul de Kruif	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
Conquest of the Past	Prince Hubertus zu Loenstein	Houghton, Mifflin	3.50
Journeys Between Wars	John Dos Passos	Harcourt, Brace	3.00

covers the entire field in the one volume. He likes to refer to his work as "a preface." If so, this is one of the most exhaustive prefaces ever written. For *Political Institutions* is a solid, thorough examination of the political state in history, embracing a consideration of its origin, characters, and functions. The short-cut-to-knowledge reader will find this book distinctly not to his liking. But anyone who is interested in something more than a superficial treatment of forms of government; one who appreciates good scholarship and careful study, will find *Political Institutions* a work of considerable importance.

Our Verbose Politicians

Much of what Dr. Sait has to say about the slow evolution of government, finding its inspiration for change more in its day-by-day and year-by-year experiences than in theoretical doctrines, is illustrated in Matthew Josephson's *The Politicos*, a history of the leading political characters in the period from the end of the Civil War to the close of the century. "Recurrence and resistance to change," Mr. Josephson says in his foreword, "are embodied perhaps more fully than anywhere else in the American party system, the peculiar institution which has dominated our political government for a century. Men are born and die; Governors, Senators, Presidents come and go; but the Party Organization goes on long after them, and its Inner Circle, its bosses, rule not for four or six years, but for a generation or for life tenure."

Unlike Mr. Josephson's earlier book, *The Robber Barons*, which dealt with the financial giants of the late nineteenth century—"men who spoke little and did much"—*The Politicos* tells of the dominant political figures of that period—"men who did as little as possible and spoke all too much." Their imprint upon the nation has been no less than that of the "robber barons" who pulled the levers of America's industrial revolution and pyramided their investments into the world's greatest fortunes. For the Rockefellers, the Fisks, the Vanderbilts, and the Goulds could no more have existed without the Blaines, the Tweeds, the Connollys, and the Hannas than the politicians could have existed without them.

It is a lusty, colorful, and often bizarre period in American political history of which Mr. Josephson writes. Here are the figures and figureheads whose tradition has yet to be com-

pletely divorced from present-day politics. They divided their time between pulling strings and squeezing in and out of tight places. The appearance of respectability bothered them but little. A gift of $10 to a poor family in the local ward was expected to more than offset a thousand times that in graft and corruption. As for the people, they were seldom sufficiently inflamed to turn out the rascals: "Our people," said Horatio Seymour, "want men in office who will not steal, but who will not interfere with those who do." Reform was not entirely absent; the politicians anticipated it, in fact, and regarded their return to power as inevitable, which it was. The reformers were regarded as those "who give to the capitalist for nothing that which the real politician holds for a price."

Not the least important aspect of *The Politicos* is Mr. Josephson's sketches of the men who parade through his pages. Mark Hanna is described as a tall, heavy-jowled, blunt-spoken Businessman in Politics, tenacious as he was ambitious, and who furnished money generously to local politicians. Grover Cleveland was the stout, beer-loving "man of the people," who for many years labored as a small-town lawyer, used by the Republicans early in his career as a peacemaker because he "was in close touch with the masses before he began much contact with the classes, and easily maintained sympathetic relations with both without offense to either." James J. Blaine ate, drank, breathed politics, a master of tactics and political strategy, perhaps the most fully-seasoned political figure in the entire post Civil War history. William Jennings Bryan was the perfect figure of a dramatic actor, six feet tall, his face pale, his head noble and expressive; he had an "evangelical temper . . . which made him the darling of the disaffected rural masses."

Mr. Josephson's work is well-integrated and has the advantage of clear, lucid writing, for the material is so rich, so meaty, that it demands, and has, an interesting presentation.

The New Diplomat

The popular impression of a diplomat has had to undergo some severe revision in recent years. Claude Bowers did much to dispel the notion that a diplomat was a man whose every utterance was surrounded in ambiguity, who used words as devices to conceal his thoughts, who had a meaningless speech for every occasion, and who prefixed each paragraph with "if" and ended it with "maybe." Mr. Bowers' various writings—*Jefferson in Power*, particularly—rate among the finest in our historical literature. Then there is William Dodd to exemplify further the humanized diplomat; his *The Old South* was a highlight of 1937 in publishing. And now we have Hugh Wilson whose *The Education of a Diplomat* is a warm, pleasant story of the complications and complexities of life in the foreign service.

Mr. Wilson is now Ambassador to Germany, climaxing a fairly brilliant career in the service of the Government. In the seven-year period before America's entrance into the World War—the period embraced in this book—Hugh Wilson was private secretary of the Minister to Lisbon, and later served in Latin American and European embassies. Meanwhile, history was in the making. Europe had burst into war. From his post at Berlin, Wilson was in an excellent position to see the forces of war at work. He left Germany almost at the point of America's declaration of war, crossed over to Vienna and later to Berne, where he remained for the duration of the conflict. The drama of those eventful days is brought out very effectively in Mr. Wilson's unadorned, informal account.

The successful diplomat, it is clear from Mr. Wilson's book, must undergo a thorough training. To begin with, he must possess at least a university education, he must be able to converse on an equal footing with men

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 66

1. How often is the Congress of the United States obliged to meet, according to the Constitution?
2 How many members are there in the lower house of Congress?
3. Who determines the number of members in the lower house of Congress?
4. How old must a citizen be to qualify as a Representative in Congress?
5 How old must a citizen be to qualify as a Senator in Congress?
6 How old must a citizen be to qualify as President of the United States?
7 Is a foreign-born citizen eligible to membership in either or both houses of Congress?
8 Which of the following countries have legislative bodies practically similar to our Congress: France, Brazil, Argentina, Italy, Sweden, Canada?
9 Of the 13 Republican Presidents of the U. S, 5 were elected for a second term. How many served two full terms?
10 Who is Gerard Swope?
11. Which city is nearer to the North Pole Philadelphia, Pa, or Madrid, Spain?
12. What is meant by the franking privilege?
13 Does the franking privilege derive its name from that of a man?
14 What official position did Robert W Bingham hold at the time of his death on December 18, 1937?
15. Of what well-known newspaper was Robert W. Bingham the publisher?
16. Which country produces more oil—Japan or Poland?
17. How does China rank in the production of cotton?
18. Which would you say is larger—the Chinese rice crop or the American corn crop?
19. What country in all the world catches the most fish?
20 What position does Hirohito occupy in the Japanese Cabinet?

of all types with whom he must come in contact in his posts abroad, he must be able to adapt himself to new customs and civilizations, he must have a taste for study. Patience, cooperation, loyalty, good manners, and personableness are traits he must have or develop. In addition, the foreign service officer must have a "negative or self-denying quality." He must remain aloof from political squabbles at home, stay away from elections if possible, and cultivate a detached view on internal domestic politics.

As a work of autobiography, *The Education of a Diplomat* has considerable merit; as literature, it is completely engrossing; as an aid to understanding the inner workings of diplomacy, it is virtually indispensable. In short, it is profitable reading.

Germany Reaches Out

Although written by a specialist on international politics, *The German Octopus* is a non-technical discussion for the layman who knows something about the European situation and wants to learn more about the backstage activities of the Pan-German drama. The book is definitely anti-Nazi, but Henry C. Wolfe, its author, is no German-baiter. If the Allies had been willing, he says, to extend even a minimum of cooperation to the democrats and pacifists of the Second Reich, the Austrian who became Fuehrer would have remained an unknown house-painter. The author calls Hitler the "illegitimate offspring of the Versailles Treaty."

Mr. Wolfe is primarily interested in the German drive to build a gigantic empire in Central and Eastern Europe. Starting from the Third Reich, he takes the reader on a political tour of the countries that stand in danger of German aggression. Denmark, Danzig, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia—all are included. His chapter about Austria gives the background of the Nazi campaign for Anschluss. It ends with the Schuschnigg capitulation to Hitler at Berchtesgaden, an event that the author correctly characterized as "the beginning of the end of Austrian independence."

Rumania is discussed at great length. Mr. Wolfe believes it is one of the important battlegrounds of the struggle between Hitler and his opponents. Rumanian oil and food attract the Nazi empire builders. And Rumanian organizations like the Iron Guard are the advance forces of the Nazi legions which are striving to gain control of this strategically located kingdom and its natural resources.

Interpreted in Mr. Wolfe's book are the interplay of international politics and the military and economic factors which are furthering Hitler's bid for world power. Not the least of these influences is the fear among the smaller powers of being caught on the losing side in the next war. It has made these buffer states reluctant to adopt any policy that might pit them against the rising military power of the Third Reich.

Mr. Wolfe does not believe that the Berlin-Rome axis is anything but a temporary arrangement. For the present it serves Hitler's purpose. The Germans have not been impressed by the Italian military record in the World war or in Spain. "But although the Germans' estimate of Mussolini's soldiers is low their estimate of Mussolini's political ability is high."

Here is a volume that may well serve as a chart to Hitler's elaborate, successful and far-flung propaganda, political and economic offensive, and a map of the projected Nazi empire.

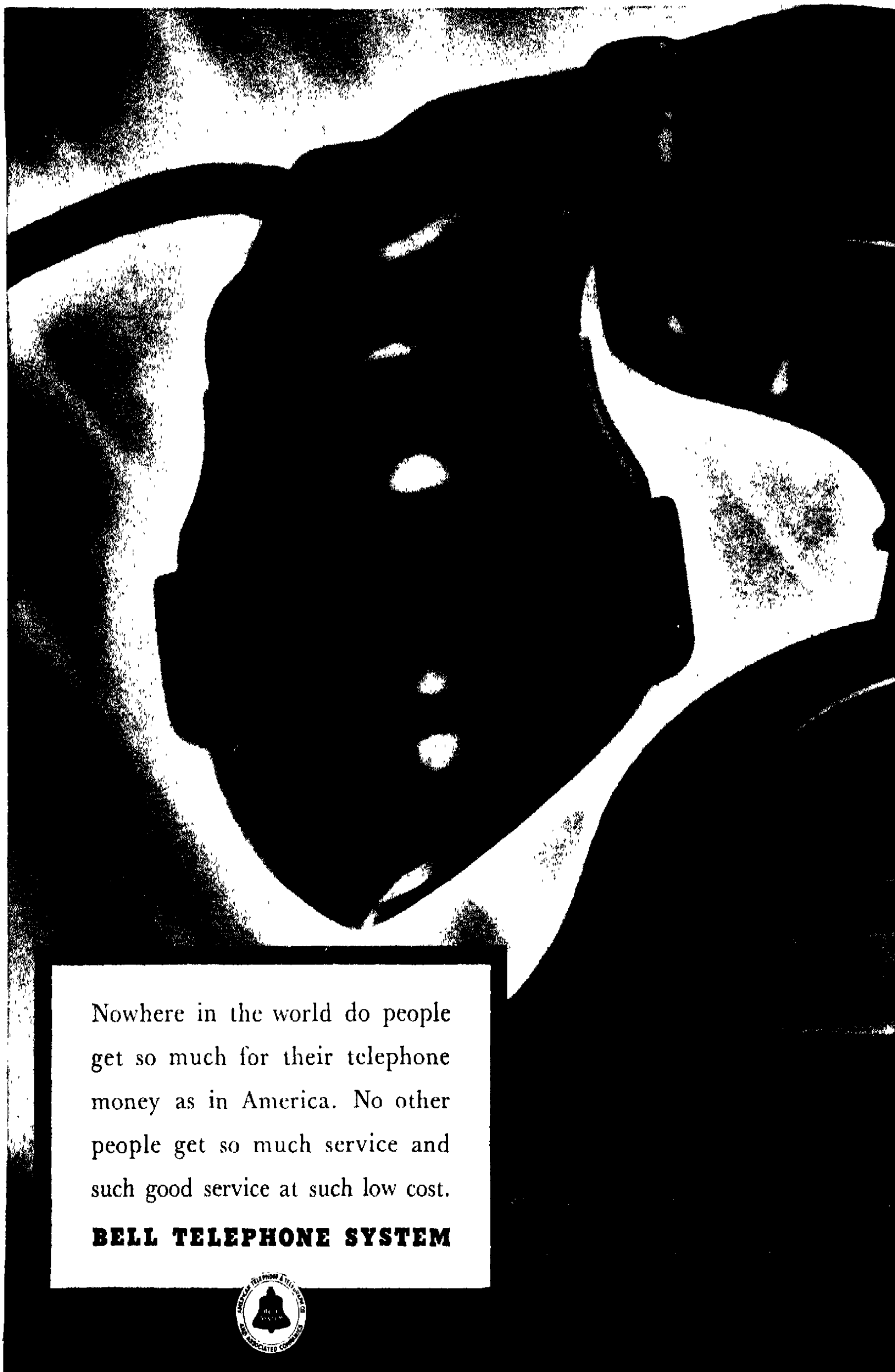
The Plucky Czechs

The German octopus is already poised for another snatch. Where now? Richard Freund seems to suggest the answer in the title of his book, *Watch Czechoslovakia!* The Czech Republic, he points out in his timely little contribution, is now the last European country east of France to maintain free democratic institutions. Bordered except for a comparatively few miles by fascist or near-fascist foes, Czechoslovakia quivers in anticipation of the moment that Adolf Hitler will surround the country with men and munitions and deliver the ultimatum to submit or be forcibly conquered. Yet Czechoslovakia has no intention of going the way of Austria—giving in without a fight. The leaders of the Mid-Europe democracy have foreseen the menace of Hitlerism and have taken military measures to defend the country, even though outside help may be lacking. Qualified military opinion, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in the Western powers, holds that the country can resist a German assault without serious loss for at least three or four weeks, and that it can keep on fighting for at least another three months. Beyond this time, however, there can be little question of a German victory.

In the event that France or Russia,

(*Continued on page 68*)

THE BIGGEST TELEPHONE VALUE FOR YOUR MONEY



Dictatorship

IT IS good to know that President Roosevelt does not intend to become a dictator. It would have been insulting to think otherwise, of course, since he could not become a dictator without violating the oath of office which he has twice taken. At the same time, some timid souls will be reassured, and that may be enough to make his statement worthwhile. They will be doubly reassured by the three reasons he offers to back up his statement which, briefly summarized, are as follows:

1) He does not want to be a dictator,

2) He lacks the qualifications,

3) His training and traditions are opposed to dictatorship.

If we are to assume that the oath of office means nothing and put the proposition on a purely argumentative basis, it is the second reason that really counts. If a man can't do a thing, he can't, and that's that!—which makes it quite unnecessary to worry whether he would like to or not.

President Roosevelt's frank acknowledgment that he lacks the qualifications to become a dictator not only provides a complete answer to the question, but makes the opinion of those who are familiar with his career absolutely unanimous. He is utterly lacking in dictatorial attributes. For one thing, he is a mental rover; for another, he likes to be on intimate terms, not only with those close about him but with the public in general. He likes to chat by the fireside; to surprise the press boys by talking with them conversationally and by giving them a startling bit of information every so often; to get his name in the paper, even to the point of syndicating his writings. These things do not go with dictatorship. To be boss of a country, a man must stand aloof; must be cold-blooded and abstain from intimate associations.

You can imagine Mr. Roosevelt spanking an opponent politically, but you can't imagine him using a firing-squad or ordering a blood-purge. You can imagine him outsmarting the opposition by some clever political trick, but you can't imagine him ordering the G-men to arrest some opposition leader. You can imagine him getting the newspaper boys out of bed to issue a statement after midnight, but you can't imagine him sending Secret Service agents to break into some house at that hour and drag an official to jail without apology or explanation.

There is no more chance of President Roosevelt becoming a dictator than there is of Hitler, Mussolini, or Stalin adopting democratic principles. At the same time, it is a good thing to bring up the subject of dictatorship at this particular moment. Too many people are whispering about it behind the door—some because they are scared, some in a stupidly wishful way. There are folks in this country who would actually like to experiment with a dictator provided they could be sure of getting the kind they want. There are business men who toy with the thought that it might be a good thing to have a boss to make labor behave. There are labor leaders who speculate over the desirability of a boss to put business in its place. There are radicals who think this country would be better off under a Marxian boss. There are farmers who doubt whether we can get out of the present trouble without some kind of boss.

One can sense the rise and development of a new attitude toward one-man rule in the demand for trade czars, relief czars, bureau czars, etc. There is a growing disposition to put emphasis on the "efficiency" which such a set-up provides. There is also a growing disposition to doubt the advantage of liberty because of the disorder, chaos and unrest which its exercise involves.

Too many people have been fascinated by the quick, effective way in which th Mussolinis, the Hitlers, and the Stalins get things d . Too many have been discouraged by the clumsy and often ineffectual methods of democracy. "Liberty to starve," they sneer when someone suggests that this country is becoming too bureaucratic—as though bureaucracy and centralized control guaranteed full stomachs! Millions of people in Europe were sold on that selfsame sophistry, but a good many of them have had to tighten their belts in order to provide funds for armament. So, too, a good many of them have had to find slim meals in concentration camps or through forced labor.

The economic doldrums through which we have been floundering during the last eight years, and particularly the experimenting by which we have tried to discover an easy way out, are responsible for most of the queer thinking with regard to such things as liberty, dictatorship, security, self-sufficiency, etc. Some people have lost their perspective to such an extent as to be willing to try anything in the wholly absurd notion that conditions could not be worse, and in the equally absurd notion that depression has proved constitutional liberty quite valueless. The real point is that we could not have survived this depression as well as we have but for the tremendous reserves which constitutional liberty has enabled us to accumulate.

M E Tracy



"BY GAWD, OLD CHAP! LOOK OUT, IT'S LOADED!"

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

ONE by one the war aims pass away; one by one, the post-war treaties become scraps of paper; one by one, the promises, plans, and programs designed to produce a better world but formulated in the heat of passion, thin out and vanish like smoke-clouds above a battlefield. Neither are the dictators nor the people who follow them with blind enthusiasm entirely to blame. To a large extent, the disappointing situation which now grips Europe can be attributed to allied folly; to the mistakes which originated in war fever and to that lightheadedness which generally goes with complete triumph. In this connection, Americans should remember that the Versailles Treaty was too much for they themselves to stomach; also, the League of Nations for which it provided, and which was generally intended to enforce it. It hardly lies in their mouths, therefore, to complain if the one is torn up while the other degenerates into a mere symbol of what might have been.

With the collapse of the so-called democratic front, brought about largely by England's refusal to make further commitments relative to the security of small European countries—particularly Czechoslovakia—the dictators would appear to have been relieved of all restraint. From a distance of 3,000 miles, it looks as though Herr Hitler were at liberty to plow eastward through Middle Europe; that the disintegration, if not the destruction, of Czechoslovakia were imminent, and that the three little Baltic States—Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia—might disappear at any moment. It also looks as though Mussolini were in a position to get whatever General Franco is willing to give him in Spain, aftet which he can depend on the British Government to offer the "right hand of fellowship." It looks as though France would be left to muddle along as best she can with three Fascist frontiers.

Wishful thinkers on the democratic sidelines continue to hope that Russia will undertake the dirty work of balking Fascism which democratic governments have sidestepped as too costly. It seems more probable, however, that Russia will borrow a page from their book of tricks and be guided by self-interest.

Austria Is Absorbed

The Versailles Treaty made Austria a helpless orphan of the storm. Her demise was inevitable. The wonder is not that she has gone the way of all little States lacking self-sufficiency, but that the tragic event was postponed so long.

As a penalty of defeat, Austria was whittled down to a great city surrounded by a wealth of beautiful but unproductive scenery. It satisfied M. Clemenceau to thus "humble the pride of Vienna," but it did not satisfy the inexorable forces of realism. Vienna's very weakness, imposed upon her by victors refusing to take the long-range view, is mainly responsible for her elevation into one of Germany's crown jewels. In the end, Vienna is likely to become a more formidable rival to Paris than ever before.

While the absorption of Austria may not be of great economic advantage to Germany for the time being, it certainly adds to her man power and prestige. Germany is now a nation of more than 73,000,000 people, occupying a territory greater than that she possessed in 1914. Herr Hitler says that she is stronger than at any time during her whole career and that nothing can stop her further expansion. Not pausing to argue this point, she undoubtedly holds a predominant position in Central Europe, with France and Italy cast in the role of second fiddles. It is no longer necessary for her to consider open aggressiveness as the sole means by which to "protect" or incorporate German minorities just outside her borders. All she has to do is to guide those minorities in demanding autonomy or independence and let the processes of disintegration "go natural." Czechoslovakia represents a shining target for this technique.

Minority Boomerang

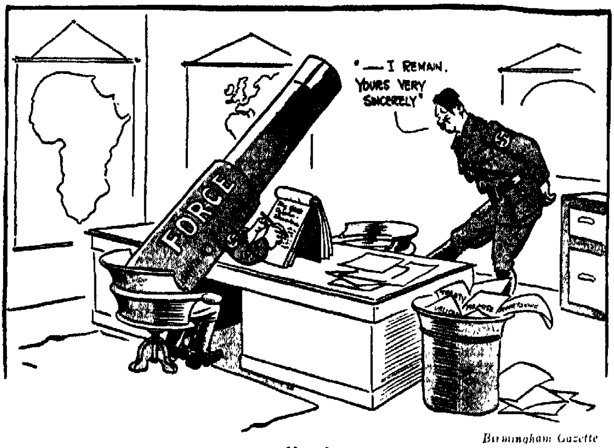
The Versailles Treaty created half a dozen little States by cutting up or whittling down old empires. "Rights of minorities" and "self-determination" formed the principal excuse. These little States, however, contain minorities within themselves which are now being converted into an excuse for more readjustment.

Czechoslovakia, erected as a haven for discontented minorities in 1918, finds herself plagued by the very proposition which gave her birth. Discontented minorities within her own borders are now looking for another haven, though not without inspiration from powerful supporters on the outside. Germans, who constitute 20 percent of Czechoslovakia's population, lead the move, with Herr Hitler's approval already assured. Quick to sense the opportunity thus opened up, Poland seems willing to assist the Polish minority and Hungary the Magyar minority.

Premier Hodza's efforts to outline a policy of concession and conciliation which would satisfy the minorities within Czechoslovakia and their backers abroad have fallen on deaf ears. Tearing up the rich little republic of Czechoslovakia is too great a temptation to be resisted. Germany, Poland, and Hungary seem more than willing to cooperate in achieving this one objective, at least.

Poland and Germany

Germany's obvious intention to re-establish complete control over Danzig and the Polish Corridor to the sea, coupled with Poland's recent demands on Lithuania, suggests a new and closer relationship between Warsaw and Berlin. If Poland could gradually establish a new Corridor to the sea through Lithuania, Germany would be in a position to absorb Danzig and close the old one. Such an exchange of favors, however, would probably rupture the Franco-Polish alliance, which is some-



Birmingham Gazette

NEXT?

thing else that would hardly be displeasing to Germany and which if present signs are to be believed, would not surprise or irritate England.

England's Shift

Declarations by Mr. Chamberlain to the contrary notwithstanding, British policy has undergone a drastic change during the past few weeks. Opposition to German expansion has ceased; the idea of depending on "collective security" has been shelved, if not abandoned. For the time being, at least, England will make no commitment relative to the protection of little States in Central Europe. Downing Street is so anxious to reconcile all differences with Italy as to tacitly accept Mussolini's stalling until he is assured of a Nationalist victory in Spain. All this involves more or less lack of cooperation with France, especially in the latter's desire to save Czechoslovakia, maintain the Polish alliance, and balk German expansion in other ways, which might well result in forcing a rupture of Franco-Russian agreements. Indeed, nothing stands out so distinctly in the general reorientation of policies as a concerted effort on the part of Western European nations to give Russia the cold shoulder.

Russia's Dilemma

But for Japan, Russia would undoubtedly be quicker to recognize and resent the unfriendly attitude of western European nations. She cannot, however, risk major conflicts at both ends; the ends are too far apart. She has good reason to believe, if she were to become embroiled with Germany or Poland—or both—over Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, or anything else, that Japan would take swift advantage. Also she has good reason to believe that conflict with Japan would lead to a more aggressive attitude on the part of European nations. Added to this, she has internal troubles, the seriousness of which is vividly revealed by the continuous execution of prominent leaders and officials. Like most other nations, Russia is evidently guided by the realism of self-interest rather than by the idealism of wishful thinking.

The Far East

Meanwhile, Japan's undeclared war on China has become a major operation. What was launched as a punitive expedition or a movement to sequester a few northern provinces has developed into a general invasion. Whether is was her original intention to pursue such a plan, Japan is now definitely committed to a military program which, if successful, would dominate all northwestern China. She must either establish control over an area of more than a million square miles and a population of more than two hundred millions, or suffer a tremendous loss of prestige. The further she goes inland—and she still has a long way to go—the thinner and weaker become her lines of communication. The difficulty of keeping those lines open is already apparent, and that involves the difficulty of getting an adequate supply of war materials up to the front. While striving to consolidate and hold positions already gained, she is attempting to relieve the military situation by establishing puppet States like the one already set up at Nanking. If this policy succeeds, northern China will become a collection of little Manchukuos. The question is whether they could be maintained, or whether China's national consciousness would survive the shock and gradually reassert itself. No one can contemplate what is going on in China without suspecting that a conflict has been opened which may last for generations, and that the significance of temporary triumph should not be overrated. And that brings up the question of our own attitude, particularly with regard to neutrality.

Mexico and Oil

Many people thought that when Mexico confiscated foreign-owned oil properties, she would find a ready market in Japan. Maybe President Cardenas and his associates were moved to some extent by this prospect. It was one of those delusions, however, which come from shallow, if not wishful thinking. Japan would hardly antagonize those in control of the vast American supply of oil by purchasing the comparatively small amount which Mexico has available.

As a method of translating certain political ideals into action, Mexico's expropriation of foreign-owned oil properties may have been desirable. As a business venture, it seems likely to prove disappointing. The government is in possession of these properties and the workers have been granted increased pay, but operations are curtailed. The difficulty of converting this transaction into more bread and butter for those who need it is ap-



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

WE WON'T LET THE PEOPLE DOWN, EITHER



Arizona Republic

TWENTIETH CENTURY GALLEY SHIPS!

parent. The same thing may be said with regard to paying the bill. Even hardboiled proponents of private enterprise can see some justification for the expropriation of private property with pay, but there are few outside the Communist Party who can see any justification for it without pay. At any rate, our State Department can not.

Mexico was not in a position to pay for these oil properties when she took them over. She could only raise the necessary funds by borrowing and she could only borrow a sufficient amount if the United States continued to buy her silver at a very high price, and peg her credit. Considering her dependence on this source of revenue, one wonders if she did not presume too much.

The entire incident is peculiarly unfortunate because of its irritating effect on relations between Mexico and the United States. These relations have been reasonably cordial during the last few years. It was to the interest of both countries that they remain so, and our own Government has leaned over backward in order to avoid anything that might weaken or disturb them. Not only that, but it has granted Mexico special favors.

From a strictly political standpoint, one can see why President Cardenas and his associates decided that the time was ripe for such a drastic move as the seizure of foreign-owned oil properties. Based as it was on the issue of increased wages for Mexican labor, the seizure promised to placate workers on the one hand and arouse a spirit of patriotism on the other. But all that constituted only one aspect of the problem. Americans will be pardoned for asking whether a different and more satisfactory way could not have been found for achieving the same ends, and whether it is too late to reopen the question.

Futile Sympathy

As a general proposition, Americans sympathize with China just as they always sympathize with weak people when attacked. This sympathy, however, has accomplished little except to inspire some rather ineffective boycotts. Officially, trade goes on as usual, especially trade in oil, cotton, and other materials essential to war. It is quite true that China enjoys the same liberty to trade with us as Japan, but she lacks the means to take advantage of it on anything like equal terms. Our official attitude, therefore, helps Japan simply because Japan is in a position to buy more and pay for it.

Troubles of Our Own

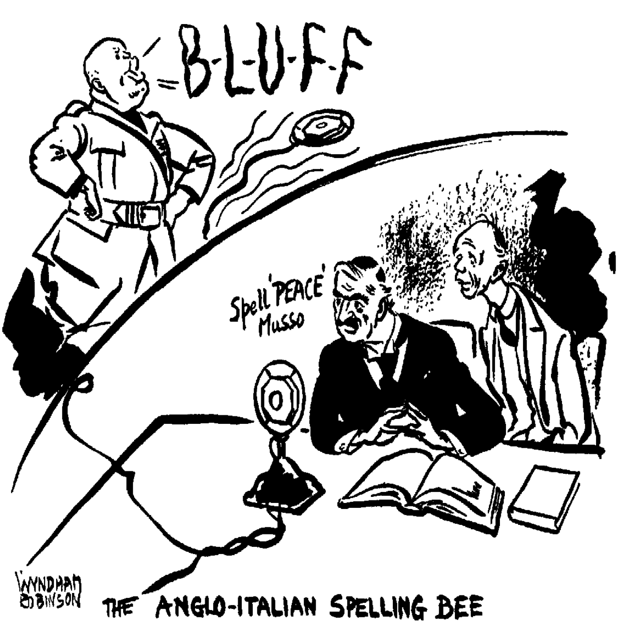
Both the Government and the people of the United States are too preoccupied to be deeply moved or vexed by Mexico's seizure of foreign-owned oil properties. Their principal concern is over the possibility that trade and business relations may be disturbed. They are in no mood, however, to contribute anything to such a disturbance, and that should make a satisfactory solution all the easier. The predominating idea in this country right now is to put its own house in order. This does not imply that "isolation" has become a fixed conviction on the part of Americans, but it does mean that they are going to keep out of foreign entanglements as far as they can, until they have made more substantial progress in solving their own problems.



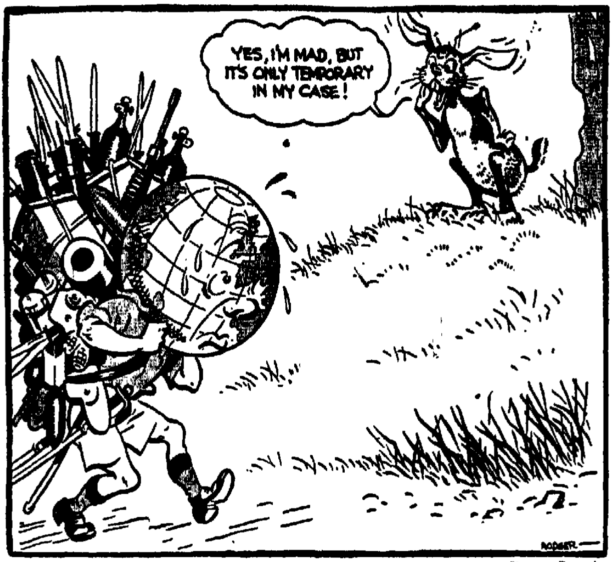
Arizona Republic

THE SANDWICH MAN

With unemployment holding steady, if not increasing; with relief rolls at a new peak; with stocks falling and business down; with the Federal debt increased by twenty billions and the cost of operating the Federal Government boosted from five to seven billions a year; with most States, counties, cities, and towns increasing their debts and



Star, London



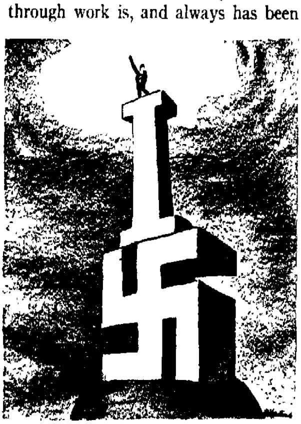
Glasgow Record

MAD MARCH DAYS

budgets in order to take advantage of Federal grants, a growing disposition to avoid outside problems is hardly more than natural. Nothing does more to make a good neighbor than the necessity of minding one's own business, and that is the position in which Americans find themselves. They have not beaten the depression in spite of all the spending, borrowing, and prophesying. They have prevented extreme distress, but they have not put their people back to work to anything like such an extent as is essential to real recovery.

Work, the Real Solution

More work and more production through work is, and always has been the answer to depression. That is the only way to overcome losses and accumulate wealth. In the final analysis, buying power rests not on the amount of money people get, but on the volume of goods they produce and the added services they perform. The thought that buying power can be increased or created by the mere arbitrary adjustment of pay and prices, by the simple art of getting more for doing less, is not only futile but generally winds up with inflation. That, however, is the rainbow Americans have been chasing. Except for our tremendous reserves and resources, we would have come to disaster long ere this. You simply cannot continue to get more for doing less without having less to show for your money, and it is not the money, but what is back of the money that counts in the long run.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

HEAR YE! HEAR YE! HEAR YE!

Not All Waste

It is true, of course, that the country has carried out some rather fine and useful projects in its struggle to overcome depression by the simple process of spending money, but many of them have been carried out at an excessive cost, while others have led to policies and commitments which are anything but encouraging. Thousands of miles of highways have been built; magnificent schools and apartment houses have been erected; gigantic programs of flood control, reforestation, and land reclamation have been launched, but with all this has gone a deal of leaf-raking and boondoggling, not to mention a type of relief which promises to eventuate in the dole system. Among other things, the Federal Government has undertaken a program of power development which, if allowed to continue, might convert it into a real power monopoly.

TVA

One thing leads to another, which is just a way of saying that TVA and what it implies stand for something far different than the original promoters of Muscle Shoals intended. They had in mind a nitrate plant with fertilizer as a by-product. Then came the idea of flood control and hydro-electric power. The power was to be wholesaled from the switchhead to municipalities or private companies. This would furnish a yardstick by which to measure the cost of power production. But with one thing still leading to another, the idea of peddling power over Government transmission lines cropped up. Out of this grew the idea of developing model communities when it became necessary to house workers and relocate those homesteaders who had been forced to leave reservoir sites. Since the taxpayers of the whole country were footing the bill for these various projects, they began to wonder why they should not be blessed with similar projects. Thus there developed a clamor for a whole lot of TVA's, especially where flood control was desirable and where the building of dams and reservoirs seemed feasible. But there are a lot of people who do not live close to rivers and who are just as much entitled to cheaper power. So we come to the question of whether the Government should not provide power



Arizona Republic

THE BIG GRAPPLE-SWING



Il 420, Florence

Rumania Takes the Road to Rome and Fascism and Throws Out Anti-Fascism and Communism

plants, yardsticks, model communities, etc., in coal, gas, or oil fields.

Pause for a Probe

The necessity for an investigation of TVA grows out of an unfortunate but perfectly natural incident. A disagreement among the directors was virtually inevitable. You just can't give three men such authority to plan, spend and experiment without provoking a clash of ideas. Relatively speaking, they were handed an empire with which to play. They were left free to develop and expand it much as they pleased. They were sure of unlimited capital through the tax-collecting system. They were at liberty not only to build dams, construct reservoirs, and produce electric power, but to undertake all sorts of economic and social ventures. Smooth cooperation was too much to expect from strong personalities and strong ideas.

The founders of this republic were wise enough to foresee and try to prevent just such eventualities by surrounding the Government and governmental agencies with proper checks. They were opposed to the issuance of blank checks and the granting of extensive authority, not for lack of faith in any particular person, but because they understood the weakness inherent in all persons.

As things now stand, an investigation is both necessary and desirable. It is needed not only to iron out the internal conflict of opinion that has been developed, but to clarify the policies and commitments that are being shaped. The time has come to find out whether the Government is launching a program to produce hydroelectric power, or to reshape public policy toward all power production; whether the basic idea is to develop and control our rivers, or to promote public ownership; whether the primary object is to lower the cost of power, or to experiment along sociological lines.

Similar questions arise not only with respect to other phases of the New Deal, but to the New Deal as a whole. To what objectives is the country being committed, not so much by the declaration of those in authority, as by the methods being pursued? In other words, where are the means being adopted taking us? This is an aspect of the situation which too few people take into account. Whether in private or public affairs, the real end is more often determined by the method chosen to attain it than by anything else. Most of us agree on the desirability of certain objectives; we all want health, peace, prosperity, etc. The real problem arises when we try to get what we want, and, in too many instances, we find ourselves getting something very different, because the methods pursued lead us into unlooked-for bypaths.

Reorganization

Five years ago, the American people thought they were voting for economy in government, for a decrease of bureaus, boards, and commissions, and a reduction of the public payroll. Other methods of meeting the depression, however, lead them in an opposite direction. Government expenses have increased; boards, bureaus, and commissions have multiplied, and the public payroll has reached enormous proportions. Reorganization of government services is in order. But many people think that something is needed besides moving the furniture to different offices. Also, they think that the legislative branch should have a bigger say-so in what is to be done and how it is going to be done. No one can review what has occurred, especially in connection with the Reorganization Bill, without sensing the growth of an unfavorable opinion toward the further extension of executive and administrative power.



Daily Herald, London

IS HE LEAVING STILL ANOTHER LEAGUE?

Latin-American Notes

THE economic graph of Latin-America, which for over two years since 1935 climbed to record heights, has lately been on the down grade, and just now points to an uncertain course. For the benefit of readers who hate the sight of statistical figures, let it be said that the following paragraphs make no pretense of being a trade survey. The interesting thing about the economic events in Latin-America as a whole during the past decade is not the statistical ***how***, but the political ***why***. And this refers to the world political situation.

Depression in Latin-America came soon after the crash of the Coolidge Bull Market in 1929. Most of the Latin-American public treasuries, cut off from their only source of supply and sunk in deeper debt than they had ever been before, defaulted their obligations. Latin-American government bonds dwindled to one-fourth or one-fifth in total market value. After the shower of billions in the reckless 'Twenties, there was deflation. Prices of Latin-American raw materials and foodstuffs broke down, and the volume of American trade with Latin-America, which had gone up to $1,784,000,000 in 1928, fell to $517,000,000 in 1932, losing all the ground it had gained since 1913. Latin-American nations joined in the universal war of tariff barriers and exchange retaliations.

Latin-America's trade relations with the outside world remained stagnant until the first war drums began rolling in the old world. 1935 marked the turning point when the fascist trumpets reawakened the war spirit in Europe, the mechanized Mussolinian hosts marched into Ethiopia, and the Teuton giant, knocked down at Versailles, rose wearing a brown shirt and showing a mailed fist to the world. Here was war at last! The hoards of greed, closed by the panic of 1929, were opened again by a new "confidence." War always has been good business. The armaments industry, having an increasing number of other tributary industries, was given the task of pulling the world out of the depression. Every great power was "in danger," and "had" to prepare for war. All of them needed raw materials and foodstuffs. Parliaments discussed war measures while speculators smiled.

Beating the Business Drum

LATIN-AMERICAN export values responded to the sudden demand. Depression was over in Latin-America. Besides, Dr. Schacht had successfully played his barter strategy in the southern continent, and Japan as well as Germany, fighting the British textile goods trade in world markets, could absorb great quantities of South American cotton. Cotton production jumped to its highest level in South America. However, the Ethiopian campaign dragged on without the expected complications, and the economists registered a slump. Speculators were somewhat disappointed.

But the Spanish "civil war," which was never a civil war, but, among other things, a bloody experiment in business boosting, came to the rescue. The quotations of South American copper, tin, ferromanganese, nitrates, vanadium, tungsten and many other "strategic" minerals climbed once more. Governments were planning huge food caches for war-time defense. And the prices of South American wheat and corn and beef and mutton and a great variety of other supplies soared. Even coconuts, a harmless flavor in the old times, had now a war taste. The Latin-American economic curve took a leap.

By the end of 1936 the ante-war boom was in full swing in Latin-America. While the Pan-American conferees, gathered at Buenos Aires in the memorable conference, were discussing ways and means of maintaining peace, the cereal traders of Argentina were dealing in war values, and the Buenos Aires grain market reached heights never equalled since the World War.

The boom touched its peak during the first part of 1937 and it has lasted in most countries until the end of that year or the first quarter of 1938. Latin-American trade figures for 1937 will probably show in many cases an increase of 100 per cent over those of 1932, the worst depression year.

Bread and Bullets

THE drum-rolling peoples of Europe have developed a new economic theory that may be expressed in two words—bread and bullets. Who talks now of bread and butter? Bullets are more important than butter. Why? Simply because it is by means of bullets that you can get butter. This theory seems to have worked in South America, at least in its commercial implication. Since the beginning of the boom, a part of South American exports has been and is being exchanged for European and, to a lesser extent, American surplus and obsolete armaments. The European powers are paying for South American grains and meats and hides and wool and tin and quebracho partly with warships, guns, military aircraft, etc. This trade has reached such proportions that American exporters in other lines recently complained of the lack of Latin-American exchange, because "heavy purchasing of war equipment by Latin-American countries is depleting available dollar supplies." South American armament purchases in 1937, including the cost of naval vessels then in construction, may be estimated at more than $160,000,000

With the slump in the United States, things slowed down in Latin-America during the first part of the year. Besides, the fascist penetration in South America, threatening to bring war into that area in case of a vast conflict, has frightened away many investors who had thought of South America as a haven for endangered capital. The exodus of foreign funds from Argentina is said to have reached the sum of 400,000,000 pesos in the last few months.

Following the Nazi annexation of Austria, there came a turnabout from low levels in some Latin-American exports, and we may witness another boom in Latin-America if things get livelier in Europe, for we are living under a war-propelled economy.

A new factor in the Latin-American situation will be the present tremendous gold influx from Europe into the United States. American investments in the southern countries may expand as a result, although it is not likely their expansion will assume the reckless proportions it reached in the 'Twenties, because the United States Treasury has in its gold "sterilization" policy an effective control.

—G. A.

BENAVIDES OF PERU

The record of an amazing dictator, the boldest ruler in South America

By GENARO ARBAIZA

WHILE Lima slept the night of February 4, 1914, President Billinghurst, the only ruler of English extraction Peru has had, tensely waited in the Pizarro Palace, scene of many political tragedies. He knew a conspiracy was under way to overthrow him, and as the hours passed he felt the trap-net closing on him. With the excuse that Billinghurst was about to dissolve Congress and make a "treacherous" deal with Chile, Augusto Durand, the eternal conspirator, had planned a *coup de main*. A majority in Congress and most of the Army were with him. It was to be a bloodless revolution. They would strike at any moment.

But something unexpected happened. Billinghurst's War Minister, General Varela, the only man able to make a stand, who had stayed for the night in the old Santa Catalina barracks, was killed in his bed by two officers. Whereupon infantry troops that had been secretly gathered in the dark lanes of Plaza de la Exposición, marched to the Pizarro Palace, and "took it" after an attack to which the government guard offered little or no resistance. At the head of the victors that entered the structure seeking Billinghurst was Colonel Benavides, then Chief of Army General Staff. He had led the *cuartelazo*. Today he is the ruler of Peru.

The insurgents compelled Billinghurst to sign a resignation, and, like other President-snatchers in Peruvian history, dragged him out of the Palace and ignominiously led him to Callao where they put him on a boat on his way to exile. When Durand later made his appearance at the Palace, he found that Benavides had stolen his revolution. Since Pizarro's murder four centuries ago in that same Palace, it has seen treason and conspiracy write most of the history of Peruvian rulers.

But, who was Benavides? About 38 years old, Lima knew him as the Hero of Caquetá. Up to 1911 he had been an obscure officer and had seen service in remote garrisons and training in France. Born in Lima in 1876, he entered the National Military Academy at fourteen, and was made Second Lieutenant at eighteen.

The Caquetá fame came from a jungle frontier clash with Colombian troops upon the banks of the Caquetá river in 1911. It was a small affair where Benavides, in command of stronger troops, put to flight the Colombians "who carried with them more quinine pills than cartridges." Lima, where the brave do not abound, acclaimed the jungle strategist, and he knew how to translate his glory into power at the first chance.

Congress was in recess. The Civilista faction, with a parliamentary minority, allied itself to Benavides. That faction, the wealthiest and shrewdest in Peruvian politics, has profited more than any other from the national treasury during the past seven decades. A Junta headed by Benavides ruled for 100 days.

There was only one thing left to do for Durand and the congressional majority, whose conspiracy had been tricked out of their hands, to have Vice President Roberto Leguía take office in place of the deposed President. But the day Congress was supposed to meet, the 15th of May, Benavides sent his armed henchmen and *matones* to the Plaza de la Inquisición where the Chamber of Deputies is located in order to prevent the majority members from gaining access to the building. The trick succeeded. In fact, anticipating trouble, most of them stayed home with "indigestion" and "colds." Some were forbidden by their wives to go out.

"Named" President

But a few dared—among them Alberto Salomón, a Durandista liberal. When he approached the stronghold of Peruvian democracy, he was told to keep away by a group of gunmen posted nearby. Salomón defiantly walked on. A shot rang out and Salomón fell wounded in the head and shoulder. After receiving medical aid in the neighborhood, he insisted on being taken back on a stretcher to the Chamber. With the majority frightened away by bullets, that same day the Civilista minority "named" Benavides Provisional President with the rank of Brigadier General.

During the nineteen months of his first dictatorship, he ruled by martial law, and sometimes, his critics say, invented plots in order to prolong it. There were political persecutions and indefinite prison terms, suppression of workers in Llaucán, Vitarte, Arequipa, and a slaughter of Indians on the banks of the Napo river. Yet, he was doing what most Peruvian dictators have done. He was preserving a tradition of government by violence that with few intervals has lasted since Colonial times.

The technique of turning national into private funds has reached a great degree of refinement among Peruvian political leaders in one hundred years of practice, and Lima really likes and admires its distinguished dictatorial rascals who know how to perform the trick and insure themselves against the contingency of being snatched away at dawn from the governmental palace by a new crop of traitors. But Lima despises amateurish little tyrants, too obvious and clumsy in their financial maneuvers.

And she was disgusted with Benavides when his dictatorial days came to an end in 1915 and when the Civilista leader, José Pardo, after using the Hero of Caquetá to block Vice President Roberto Leguía, had himself "appointed" President by a political convention. Lima was disgusted with his vulgarity, and when he took leave, the populace hissed him and stoned his carriage until he disappeared into private life.

In Exile

From that time on he became a potential conspirator—for within the Peruvian circle of dictatorship to prevent revolution, and revolution to end dictatorship, conspiracy is a serious political function. Rulers keep potential conspirators away either by deportation or diplomatic appointment. And Benavides then began his diplomatic career.

The following year, 1916, he was

sent on a military mission to France, and in 1917, appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy. But then in 1919, another *cuartelazo* by Augusto B. Leguía drove Pardo and the Civilistas out of the national vaults. Benavides hastened back to the country and took up his duties as Conspirator No. 1.

When Leguía, in May 1921, deported him with a score of leaders to Australia on the liner Paita for plotting a revolution, he and his fellow-deportees organized a mutiny on the high seas, 1,500 miles off Callao. Armed with revolvers they had obtained somehow before being taken on board the ship, they overpowered the officers of the steamer, and directed the crew to turn about and steer to Costa Rica where the cargo of statesmen was landed. Some of his fellow-mutineers are today sharing power with him.

Then while Leguía sat at the dollar feast table of the 'Twenties, enraptured by the golden saxophones of American financial jazz, the Hero of Caquetá wandered in the obscurity of exile—still waiting for his chance. There remains no record of his wandering during the peak years of Leguía's dictatorship until 1928 when he issued from Guayaquil a ringing protest against Leguía's "tyranny" and against a treaty the Leguía government had signed with Colombia compromising the Leticia dispute. However, in later years Benavides is to do a similar thing.

By 1930 Leguía is tottering. The American purse that supported him has been closed, and American diplomacy has allowed Latin-American affairs to drift. As Leguía's hold grows weaker, the outburst of political revenge becomes more threatening. It is the moment to strike. But Benavides is in Paris, and this time, another *cuartelazo* Colonel, Sánchez Cerro, leading the southern forces, beats him to it. And when the new hero, who has put an end to Leguía's eleven years of dictatorship, flies to Lima in August 1930 and enters the Capital in a triumphal march amid a rain of flowers and the pealing of church bells, he is hailed as the savior of Peru.

The irony of it all! Sánchez Cerro has learned the art of President-snatching from Benavides himself, for he has been an officer in the force Benavides led in 1914 to haul Billinghurst out of the Pizarro Palace. It was there that Sánchez Cerro, in seizing a machine gun by the muzzle, had two fingers blown off. This new Colonel is a tough, reckless warrior. The Hero of Caquetá, now fifty-four years old, is a decaying figure before the new rival, fifteen years younger. There is no problematic jungle-clash bravery about Sánchez Cerro. His body has been hit by fourteen bullets in action. Did the Civilistas want a Colonel? Well—here was a new, a better one. And the Civilistas hasten to Sánchez Cerro's support.

The Hero of Caquetá feels eclipsed. And the shame of it all, eclipsed by an ugly, vociferous Indian! Sánchez Cerro has robbed him of a chance he has been waiting for during fifteen years. Sánchez Cerro stands now between him and the Pizarro Palace. But, wait—that Indian would see!

Another Chance

Sánchez Cerro has come to lodge in the Pizarro Palace at just the wrong time. It is 1931, and Peruvian economy is going through the worst of the depression. The brakes of international deflation have been jammed on Peru, political turmoil has interfered with tax collection, and the national treasury is wabbling. Besides, Sánchez Cerro has announced his "candidacy" for the presidency. There are other colonels who want to be heroes. A wave of counter-revolutionary outbreaks and juntas sweeps the country. Turbulence spreads. Finally, the Navy sends an ultimatum to Sánchez Cerro to resign, and the new dweller at the Pizarro Palace, who checked in so gloriously six months before, is compelled to check out. Then the provisional government which succeeds him sends him on a military "mission" to France.

Benavides sees another chance, and hurries back to Peru. But he finds he is unwelcome. Lima has forgotten the Hero of Caquetá—he is getting old. The Sanchecerristas hiss him upon his arrival. However he tries to be a compromise candidate, but the move fails. The Sanchecerristas emerge strong from a series of plots and counter-plots, and as a result of make-believe elections, Sánchez Cerro, who gets a grand reception upon his return in July 1931, assumes office as President the following December. No—it wasn't Benavides' chance yet.

Sánchez Cerro invites him to head his first cabinet. What! To serve under the vile, swaggering Indian rival? That would be to confess the end of his ambition to return to power. And Benavides refuses.

A Timely Threat

His real chance for a comeback appears only about a year and a half later, in 1932, when the Leticia dispute between Peru and Colombia has been drummed up by European, American and Japanese munitions makers into a war threat between the two countries. From London, where as envoy to the Court of St. James he has resumed his diplomatic career, Benavides offers his military services to Sánchez Cerro, but the distrustful rival does not accept. In spite of this, he gets back to Peru, and announces upon his arrival in March, 1933: "I have returned to help defend our sovereignty."

By this time Sánchez Cerro's popularity has vanished. He has turned out to be one of the most bloodthirsty of Peruvian despots. He has closed down newspapers, crowded San Lorenzo Island with prisoners, jailed or deported all the opposition members in Congress, killed thousands in northern Peru. And he is getting too insanely arrogant for the Civilistas to control. That is all to Benavides' good.

In the frenzied braggadocio of the Leticia war preparations, Benavides' sword regains the faded lustre of Caquetá, and Sánchez Cerro, probably afraid of him, is compelled to appoint him Chief of the Armed Forces of Peru. At that moment, anyone knowing Peruvian politics can foresee that Sánchez Cerro's days are counted.

Less than a month later, on April 30, 1933, Sánchez Cerro is assassinated after a military revue. The assassin, Alberto Mendoza, whose motives have never been established, fires two shots point blank at him, and as Sánchez Cerro is not wearing his coat of mail because of the excessive heat, they penetrate his left arm and breast. Mendoza is instantly killed and hacked to pieces by soldiers of the Republican Guard.

That same afternoon a puppet, panicky Congress, meeting in special session, "chooses" General Benavides as Chief Executive for the remainder of the presidential term ending December 8, 1936, although the new Constitution of Peru, proclaimed by that very Congress a few days before, on April 9, forbids the election of the head of the Army as Chief Executive.

The Apra

When the time fixed for a new election came in October, 1936, something new had happened in the Peruvian political scene. The rumblings of world social revolution had been heard in Peru, and the example of the Mexican Revolution and the trend toward economic nationalism in other more advanced Latin-American countries had aroused the incipient middle-class and

the new-minded youth in that country. The Apra, a new fighting movement that for the first time proposed to stop the anarchical course of Peruvian politics and undertake the task of a planned nationalistic economy, had captured the rising generation in a few years and had gained 51 out of 145 seats in the Chamber of Deputies in 1931. Sánchez Cerro and Benavides delivered brutal blows on the new movement—and October 1936 found the Apra driven underground by persecution, exile, jail and murder. It seemed quite safe for the dictator to hold "elections." The Apra was outlawed as "communistic." To decent, devil-fearing Peruvians, communism is not a doctrine, but some sort of satanic turpitude, as robbery or incendiarism. Of course, the Apra is not communistic. Its program could be called mildly progressive in the United States, but in medieval-minded Lima fading pink is flaming red. Having outlawed it, Benavides regarded it as good as crushed. The "election" was intended to have Prado, one of Benavides' *camarilla*, succeed him.

At the eleventh hour the Apra threw its available voting strength to a subterfuge candidate, Eguiguren. And when the vote computation began, Eguiguren was found to be leading with a plurality over the other three candidates. Benavides ordered the counting stopped, the polling voided, and on November 14, 1936, he had his Congress "extend" his term for three years until December 1939. Then he put the fascist touch to the episode by dissolving the Congress that had proclaimed him dictator by law. And now he is ruling the country by decree.

One camera shot of Benavides shows him attending as Chief Executive a mass of the Catholic Eucharistic Congress held in Lima a short while before the election, and receiving Communion from the hands of the Archbishop of Lima. His Grace is depositing the holy wafer upon his tongue. It happened that Eguiguren, the candidate disqualified as representing a dangerous, diabolical organization, had been for years no less than the Archbishop's lawyer. Thus by using an adviser of the hierarchy as their candidate, the Apristas had played a trick on Benavides. They forced him to come out into the open as a dictator, and they showed their electoral strength to the world. But, at the same time, they risked carrying into power a man in



Oscar Benavides addressing the Aviation Conference at Lima, Peru.

the service of the Catholic Church who was not an Aprista, and who might have turned the trick against them.

To sum up, during the two political decades since Benavides raided the Pizarro Palace in 1914, all the rulers of Peru, four in number, were overthrown, one by assassination; there were four *cuartelazos*; the presidential palace was attacked five times; half a dozen *coups d'état* were carried out, and seven *juntas de gobierno* set up and dissolved; and there were four provisional presidents chosen by fake congresses or otherwise. The grand total is—five dictatorships, and not a single real, or respected, election.

The Man

Benavides does not excite the slightest interest as a man. Some tropical dictators rise to power lifted by the driving force of character. Not so Benavides. It would be useless to seek an explanation of his rise in any great trait of character. He has none. There is nothing in his record that would single him out as remarkable in any sense. That jungle clash has been his only card in public life. He owes his luck to Leguia, who sent him as commander of the expedition, and to the Civilistas who have turned the Hero of Caquetá into their gendarme. The astuteness he is often credited with is a common trait among Peruvian politicians.

People who know him describe him as dull and insipid. Short and fat, with owlish eyes and distended abdominal lines, today, at sixty-two, his roundness has a bloated look. For his baldness, his protruding head, his facial pudginess and irregular features, his puffy complexion, his stumpy hands, his height and obesity, endocrinologists might classify him as a case of thyroid deficiency, which would explain his dullness. His vanity—a vanity that fluctuates between acts of great generosity to relatives and friends, and acts of relentless cruelty toward his enemies—is also a common trait among Peruvians of Spanish descent. This double-track vanity has been a traditional force in Latin-American politics.

His conception of government is that of a sergeant. When a friend asked him how hard he found it to be a ruler, he answered: "Not hard at all. You see—when I was a Captain, I commanded my company; when I was a Major, I commanded my battalion. Now I am President, and command the country." González Prada used to say that in Peru the presidency of the republic is the highest military degree.

Benavides belongs to the same political species that has produced the Batista variety in Cuba, the Trujillo variety in Santo Domingo, the Ubico variety in Guatemala and other specimen. But just now he leads them all in notoriety, for Benavides' fascist performance has become the star attraction in the Latin-American show. It is this Punchinellian performance, with the strings operated from Rome, and particularly the Caproni sensation, that has made him famous and has drawn world attention to an otherwise obscure Benavides of Peru.

This is the first of two articles by Mr. Arbaiza on Peru. The second, appearing in the next issue, will deal with Benavides' regime, and with the present political and economic situation in Peru.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S "LITTLE" NAVY

By JOHN C. WINSLOW

A CRITICAL situation in naval affairs confronted the first New Deal Administration. While the other powers had been initiating building programs designed to bring their navies up to the limits of the Washington and London Naval Treaties, we had been frankly resting on our laurels. It is true that from our standpoint the nineteen-twenties carried no hint of danger. Economically harassed, Europe was still reeling from the impact of the World War, and we were "sitting pretty" with our superior resources and our stubborn faith in disarmament limitation.

But world conditions began to change. In Europe and the Far East, the fatal pre-war philosophy was reborn. Aggressive nationalism was soon to reach its logical conclusion—war, undeclared but deadly—in the conquest of Ethiopia, the Spanish civil war, the invasion of China. Already Japan had pushed into Manchukuo.

Across the ocean, we were facing the climax of a twelve-year policy of inaction. Our hope had gradually turned into disillusionment. Continuation of our Coolidge and Hoover naval policy would have placed us, by 1936, far astern of Great Britain, and probably not ahead of Japan in actual strength.

It is barely possible that large scale construction might have been put off another year or so under a chief executive with isolationist tendencies, but the new president had no such leaning. By birth, environment, experience, and inclination, Franklin Roosevelt was the one man who could be counted on to build up our navy. His career as Assistant Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1920 had given him an intimate perspective of the naval scene from a naval point of view. He knew his subject, and he knew where to turn for support and advice.

Whatever may have been the vagaries of Mr. Roosevelt's civil and economic approaches to government, his naval policy was from the outset that of a realist. The treaties were at their last gasp; other powers were stepping up their building programs with alarming acceleration; the United States could afford to lose no time in the reestablishment of her prestige.

And no time was lost. In the spring of 1933, a $238,000,000 appropriation from N. R. A. funds for the purpose of building 32 new naval vessels heralded the first major construction program since 1916, and the Vinson-Trammell Act, passed in 1934, providing for building up to treaty strength, with systematic replacement and modernization of obsolete vessels, actually laid the keels of our present navy.

Japan's open denouncement of the Washington Treaty in the fall of 1934 set the stage for the present armament race, but before discussing that race, it may be useful to call to mind some of the basic facts about modern sea power.

In general terms a navy may be defined as a force of bases, armed ships, and men serving as an instrument of varying importance in the furtherance of national and international interests. Its chief unit is the fleet, a complete tactical grouping of different types of vessels, each category having peculiar and common functions of attack and defense, and a definite relation to the whole.

Battleships, with a complement of between 1200 and 1500 officers and men, constitute the fleet's main line of attack and defense. They carry the big, long-range guns, and their heavy armor enables them to withstand attacks from the air, the sea, and below the sea. Cruisers are the scouts of the fleet, the far-flung naval outposts. They guard against surprise, seek out the enemy, and establish preliminary contact. Destroyers form an outer circle around the battleships and aircraft carriers, protecting them against submarine attack. The submarines, in turn, seek to elude the depth bombs of the enemy destroyers, break through their lines, and discharge their deadly torpedoes, complicated, motorized, sub-surface projectiles, each costing thousands of dollars.

In time of war, the navy seeks to block the enemy's supply routes without precipitating any major engagement. However, if a large scale battle is necessary, the main object of the fleet is to destroy the enemy forces by bringing the big guns of the battleships into effective use. In order to accomplish this, control of the air is of primary importance. Our aircraft carriers each carry 70 planes. It is up to them to disable the enemy's fighting planes, or cripple the decks of the enemy carriers to prevent their taking off. Once control of the air has been attained, our own battleships' observation seaplanes may be catapulted from the decks and fly high and unhampered over the enemy's fleet to direct the fire of the big guns. When one considers the range of a 14, 15, or 16 inch gun, between ten and twenty miles, the value of accurate observation and correction of fire from a high altitude becomes evident.

Comparative Figures

The requirements of nations vary considerably in respect to types of ships. Italy, for example, is concentrating on submarines, destroyers, and torpedo boats, small, fast vessels of maximum effectiveness in restricted waters like the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Red Sea. England, with her widely separated possessions and her precarious geographical position, must be strong in all categories, particularly in light, fast cruisers that can go places quickly. The United States, in her fortunate isolation, points towards a strong defensive navy. In this connection it is significant that our battleships now under construction are designed for a maximum speed of 27 knots, whereas those building in foreign shipyards are less heavily armored and designed to make 30 knots.

According to Secretary of the Navy Swanson's report at the end of 1936, our navy, due to the unparalleled revival of building under the first Roosevelt Administration, was entering the new year a greatly strengthened organization. In 1936, 28 new vessels totalling 52,000 tons had passed into service, leaving 95 vessels, including 3

aircraft carriers, 11 cruisers, 63 destroyers, and 18 submarines in various stages of completion.

Great Britain

On February 16, 1937, in a "White Paper," vehicle of official government proclamation, Great Britain announced her intention of borrowing 400,000,000 pounds in the next five years as the first installment of a 1,500,000,000 pound rearmament project, and to embark immediately on the greatest naval construction program ever undertaken in time of peace. At Geneva last September, Mr. Eden stated that: "At present the aggregate tonnage of the principal types of warship actually building for the Royal Navy exceeds 450,000 tons. . . . Naval personnel is being extended at a rate without precedent in our country in time of peace."

Italy

Although there is no immediate danger of any other European Power threatening England on the sea, the nations are far from idle. Italy, next to Britain the most vulnerable to blockade, is seeking under her new regime to regain the sea power she lost centuries ago. Her navy today is a smart, well trained organization, specialized in destroyers, super-destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines. Her so-called "Mosquito Fleet," a flotilla of swift motorboats, manned by daredevils and capable of a speed of 47 knots, is a great potential force in her geographical position. Italy has two 35,000-ton, 30-knot battleships, the *Littorio* and *Vittorio Veneto* nearing completion, and two others, along with twelve new scouting cruisers, definitely projected.

Germany

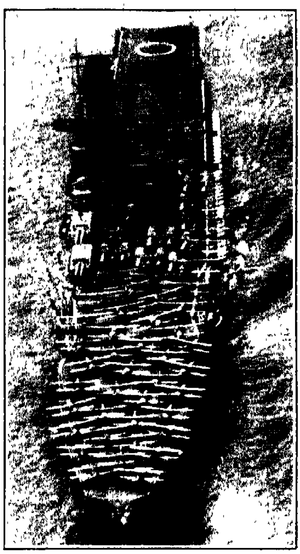
In Germany, two aircraft carriers, three 10,000 ton cruisers, six 1,800 ton destroyers, and sixteen 1,625 ton destroyers complete the main points in the Reich's present naval program, which will most certainly be expanded in the near future. With her notorious "Pocket Battleships," vessels high in nuisance value designed to get around the limits of the Versailles Treaty, and her four battleships under construction, the 26,500 ton Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and two 35,000 tonners, the German Navy will constitute a fighting force of great power for deep sea work.

France

As part of her vast arms program, which in 1937 cost $24 per capita, France is aiming at a capital ship squadron of nine fast, heavily armed vessels, which would make her a close fourth to Japan in sea power. Already she has finished the Dunkerque, a 26,500 ton, 13 inch gun ship of radical design, and her sister-ship, the Strasbourg, is well under way. The 35,000 ton Richelieu and Jean Bart are under construction.

Japan

Japan's rapid development towards a treaty navy was well known, but after 1936, the year set for the expiration of the treaties, she has been able to veil her building program in complete secrecy. That she is going ahead on a large scale is certain, but it seems extremely doubtful that she can equal the building activities of England and the United States and conduct the Chinese War at the same time. Substantial rumor has it, however, that three monster, 43,000 ton, 18 inch gun battleships, the largest ever planned, and 63 other men-of-war, are actually under construction in Japanese yards. When, and if, rumors of these super-battleships become facts, it will be interesting to note what steps the United States will take to counteract such effective bargaining trumps.



COMPROMISE. *The aircraft carrier seems to be the solution in the debate over the relative merits of airplane and battleship. The* U.S.S. LEXINGTON *is pictured above*

United States

As a general commentary on the armament race which began officially on January 1, 1937, it was revealed in the Navy Department's "Summaries of Comparative Naval Data," released last July 28, that 353 men-of-war of the five principal categories (battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers, and submarines) were known to be building in the shipyards of six sea powers, and that the rate of building was accelerating even faster than in the pre-war competition. Of those six powers, the United States was far from being the least active.

In May, 1936, Congress passed the $529,000,000 Navy Appropriation Bill for the fiscal year 1937-1938, a record peacetime provision, brought to vote in record time. Among the features of the bill was an allotment of $4,000,000 for starting construction on two $60,000,000 battleships of 35,000 tons each, provision for the laying down of 12 new destroyers and 6 submarines, construction of 333 new airplanes, and increase in enlisted strength from 93,000 to 100,000 men, with an additional 3,000 to be added the following year.

Of that enormous appropriation, $185,084,579 was spent on the pay, subsistence, and transportation of naval personnel; $130,000,000 on building; $49,500,000 on aviation; $24,429,800 on ordnance, including the manufacture of ammunition and target practice (it costs about $2300 to fire a 16-inch gun double salvo); $22,080,800 for the preservation and renewal of machinery; and $19,458,500 for the designing, repairing, maintenance, and alteration of naval vessels. The remaining $100,000,000 went for such miscellaneous items as the Marine Corps, the Naval Academy, the Navy Department at Washington, and the operation of the various navy yards.

Budget Bureau estimates indicated an allotment of $576,000,000 for the fiscal year 1938-1939, representing an increase of $47,000,000 over the previous year, and providing for 2 more battleships, 2 new light cruisers of 7,500 tons, 8 destroyers, 6 submarines, 1 minesweeper, 1 submarine tender, 1 fleet tug, and 1 oiler.

In addition to the various classes of ships being built, two new steel floating dry-docks for Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, are in the preliminary stage. One of them, the ARD-3, will be the largest in the world, 1,016 feet long, 45,000 tons in weight, 75 feet from top deck to keel, and with a beam of 165 feet (The *Queen Mary* is the same length, with a beam of only 118 feet). According to *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* of February 1937, this monster man-of-

war hospital, operating under its own bow and stern engines, containing living quarters, an infirmary, and a movie theatre, "will greatly facilitate maintenance and repair work on ships in the Pacific, and will add further to the importance of the Hawaiian Islands as a naval center."

Although our naval air force ranks about sixth among the powers in actual numerical rating (we have 1500 planes at the present time but are aiming towards 2000), it is second to none in efficiency. In addition to the regular officers who form the nucleus of this branch of the navy, we have a reserve of highly trained, hand-picked pilots ready for action at a minute's notice. Of 500 applicants, chiefly college graduates, applying for training at the naval air school at Pensacola, only 100 are accepted. At the conclusion of twelve months rigorous training in every kind of flying and technical study, only 50 of the original 100 are detailed for further instruction. The pilots selected spend two years with the fleet as cadet officers on the aircraft carriers or on the battleships and heavy cruisers, each of which carries from two to five seaplanes. At the conclusion of this term, and in addition to the regular salary they have been receiving, each aviator receives a lump sum of $1500 as a compensation for lost time, no small remuneration considering the fact that nowadays the average civilian three years out of college has seldom been able to save anything.

In striking contrast to our smart air machine, one branch of Mr. Roosevelt's Navy is at a low ebb both as to size and efficiency of operation. Fortunately, as a direct result of the Kennedy Maritime Commission, something is going to be done about our merchant marine, but it will be many years before we can point with any degree of complacency to that all-important wartime arm of the service.

Following Suit

Apart from the record budget appropriation which will most certainly become law during the current session of Congress, an additional $2,000,000,000 long term program designed to increase all categories by 20 per cent more than the present objective is being seriously discussed. It is extremely unlikely that any substantial yearly expenditure over and above the tremendous budget appropriation will be incurred, but that we will gradually step up our entire building program seems certain in view of what is happening in England. Her present aim in cruisers alone is 70, whereas our program calls for an eventual 42. As Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Naval Operations, said last winter on the occasion of the British Announcement, "It is a fair presumption that if any other power expands its navy appreciably we will have to follow." How swiftly, he neglected to mention. Due to the rapid development of new types of vessels during an armament race or a war, and the resulting acceleration of obsolescence, most naval officers "in the know" favor long term increases rather than any sudden building splurge.

In guessing at the future, it is useful to go outside expert opinion and consider the various minorities which seek to mould public opinion on naval policy. There are four distinct groups:

1. The isolationists, who maintain that there is no danger of the United States ever being attacked, that she should make no attempt to influence world affairs, and consequently, that a navy strong enough to police her trade routes should be wholly adequate. Though relatively weak today, the isolationist sentiment will always be a power throughout the middle west and other inland sections of the country. It is hard to visualize the practical necessity for battleships if one has never seen the ocean.

2. The "treaty navy" advocates, who would confine our navy to the limits of the expired treaties, believing that such a force would be capable of defending our independence and swinging the balance where we chose in the event of our entering another European war. However, this group is fast learning that with unrestricted competition it is impossible to set any arbitrary limitation. Naval strength is relative. Under one set-up their fleet might be the strongest in the world. On the other hand, if Japan were twice as strong, the precious "treaty navy" would be about as useful as a football team going into its climax game with only six men.

3. The "navy second to none" faction, including most of the naval officers and others connected with the navy, and favoring nothing less than absolute parity with Great Britain.

4. The "supremacy of the sea" extremists, who maintain that universal peace can only exist under the influence of a dominant sea power, as in the case of Athens, Rome, and England of the past, that the United States is the only nation qualified by isolation, impregnability, and wealth of resources to attain unquestioned naval supremacy, and that consequently, she holds the future of the world in her hands. There is, of course, ample historical evidence to support this theory. We did have a unique opportunity to achieve supremacy of the seas during the years immediately following the war, when the most powerful fleet ever projected was nearing completion in our yards, but we chose to scrap our ace in the hole in the cause of armament limitation. Could we have foreseen what is going on today, we might have played a different tune on our international fiddle.

Towards the Future

The naval program of the Roosevelt Administration, together with the obvious external factors, will probably leave us navy-minded for many years to come, although public opinion based on considerations of economy will never permit us to follow out the theory of group number four, any more than the preparedness bloc will ever yield to the policy of the isolationists.

Due to our natural position of "Great Neutral" in time of war, and Great Britain's comparative inability to side-step any European war, there appears to be no reason why we should attempt to match her ship for ship, bluejacket for tar. Undoubtedly we will continue to aim towards a navy "second to none," but the "second to none" will mean, actually, "not too far behind England, and comfortably ahead of Japan."

It is the conviction of many, including Mr. Roosevelt, that our present and future building programs are perfectly in accord with our aims toward the limitation of armaments. Certainly the success of the Washington Conference was largely due to our vast, potential strength at that time. Because of our geographical position, we must take the lead in future disarmament discussion —when any lead is taken. And it will be far more effective, if, instead of saying, "Why don't you scrap your ships down to our level?" we are able to say, "Let us put aside these arms together."

For the present, we can only repeat the question asked by Admiral Pratt in a 1935 article in *Foreign Affairs:* "Will the good beginning in the establishment of security and the preservation of peace made at the Washington Conference be allowed to pass into the limbo of forgotten things?"

In view of the tragic developments of the past three years, the answer must be: "Yes, temporarily, at least."

JAPAN PURSUES A DESTINY

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

WHAT began as a demonstration, designed to create in the Chinese a more cooperative or submissive attitude in regard to Japanese political and economic desires in North China, has turned into a major continental war of conquest. A million Japanese troops, in round numbers, are occupied today on a long imperial line running for thousands of miles, from the neighborhood of Vladivostok on the outer rim of the vast irregular arc that marks the northern frontier of Manchoukuo, around the steppes and deserts of Inner Mongolia, through the mountains of Shansi down to the Yellow River and beyond. A secondary sphere of conquest includes the lower valley of the huge Yangtze River up to and beyond Nanking. The regions which have been occupied since hostilities began last summer already amount to over 300,000 square miles.

Taken together with Manchoukuo, which is over three times the size of Japan proper, with the older Japanese colonial possessions, Korea and Formosa, with the outlining outposts of the Island Empire, South Sakhalin and the Kuriles in the North and the widely dispersed Mandated South Seas Islands in the South, the new acquisitions round out an empire of very respectable size.

And, although China seems likely to absorb Japan's energies for many years to come, the ambitions of its more outspoken nationalists do not stop there. General Matsui, with whom I had a long talk on the question of Pan-Asianism before the outbreak of the present war, expressed the view that Asia should be for the Asiatics, Europe for the Euopeans and America for the Americans. Admiral Suetsugu was even more emphatic in a recent magazine article, in which he declared:

"From the standpoint of world peace, unless the colored races are liberated and unless White domination of the world is reconstructed, the so-called justice and humanity so often advocated by the White peoples will remain only empty sounds. Unless the colored races are rescued from their miserable slavery under the yoke of the White peoples, there can be no world peace."

Now the rallying cry of the Pan-Asian movement, "Asia for the Asiatics," carries a distinct implication: Asia for the Japanese. For Japan has gained such a long start over all other oriental countries in military and naval power, in shipping, in industrial development that an Asia from which Western interests were eliminated would almost inevitably fall under Japanese hegemony, commercial if not political.



SILKEN PROPAGANDA: *A new Japanese design in silk print, now enjoying a wide popularity in Nippon, contains the flags and national anthems of Germany, Italy, and Japan.*

The course of hostilities in China gives impressive proof of the superiority of the Japanese over other Asiatic people in any test of material strength. A sixfold larger reserve of manpower and the advantages of a defensive position have been of little avail to the Chinese. The Japanese military machine has ground its way forward relentlessly. Japan has inflicted losses that are probably ten times greater than those which it has sustained. Japanese airplanes have bombed Chinese towns as far inland as Ichang and Chungking, on the Upper Yangtze, and Japanese warships have cut off a large part of China's normal trade. Meanwhile Japan's own factories, railways and shipping lines continue to operate on regular schedules without fear of interruption. The only Chinese reprisal from the air has been a raid, completely futile so far as military results were concerned, on Formosa.

If this has been the experience of China, what would be the chance, if pitted against Japan, without the aid of Western overlords or protectors, of countries which are even behind China in military and industrial advancement, of the Philippines, for instance, or Malaya, or French Indo-China, or the Dutch East Indies, or even India? The imperialist "burden" which Japan, under certain circumstances, may feel an impulse to take on her shoulders during the next decades is a huge one indeed. What are the factors, favorable and unfavorable, that affect Japan's prospects of taking her place among the great imperialist powers? They fall into several categories: the degree of resistance which may still be expected in China, Japan's economic ability to weather the financial strain of war and conquest, the measure of opposition which outside powers may show and Japan's own capacity, over a long period of time, to digest and develop new colonial areas. Let us weigh these four sets of factors in the balance as objectively as possible, without wishful thinking.

Possible Resistance

(1) Chinese resistance. I have talked with no military expert in the Far East who believes that the Chinese can hold any position over a long period of time in the face of a determined Japanese drive. China used up its best troops and best munitions in the protracted struggle on the outskirts of Shanghai. While the Japanese movement to close the gap between their conquests in North China and in Central China has proceeded relatively slowly this is mainly due to causes apart from the quality of the Chinese resistance. Among these may be mentioned the desire to achieve military objectives with a minimum loss of life,

the unfavorable winter weather, the extensive troop replacements which have been carried out in view of the likelihood of protracted hostilities and the need for "mopping up" and consolidating the territory which has already been occupied. But that the Japanese Army can take any place, within geographical reason, which they desire to take in China is scarcely open to reasonable doubt.

There still remain the possibilities of guerrilla warfare. Many Chinese and foreign sympathizers with China cling to the hope that small mobile units, adopting the tactics of swift attack and swift retreat, so consistently practiced by the Chinese communist armies during their long struggle against the Central Government, may succeed where efforts to oppose regular frontal opposition to the Japanese drives have failed.

It would be rash to draw too many analogies between the success with which the Chinese communists employed elusive guerrilla tactics in their campaigns against Chiang Kai-shek and the probable outcome of the same tactics against the Japanese. It is a decidedly different matter to catch by surprise or to elude the lax, poorly trained troops of the Central Government, most of whom had little heart for the struggle, and the keen, highly trained, merciless Japanese who are equipped to deal with guerrilla bands.

The Japanese must certainly reckon with passive resistance, apart from military operations. They have already been disappointed by the failure of any outstanding Chinese local warlord, of any distinguished name in the Kuomintang to come over to their side. But this obstacle does not seem insuperable. Men can always be had for places in a puppet government, some inspired by self-interest, others sincerely convinced that they can do some good by serving as at least a feeble buffer between the Japanese military authorities and the Chinese people.

A shrewd foreign observer in Manchoukuo once said to me:

"I never met a Chinese who does not, at bottom, hate the Japanese,—and this is true of Chinese who have accepted service in the Manchoukuo Government. But a Chinese can wait three hundred years, if necessary, until he finds a favorable opportunity for satisfying his hatred."

It would not be surprising if this same observation should hold good for the Chinese population of those regions which are marked out for a long period of virtual Japanese suzerainty. Active resistance, once its hopelessness is clearly demonstrated, may well give way to a kind of fatalistic sullenness.

Economic Vulnerability

(2) Economic strain in Japan. Advocates of economic sanctions against Japan argue that the country is so vulnerable to economic pressure that it could be brought to abandon its campaigns in China by concerted refusal to trade on the part of the United States, Great Britain and a few other countries. And Chinese nationalists with whom I talked during a recent trip in China expressed the hope that Japan would crack under the strain of war sooner than China. They contended that Japan is spending far more than China on the war and that the Japanese economic structure, because it is more modern and complex, is more liable to derangement than the more self-sufficient primitive peasant economy of China.

Apart from its ordinary budget of 2,867,000,000 yen Japan has prepared for the fiscal year 1938–39 (which runs from April until April) a war budget of 4,850,000,000 yen (the yen is worth about 29 cents). Almost all this war budget, 4,400,000,000 yen, to be precise, is to be raised by floating "red-ink bonds," as loans to cover budget deficits are called in Japan. There is also a deficit estimate of about 700,000,000 yen in the ordinary budget. As over a billion yen out of bond issues of 2,500,000,000 yen which were appropriated for the war last year remain unissued it is quite possible that the Japanese Government will be obliged to borrow six billion yen, a staggering sum in relation to Japan's national income and resources.

Such borrowing would increase the national debt, which now stands at about 12,000,000,000 yen, by about fifty percent and would be equivalent to three times the normal revenue from taxation, state monopolies and other sources. It is small wonder that some Japanese privately confess apprehension as to whether such huge bond issues may prove indigestible and lead to serious inflation.

The list of war economies is long and growing. The quality of Japanese goods for the domestic market, shoddy at best, is being further lowered by substitutions and mixtures designed to save on foreign currency which is needed to pay for imported raw materials. Pure wool and cotton fabrics for instance, will soon be a thing of the past, since it has been decreed that a certain percentage of staple fibre must be mixed with both wool and cotton. A large variety of foreign products, from toothpaste to liquors, have been struck off the roll of licensed imports.

The use of gold for ornaments has been forbidden. Silver and nickel currency is being replaced by paper and metal of baser quality. A rationing system for gasoline is soon to go into effect. Various technical measures to save on rubber and leather have been put into effect. New building for which steel is required has virtually ceased. Any deposit of gold or copper that gives any promise of a yield is being vigorously combed over. The gold output of the Japanese Empire, which was 105,000,000 yen in 1935, rose to 138,500,000 yen in 1936 and to 192,000,000 yen in 1937. Optimists look forward to an annual production in Japan, Korea and Manchoukuo of half a billion yen worth of gold within the next few years.

What would be the effect of sanctions on Japan's economy? It all depends on whether the sanctions were weak or strong. Such voluntary boycotts of Japanese goods as are now in progress in the United States, in England and in some other countries will cause some reduction in Japan's export trade, will make it necessary to draw in the belt of import control and public deprivation a little tighter, but certainly will not arrest the continental march of the Japanese war machine.

"Strong" sanctions, involving forcible interference with Japan's foreign trade and perhaps a long range naval blockade, and idea that seems to have been toyed with in some high quarters, would almost certainly mean war, which, in the present stage of world affairs, could scarcely be confined to Japan and the sanctionist powers. One statement that can be made with a fair degree of assurance is that Japan will not back down before a mere threat of foreign naval and economic pressure. A Cabinet that consented to what would be regarded here as a surrender, i. e., a withdrawal of Japanese forces from China under the threat of boycott or blockade would, in all probability, be promptly machine-gunned out of existence.

Calibre of Opposition

(3) This leads up to a consideration of the third element in Japan's chances of success as an imperialist power the amount of opposition to be antici-

pated from foreign powers. There are four such major powers which have, in one way or another, placed themselves on record as disapproving Japan's aggression in China. These are Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and France.

France may be left out of the reckoning; its main interest in the Far East is its valuable colony, Indo-China, which is not at the moment in Japan's line of expansion and its pre-occupations in Europe are obvious. Great Britain stands to lose more than any other power by the establishment of Japanese hegemony in Central China. Relations between Japan and Great Britain have been strained since the beginning of hostilities. British public opinion has strongly condemned the Japanese advance into China. Bellicose and communicative Japanese admirals have publicly discussed the ease with which Japan could take Hong Kong and denunciation of Great Britain as China's chief backer has become the stock-in-trade of the Japanese press.

However, singlehanded strong action by Great Britain in the Far East is quite unthinkable because of the European situation. What seems most probable is that British diplomacy will seek to salvage what can be saved out of the wreckage of British commercial interests in China and seek to bar the way to further Japanese southward advance by concentrating on the upbuilding of the powerful naval and air base at Singapore.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Japan are conspicuously bad. These two countries have been carrying on a competition in pinpricks and mutual aggravations almost unparalleled as between powers which maintain formal diplomatic relations. Espionage on each others' embassies, suspension of the exchange of military attaches, detention of ships, mutual refusal of entrance visas, border skirmishes—these are the commonplace amenities of Soviet-Japanese intercourse. Yet the balance of probability is against Soviet intervention in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Soviet airplanes and other munitions will be supplied to the Chinese for the purpose of protracting the struggle.

But Soviet ability to wage war successfully at the same time on European and Asiatic fronts which are some seven thousand miles apart is open to doubt and the European frontier is the vitally important one to the Soviet regime. Moreover, the recent wholesale executions and arrests of highly placed generals, diplomats, Communist Party and Soviet functionaries do not indicate a state of internal morale conducive to foreign adventures. Japan, on its part, certainly has no reason to seek a quarrel with the Soviet Union, at least until its aims in China are realized.

There remains the United States. America is not, like Great Britain and the Soviet Union, held back by imminent danger from potential enemies nearer home. And three factors, taken together, make for a constant element of strain in Japanese-American relations. The first of these is the constant liability of incidents affecting American lives and property because of the number and variety of American enterprises in war zones and the recklessness which Japanese (and not only Japanese) troops often display in moments of victory. The second is the belief held by many influential individuals in American public life in what they call the reign of law in international affairs and what Japanese and other expansionist peoples prefer to call the maintenance of the *status quo* for the benefit of powers which are sated with colonial possessions and natural resources. Third is the virtually unanimous dislike in America for what Japan is doing in China, a dislike compounded of elements as diverse as moral indignation at the invasion of a weak country by a strong one and mere national and racial dislike.

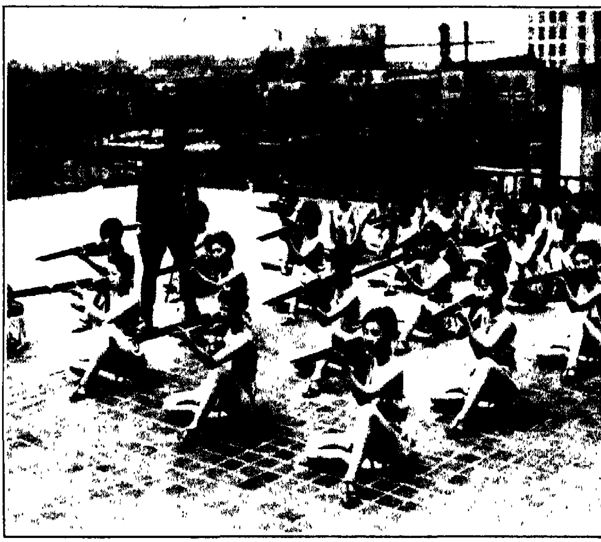
So, although the possibility of foreign intervention before the end of the Sino-Japanese conflict certainly cannot be ruled out, Japan seems to stand a very fair chance of averting it, providing that it displays a reasonable measure of diplomatic astuteness and military self-restraint in its dealings with third powers.

"Imperial Destiny"

(4) The last question is whether Japan is qualified to fulfill an imperial destiny, to take up the "burden" which Japan's Pan-Asian enthusiasts see as already slipping from the white races. Some empire-building qualities the Japanese do possess. They are hard-working, persevering, far superior to other Oriental peoples in capacity for commercial and industrial organization, as in military and naval power. Korea and Formosa do not compare unfavorably with many Western colonial possessions in efficiency of administrations and exploitation.

On the other hand, it is a familiar observation that Japanese in the colonies are apt to be much less pleasant than the Japanese at home. The sense of power over a subject people tends to make them aggressive, swaggering, dominating, to increase noticeably the tendency toward bureaucracy that is quite marked in Japan itself.

This is not a good omen for success in those regions of China where the Japanese wish to create not so



JUST IN CASE. *Japan expects no invasion but is taking elaborate precautions to guard against sudden attack, even to the extent of teaching young girls how to handle guns.*

much colonies as protectorates, leaving the details of administration in Chinese hands. Already in North China one can see a tendency, against the advice of those Japanese who take a more long range view of the situation, to annoy the Chinese needlessly by interfering in small matters where there is a difference between the Japanese and the Chinese ways of doing things. Moreover, Japan is a comparatively poor country and empire-building is expensive. One symptom of distress is the turning over of the heavy industries in Manchoukuo to a powerful Japanese capitalist concern, the Japan Iron Industry, whose President, Mr. Y. Ayukawa, has openly expressed himself in favor of inviting foreign capital to assist the development of the country. Prominent Japanese businessmen advocate the same idea in regard to North China.

But, whether the white man's burden proves ultimately too heavy or not, there can be no question as to Japan's intention to assume it. Twice in the history of modern Japan were there retreats from continental conquests. Under the pressure of joint representations by Germany, France and Russia Japan gave back to China the Liaotung Peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. And American pressure of a milder kind, combined with a postwar growth of liberalism in Japan itself, helped to bring about a withdrawal from Siberia and Shantung after the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–1922. To-day there is not likely to be any turning back. Japan feels vastly stronger than she did in 1895 or in 1921 and she counts on the aid of her European friends, Germany and Italy, to parry any interference with her plans from that quarter.

War Prizes For Japan

By HARVEY WERTZ

ONE tenth of the world's population has come under the invader's sword in recent months. The rich and fertile plains of the Yangtze Delta are home to 200,000,000 Chinese, the last great bloc of cheap labor in the world.

Mulberry trees shoot silvery green leaves for the silk worms in February. The showers of April flood the paddy fields for the rice planting. In August, wheat, barley and millet are planted for harvest in November. Cotton is another cash crop easily transported to market over the hundreds of canals.

But fertile farms and cheap labor are not the only war prizes. Nanking, Soochow, Hangchow and Wuhu are important not only for their own wealth but because of the taxes they will yield. Nanking was the greatest city in the world long before the birth of Christ. Eight times it has been the capital of China. The tombs of the Mings and of Dr. Sun Yat Sen are here. This section is the China of modern highways, sanitary systems and water supply.

"Heaven above, Soochow and Hangchow below," is a saying of the Chinese which shows their love and respect for these two cities. Half the colleges of China are in the conquered area.

Cultured silk worms produce the finest white silk in the world on this plain. Marco Polo, jaded by his years of travel, found rest here and served as a lesser magistrate near Nanking. The population is patient, plodding at work from childhood to old age. And the citizen's nature is reflected in a favorite proverb: "It is a little thing to starve, it is serious to lose one's virtue."

Fifteen per cent of the area is swamp, lakes, canals or rivers. The simple huts of the farmers are built around brick ovens which hatch the silk worms. Chinese families live in the incubators. Eggs are stored in their homes and dipped in salt solutions in December, in mulberry tea in February. Between dippings the eggs are wrapped in fine paper and kept in stone jars.

The oven is stoked with cow dung and mulberry wood in December. Late in March the fuel is ignited and after the first smoke has cleared, it burns slowly without smoke or flame for a month. During this period of incubation the farmer puts the eggs in his bed on rising in the morning and covers them with his cotton padded clothing which he has worn through the day when he retires at night.

Not only body heat is transmitted to the eggs but also disease which the plodding farmer regards as regrettable but impossible of prevention. If the season is right the leaves of the mulberry are the size of the bowl of a tea spoon when they hatch between 8 and 10 p.m. on April 5 each year.

Thousands of worms must be fed, and the entire day of the farmer and his family is spent in cutting leaves so tiny the worms may eat them.

Disaster is upon the farmer if the supply of mulberry leaves fails as the silk worms are hatched. He may sit down and watch his worms die of starvation or he may pawn everything he owns in an effort to obtain money to buy the high priced leaves for his hungry army.

Suddenly with the spring floods, the rice season is with the farmer. He has three tools, a hoe, a wooden plow with an iron tip and a spade. His beast of burden is a water buffalo, which depends for its grazing on the grave mounds which dot the countryside.

The farmer's food is rice and pickled carrots, three meals a day. His family is large and hungry. This is the life of the farmer, the first prize in the war games today.

Salt duck is the principal export of Nanking although it is world renowned for its porcelains, damasks and brocades woven there. A million men, women and children live in Nanking behind the twenty-two miles of wall that held back the Tartar but fell before the Japanese artillery fire.

During the third, fourth and fifth centuries it was the capital of the nation. The Mings brought it back to prominence and in 1911 Dr. Sun Yat Sen established the nationalist government within its walls. Ten years ago a $20,000,000 building program was launched. Parks, highways, a stadium were all built. The biggest refractory telescope in the Orient is here.

Minor prizes in the war games are the smaller cities and seaports, the 75 cotton mills, 45 silk mills, and a dozen large factories on the plains.

But the natives accept the invader with age old philosophy. Renting their boats and their homes to him, they say "They are not good fists that fight, they are not good words that curse."

STATES GET TOGETHER

A "Cosgo" today operates in what has been described as a legislative "No Man's Land"

By MARC A. ROSE

ONE outstanding weakness in our system of government, as many profound students have pointed out, is the existence of a legal "No Man's Land," the area in which the Federal authority does not operate, and where no single State can act effectively. Lurking within the blurred boundaries of this region are many of the most vexatious problems of our day, ranging from flood control, power development and conservation to the efficient prevention of crime. Thoughtful men believe that the ultimate form of our government depends upon what power moves into this "No Man's Land."

President Roosevelt believes the alternatives are Federal occupation of the twilight zone or intolerable chaos, a return to "horse and buggy" days as he remarked with some bitterness upon one famous occasion. But if the Federal power is thus extended, in the opinion of so eminent a historian as James Truslow Adams, "that will lead almost certainly to the totalitarian state, which cannot be run except by a dictatorship in some form."

It sounds like a hard choice—chaos or dictatorship. But perhaps we need not face it, after all. For there is a third course which may lead to a sound solution — combined action by the States wherever their interests are common. For the first time in our history, workable machinery for continuous cooperation among the States has been created. Thirty-six States have set up permanent interstate cooperation commissions and clothed them with adequate official powers. Together, they form the Council of State Governments —"Cosgo" for short—which is relatively new but increasingly useful.

Typical of the field in which it operates is the Great Lakes fisheries problem. The Federal government has no authority over these fisheries, and no State can regulate fishing beyond its borders. Over-fishing has seriously depleted this great natural resource. Equipped with the deadliest mechanical gear they have been able to devise, the commercial fishermen have wiped out one valuable species after another.

Supply of the most famous of all Great Lakes species, the Lake Superior whitefish, has shrunk 65 per cent in five years. Lake Erie fishermen caught 21,500,000 pounds of ciscos, fresh water herring, in 1924; now it is no longer possible to catch them on a commercial basis.

For years, the States have held conferences among themselves attempting to work out an effective conservation program. To be precise, there had been 21 such meetings since 1883. Lacking practical machinery for cooperation, their efforts came to nothing.

A few weeks ago, the eight States affected got together again in Detroit —but with a difference. This time, the conferees were not men from civil life appointed by the Governors to do this one job. They were, instead, the permanent members of the interstate cooperation commissions. In other words, they were the legislators who will sponsor the projected uniform State laws and fight them through the legislatures, and the men who will administer the laws when they are passed. That is why it looks as if something really might be done, at last. Drafting of laws with teeth in them is now underway.

New Jersey set up the first interstate cooperation commission in 1935, winning the honor from Colorado by a few days. By the end of 1935, there were seven; by the end of 1936, seventeen; eighteen more States acted in 1937; one so far in 1938. The twelve remaining States are showing a lively interest; most of them are cooperating informally through committees, and in 1939, the odd-numbered year in which legislatures traditionally meet, the roll call will become virtually complete.

Organizational Setup

Commissions typically consist of five senators, five members of the lower house, and five administrative officials. A new interstate capitol building for their secretariat is nearing completion in Chicago—a sort of League of Nations palace for the States. "Heretofore," as someone remarked at a Cosgo meeting, "it has been easier for the United States to negotiate with Siam than for two adjoining States to reach an agreement, just because there was no permanent machinery for such negotiations." Now the States have set up departments of foreign affairs. Often Cosgo meetings on specific problems have the coöperative advice of Federal authorities who are experts in the matters involved.

Most spectacular success of the interstate commissions has been in the field of crime. They have created a permanent body on crime with offices in Newark, New Jersey, which works with the Central Secretariat in Chicago. In the fall of 1935, it agreed upon a four-point program. In some haste, because the legislatures of several States were to meet in January, 1936, the commission called upon twenty-six law schools, from Harvard to California and from Michigan to Louisiana, for help. Professors met with the commission, submitted drafts, and from the combined drafts were modeled four statutes.

One of them gives officers in "fresh pursuit" of a criminal authority to ignore State lines—arms the New York State trooper with the same powers in New Jersey that he has at home, if he is not more than twenty-four hours behind his quarry. Twenty-two States have adopted that law within two years!

A second law simplifies, expedites and makes uniform the process of extradition. Eighteen States have adopted it. A third makes possible the extradition of material witnesses—a new and most important step which twenty-two States have taken. Fourth on the program is legislation whereby a State agrees to supervise the paroled convicts within its borders if they come from States which have similar laws, and twenty-one States have signed up to do that. Fifteen States have adopted all four laws; more will come along when legislatures meet again. Thus are the States, through their new machinery for cooperation, making it as easy for the law to reach across State lines as it always was for the criminal.

Possibly this movement was accelerated by the bewildering case in which a New York State trooper was kid-

napped and taken across New Jersey to Pennsylvania in a car with Michigan license plates driven by escaped convicts from Ohio who were believed to have held up a cashier in Philadelphia for $60,000 the day before. To finish the story, part of the gang eventually shot it out with cops in New York City. Meanwhile, the brains, the Big Shot of the gang never left Ohio. He couldn't be touched; he was not a fugitive from Pennsylvania and he hadn't broken any law in Ohio. Under the model extradition act, he and the other necessary witnesses, could now be yanked across the line.

Rivers do not flow in accordance with State boundaries. A public impatient of the ineffectiveness of piecemeal effort is demanding flood control, water conservation, and the cleaning up of pollution. The result has been sharp conflict between the Federal government, which has been reaching out for control of interstate streams, and the States, which have sharply rapped the outstretching Federal knuckles.

Under the aegis of the Council of State Governments, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York have set up the Interstate Commission on the Delaware River, "Incodel," for short. The commission's ambition is to work out a comprehensive plan for the best use of the last great drinking water supply in the East that is not already fully exploited—with an eye, meanwhile, to flood control, recreation and industrial use. An aim less openly avowed is to forestall Federal control.

A technical staff is at work surveying, drawing plans. Cities in the four States are considering supply projects which call for two billion gallons of water a day from the river, and will cost a half billion dollars. Engineers, as a result of preliminary studies, say that gravity water supply for New York City, northeastern New Jersey, Philadelphia and southeastern Pennsylvania can be developed at extremely low cost per gallon, and still maintain adequate flow at Trenton, New Jersey, head of tidewater. Moreover, the dams for water supply reservoirs will check floods.

Uniformity in Regulations

One important achievement already is the establishment of uniform standards of cleanliness and purity for the waters of the Delaware from the New York-Pennsylvania boundary to Trenton. A committee of Incodel, composed of the chief engineers of the health departments of the four States, set up the standards which are now in effect. New industrial plants must treat their wastes. Cities discharging sewage into the stream will build treatment plants according to a regular program

A similar commission on the Ohio River has been formed and is just getting to work.

Conferences on the broad question of highway safety were held under Cosgo auspices in 1936, 1937 and 1938, attended mostly by officials from Eastern States. They are making considerable progress toward uniformity. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania exchange reports on motor vehicle law violations. The conference has endorsed model legislation calling for inspection of all motor vehicles at stated intervals, a process which in States that have adopted it has caused a great improvement in brakes, headlights and the like

Not all the work of the interstate commissions is as grandiose as the Delaware River plan, or as spectacular as the war on crime.

The first interstate compact negotiated through Cosgo machinery merely set up a joint authority to operate Palisades Interstate Park which straddles a New York-New Jersey boundary and used to be plagued with political bickerings. The same two States have worked out an agreement on shad conservation in the Hudson river after about a century of squabbling. Fishermen in both States now will lift their nets for twenty-four hours each week during the season to let part of the schools escape upstream and spawn.

New York, Vermont, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have passed laws giving their fish wardens authority to make arrests across State lines in boundary lakes and streams.

Several States have adopted uniform regulations for labeling of liquor, its transportation across State borders, not for sale, and the sale of liquor warehouse receipts.

The social security laws have created new puzzles which are being studied by an interstate commission. Conforming to a program it has worked out, nine States have passed uniform legislation covering the migration of persons on relief, and regulating the establishment of domicile.

The Council of State Governments

The Declaration

The following is "The Declaration of Interdependence of the Governments within The United States of America," signed on January 22, 1937 by the representatives of States comprising the Council of State Governments:

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a nation to repair the fabric which unites its many agencies of government, and to restore the solidarity which is vital to orderly growth, it is the duty of responsible officials to define the need and to find a way to meet it.

A way does not come of itself. The maintenance of just and efficient government is as intricate, as arduous, and as imperative as any human endeavor. One hundred and fifty years ago our forefathers faced their necessity and formed a new union. They found a way.

And from that beginning in 1787 sprang history's finest example of the democratic form of government—a government dedicated to the preservation of every man's endowment of life, liberty, and happiness.

Inevitable changes have come. The fundamental pattern of States, united for the benefit of all the people, remains the same as it was when the founding fathers wove it. But the far-flung tapestry of our many governments has stretched so taut that the fabric was weakened. . . .

Now, for the first time since that memorable day when the form of our Constitution was determined, official delegates of the States are gathered together with representatives of their central government and with representatives of their local governments, as good neighbors, seeking to revive the original purpose—"to form a more perfect union."

It was meant that the States, while creating a nation, should yet preserve their own sovereignties and a maximum of self-government. But now if the claim of States' rights is to prevail, it must be justified by a demonstration of States' competence. When our union was formed, there was no land transportation, nor any remote communication, except by the plodding foot of horse or man. But since that time, our society has been revolutionized by the advent of

grew out of one man's idea and has been carried to success by one man's perseverance. Henry W. Toll, Denver attorney, was elected to the Colorado Senate in 1923. His Harvard-trained legal mind, accustomed to orderliness and to the search for precedent, was shocked when he discovered that Colorado legislators had no shred of information about the experience of other States. When a question of motor vehicle regulation arose, nobody knew what other States had tried and found successful, or foolish.

He tells of a real estate lobby pushing a bill. "I don't think it will work," said a committee chairman. "Seventeen States have adopted this law, and it works fine," retorted the glib lobbyist.

"Nobody could dispute him," Mr. Toll remarks. "Yet we should have known the facts as a matter of routine."

In 1925, he started issuing, at his own expense, a four-page pamphlet called "The American Legislator." Its theme was that lawmakers all over the country ought to have an association, like a bar association, through which they could exchange experience, get mutual assistance on problems, and raise lawmaking to professional standards.

He sent out a call for a meeting to be held in Denver in 1926 to organize the American Legislators' Association. He timed his meeting to coincide with the convention of the American Bar Association, and representatives of a dozen States met, agreed it was a good idea, and formed an organization. The Bar Association gave it a friendly word of approval. But it almost died in 1927. Henry Toll sent notices to the 7,500 legislators of the country to meet in Buffalo. Five showed up—four reporters and a lobbyist.

Nevertheless, Mr. Toll kept plugging away, publishing his little paper and keeping up a voluminous correspondence. He believed in his idea and was well able to afford the expense. In 1929, Senator George Woodward of Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania began to make contributions. Three other legislators gave some money. Next year came the big break: the Spelman Fund offered money and an office in Chicago. Chicago was chosen because of its central location and because of the obvious advantage of close association with the faculty of the University, intensely interested in Henry Toll's attempt to bring order out of interstate chaos.

The Legislators' Association took on life. It held important meetings in 1932; its members began to keep a reference bureau exceedingly busy at headquarters; it called a highly successful interstate assembly in Washington in 1933, as a result of which a permanent commission was set up which is still at work with the Federal officials on knotty problems of conflicting taxation.

It was rapidly becoming apparent that not only the legislators needed this machinery for cooperation, but other departments of State government as well. That is what led to the organization of the Council of State Governments in 1935. The New Deal, with its steady pressure for centralization of powers, undoubtedly has given impetus to the movement. There is much justice in the assertion that the States have failed in many respects to do a good job. Some better means of getting things done had to be found, or no one could justly say much against Federal assumption of power. That is why thirty-six States have joined up in three years, and why the rest are waiting in line.

First president of Cosgo was Governor John G. Winant of New Hampshire; the second was Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana; the third is Governor R. L. Cochran of Nebraska. The Council works closely with the Governors' Conference, but is not formally linked to it. The Council is a joint governmental agency; the Governors' Conference is purely unofficial.

The real test of the new machinery will come when the Council of State Governments leaves such non-controversial matters as crime control and takes the offensive in matters where there is serious economic rivalry, and where big business interests haul legislatures this way and that. The Great Lakes fisheries case, be it noted, is something of a test. For fifty years, the commercial interests have been able to play one State against another so skillfully as to abort all efforts to cut down the intensity of fishing.

Yet, to quote James Truslow Adams again, this "is the only way of preserving democratic institutions and the freedom of the spirit. No work being done today in America is of more vital importance than that being done for State cooperation. The public does not hear much of it, but it should hear a great deal more."

of Interdependence

transportation as swift as the wind and of communication more rapid than lightning. Our area has trebled. The number of our people has increased beyond belief.

How have our governments met their mutual problems brought by this modern era?

They have developed a "No Man's Land" of jurisdiction.

In thousands of instances their laws are in conflict, their practices are discordant, their regulations are antagonistic, and their policies are either competitive or repugnant to one another.

In taxation alone, scores of conflicts between Federal and State laws exist.

The interstate criminal is a standing headline on Page One of every newspaper.

The forty-eight States pass laws on crime, labor, taxation, relief, corporations, parole, domestic relations and other questions momentous to our social and economic system, with no thought of harmony. And this discord has been further stitched into our pattern of life by all other agencies possessing the power of legislation.

This is not as it should be.

The trend of Federal-State projects, exemplified by social security, demands immediate action if those projects are to succeed completely. . .

Through established agencies of cooperation, through uniform and reciprocal laws and regulations, through compacts under the Constitution, through informal collaboration, and through all other means possible, our nation, our States and our localities must fuse their activities with a new fervor of national unity.

We, therefore as representatives of the officers of government here assembled, do solemnly pledge our loyal efforts to the accomplishment of such purposes.

As our forefathers by the Declaration of Independence affirmed their purpose to improve government for us, so do we by this Declaration of Interdependence affirm our purpose to improve government for our contemporaries and for our posterity.

AUSTRIA: POST MORTEM

When a divorcee remarries her former husband it is assumed she could not live without him

By ROBERT STRAUSZ-HUPÉ

POST-WAR Austria could not live alone. If exist she could Hitler might have never become the power he is today, and could not have imposed his will on a people with a proud independent history. This is the truth behind the success of German pressure-politics in Austria, the truth behind the uneven match of Hitler versus Schuschnigg, and behind the world's acquiescence to what now seems, but was not, inevitable.

The Congress of Vienna, convened in 1813 to liquidate the Napoleonic wars, left Europe a jig-saw puzzle gone awry. A shapeless conglomeration of states spread their multicolored territories over the map of Europe—from big Austria and Prussia down to the minute principalities of the Offenbach operettas.

It took sixty years of ceaseless effervescence, the profound economic repercussions of the Industrial Revolution, and four major wars to correct the glaring absurdities of the Vienna settlement. From the torment of two generations rose at last a new order, with nations capable of developing the greatest and most widely shared prosperity Europe had ever known. The milestones on this European path to order were: the creation of the German Empire, the unification of Italy under the crown of Savoy, and the Austrian Empire's withdrawal from the struggles for European hegemony, from Germanic rivalry and precarious conquests in Italy. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—at last a true Danubian power—turned to the development of its own vast resources. The new order so established gave Europe what she never had had before: forty-five years of peace on her soil.

It was the strain of economic forces—latent but hardly recognized at the beginning of this Golden Era—which undermined the edifice that the nation-builders had erected. The system of European balances could not survive five years of general conflict for which nineteenth-century statesmanship had bequeathed neither the rules of conduct nor the methods of reconciliation. The victorious Allies of the World War reverted to the hallowed procedure adopted by the joint victors over Napoleon: a congress with the most comprehensive participation, dominated by the powerful few, propounding a new principle of European settlement, viz.: the right of national self-determination. The comprehensive wisdom of the conferees of 1919 and the exigencies of the two great powers who controlled the proceedings are compressed in the documents designated as the peace treaties of Versailles, of St. Germain and of Trianon. Out of the maze of opportunism, confusion, and sheer ignorance in which peace-making lost its ultimate objective, emerged the four major anachorisms of Europe's new political geography: the demilitarised Rhineland Zone, the Polish Corridor, the reduction of Hungary to one third of its pre-war territory and population, and Little Austria appended to Greater Vienna. The absurdity of the first on grounds of national sovereignty, the absurdity of the second on grounds of elementary common sense fades into insignificance before the arbitrary operation which severed Austria from the community of the Danubian peoples. Her life had been conditioned since time immemorial on her co-existence with these peoples. The new nation-builders placidly decreed divorce. The Danube Monarchy of which Bismarck said, that it would have to be invented if it did not exist, lay safely buried in new Austria's narrow corner.

Slow Starvation

Post-war Austria: in the main a picturesque and sparsely populated Alpine landscape; and near the western border, metropolitan Vienna sheltering nearly one-third of the country's total population of six million. This city, lately the economic and administrative nerve center of a realm comprising fifty-six million people, sprawls at the foot-hills of the Alps—a stranded whale, from which the tides had receded. Once the market place of a vast economy, well balanced between industry and agriculture, it lacked now the mere victuals to stave off slow starvation. Whatever chance Austria then may have had to reopen the roads on which the rich trade of the Monarchy had travelled was lost in her neighbors' scramble for economic self-sufficiency Tariff walls, incubator-bred national industries fostered by the hatreds of a new jingoism, rendered economic collaboration impossible.

The best the master minds who had remade the map of Europe could suggest was: that Austria should be given relief, access to the international capital markets, and the encouragement of tourist trade.

The first decade of the Austrian republic was, internally, a period of struggle for political control between the exponents of the proletarian city population and the leadership of the peasantry, predominantly catholic and monarchist. "Anschluss," notwithstanding the agitations of small cliques, presented little of a life issue in domestic political controversy. Austrians as a whole were not pro-German. The humiliation of 1866, when Prussia had invaded and defeated Austria, still rankled the older generation. Five years of war-time association with the German brother-in-arms had alienated Austrian sentiment. German overbearing had wounded Austrian pride, and the brusque disregard of the German military for Austrian susceptibilities had, by the end of the war, bred a deep and scarcely disguised resentment.

Hope and Despair

Post-war Austria turned hopefully to its enemies of yesterday, to France and England, for friendly assistance in its plight. Even before the war, Vienna had been the home of a sectarian pan-Germanism. Its appeal in those carefree days seemed not more formidable than the gospel of anti-Semitism, also elaborated in Vienna, and destined to lend irresistible appeal to the repertory of Adolf Hitler. But up to the early 1930's the pan-Germans had an even smaller following among the Austrian people than had the Jew Baiters. Austria, terribly weakened by the war and facing the new problems of economic rehabilitation, had little taste for extremist movements which would have

gesture of an embattled League of Nations—drove Italy into the arms of her one willing provider, Germany. Italy bought German support at the price of Austria, and relinquished her guard over Austrian independence at the Brenner Pass. German-shipped raw materials rolled into Italy over the ancient Alpine high-road, and helped Mussolini to outstare the British Navy in the Mediterranean.

London and Paris, aware that any German-Italian understanding could not have been concluded except at Austria's expense, grew alarmed. Czechoslovakia, having missed few opportunities to remind Austria how low she had fallen, decided at last that her one free bridge to western Europe was worth saving. M. Hodza, the Czech Premier, offered, with warmth and twenty years too late, a plan of economic collaboration. Distinguished Englishmen and Frenchmen visited Vienna, and, having spoken encouraging words, repaired to the unprobable but natural stage-settings of the Salzburg Festival.

Diplomatic Time Table

Six months before the dramatic Berchtesgaden interview, the powers which moved the marionettes on Austria's political stage had agreed on the schedule of events. Semi-private Monarchist rallies, and the sedate demonstrations of the Fatherland Front still diverted the public from the denouement of the plot. Schuschnigg's visit to Berchtesgaden precipitated the crisis. It is not surprising that he complied with peremptory convocation before der Fuehrer's judgment seat. Surprising it is that he dared delay the showdown so much longer than Herr Hitler's truculent impatience made advisable for the successor of the Nazi-murdered Dollfuss. That the decks had been cleared for German action was known to European political insiders for months, and the dramatic staging of the final move acquired its quality of lightning suddenness only in the press reports. M. Chautemps, the French Premier, had overthrown his own cabinet on January 14th, and was publicly warned from the opposition benches in the Chamber that Hitler would profit from the common failing of politicians to mistake defense of party interest for defense of the realm, and would pocket Austria. In February, France indulged in her second cabinet-crisis and Hitler promptly struck—as predicted. Hitler's timing, designed to offset the disturbing features of his army purge, probably advanced the date by several months, but the issue had been settled not later than in early fall. It is safe to assume that Rome had been apprised of the project before Mussolini's pilgrimage to Berlin and to Krupp's armament plants.

Hitler's English sympathizers had prepared the ground for a change of Britain's foreign policy, necessary to leave Herr Hitler in the undisturbed enjoyment of his Austrian gains. The Press Lords, Rothermere and Beaverbrook, masters of more than a third of England's daily newspaper circulation, had long shared Herr Hitler's confidence. Empire isolationist, anti-communist, and as pro-fascist as its public will stand for, this section of the English press had barked viciously at Mr. Eden's pro-League policies. Trusted emissaries had kept in close touch with Hitler's entourage, and the mighty makers of English public opinion were ready to see Central Europe in the Berchtesgaden perspective. The nature of this understanding—and an understanding it was, notwithstanding the comprehensible anxiety of principals and intermediaries to divert the attention of a bewildered public—reveals itself only in the skillful co-ordination of determined drives for several but related objectives.



NAZI PROTAGONIST: *When given an opportunity to flee Vienna before the Nazi invasion, Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg said: "My conscience is clear. I prefer to face my accusers."*

Dressing the Dummy

The Press Lords arrayed Hitler in the shining armour of Europe's defender against the abominations of Moscow, and denounced Mr. Eden as the peevish boy who had kept staunch but peaceable Mussolini sulking in the corner. Turning their critical attention to national defense they voiced concern. British rearmament—to which every likely and unlikely plant in England had contributed at full blast for two years—appeared sufficient to deal with some Asiatic emergency, but lamentably inadequate to check the trespasses of European dictators. France, armed to the teeth and returning to the traditional middle-road of her domestic politics, was painted "red" and deemed an untrustworthy ally in an eventual pinch. In short: England could not afford a show of strength.

When Hitler moved, the combined persuasiveness of England's most powerful news-organs could be relied upon to make the second Ethiopia on the Danube palatable to the public. The London Times, so long highly critical of Hitler's Germany, swung into line. Having, in its inimitable style, deplored Nazi inhumanities and overbearing, it now advised its readers that Hitler's interference in Austria's domestic affairs presented no cause for British indignation. Official England looked on with mute detachment while "the German dictator laid his heavy hand on a small but historic country," as Mr. Winston Churchill expressed it with his fine feeling for accuracy and style.

Why England should now choose a course so obviously in contradiction with the recent utterances of her leading statesmen has been stated by M. Chamberlain at length. His case, which can be reduced with brevity to Britain's determination to avoid a clash with Germany and Italy at all costs, cannot be but of faint interest to the friends of Austria. British foreign policy retreated from Central Europe as

AUSTRIA

The Austria of today is a mere remnant of the former Austrian Empire. It is about the size of the four New England States of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. In the pre-war days of Emperor Francis Joseph of the Habsburg dynasty the Austro-Hungarian Empire had 261,259 square miles and a population of 51,000,000. And it was the assassination of the heir presumptive to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, by a Serbian at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, that precipitated the World War. On Nov. 12, 1918 the victorious World War allies proclaimed Austria a republic. From that day until the present Austria, greatly reduced in size and population, suffered an economic plight equalled by few countries in world history. Of Austria's 6,760,000 inhabitants some 6,100,000 are Roman Catholics, with 300,000 Protestants, and 190,000 Jews.

antagonized those from whom she expected help.

At the close of the young republic's second decade international expert opinion agreed that the Austrian Nazis, wishing to merge a national independence of a thousand years into German sovereignty, would have carried a popular referendum. Notwithstanding contradictory press reports, Chancellor Schuschnigg's refusal, after the Berchtesgaden interview, to test pro-German sentiment at the polls permits, by inference, a guess at the Austrian Nazis' numerical strength, and his belated plans for a plebiscite which never came off. By imposing an age limit of 24 years to voters on the issue of Austrian liberty, the Chancellor merely confirmed what everybody knew: the strength of the Nazi movement resides in the post-war generation.

Attempting to explore the causes which wrought this change, it is necessary to reiterate the introductory statement that Austria could not live alone, and that the overwhelming majority of her people believed that she must break her economic isolation. The resurrection of the old community of the Danubian peoples, enlarged perhaps to comprise greater Rumania and greater Jugoslavia, or a union with Germany—only few Austrians could envisage any other alternative.

Insolvency

The world depression had dealt Europe's weakest economic unit a fierce blow. The failure of the Austrian Credit Institute, the Rothschild Bank in Vienna, threw Austria into financial panic. The neighbors, beset by their own troubles, throttled their trade with Austria still further, a trade which had not met Austria's wants even in the preceding period of prosperity. The repercussions of the Austrian insolvency were felt in the great financial centers of the West, unpleasant reminders that the Austrian problem still remained unsolved. Austria's economic ills had suddenly become acute, and threatened to affect the healthier organisms of other nations.

But Austria dragged herself from the depth of the economic pit in 1931, on to brave recovery in 1934, and on to the diplomatic intermezzo of Stresa. At Stresa, England, France and Italy solemnly affirmed the inviolability of Austrian independence. Not only the great western powers but also Italy—her Abyssinian project still a half-secret shared by every leading European statesman—insisted categorically on Austria remaining her own, if impotent, master. A conference to bring the Danubian states together later in the year—preferably at Rome—was proposed. The proposal, vague from the start, was allowed to fade before the ominous gusts of the Ethiopian crisis.

But the Austrian people, who had gone stoically through the privations of the war and had managed to smile at the humiliations of their miserable peace, began to show signs of restiveness. The resurgence of Germany under a new leader, an Austrian himself, invited comparison with their own lot. Austrians saw that the victors could be defied, that sheer vitality could cut across the frozen legality of treaties. National Socialism held the promise of reversing the harsh sentence imposed by the peace-makers of 1919 and Austrians reached out for this promise as their last chance of survival. Beyond this promise, the creed of Nazidom mattered little; its social and radical theories did not ruffle Austrian minds unduly. Pan-Germanism was still nothing but the postulate of a small and rather unpopular group. Anti-Semitism, an old gadget of local politics, did not yet sweep an easygoing, broad-minded people into organized mass psychosis. The church, and the cosmopolitan tolerance of a mellow civilisation held the race fanatics in check. Austrians had lived for centuries with other races in happy promiscuity, and the doctrine of race purity appealed little to a people reared in the close community of the twenty odd distinct racial strains forgathered under the Habsburg eagle.

But Austrians wanted to live. The Western Powers offered advice, ephemeral relief, and liberal tips of their tourist trade so long as Austria promised to remain picturesque. Hitler, however, offered an example of solid achievement. This and nothing else made Austrians go Nazi at the outset. National Socialism as a concept of human existence within the totalitarian state captured the Austrian people's imagination only much later, and never completely at that.

Murder in Vienna

The history of Austria's internal politics cannot be written on these pages, suffice that they were conditioned by her economic plight, and by the degree of pressure brought to bear on Austrian leadership from abroad. When Chancellor Dollfuss had battered down the strongholds of Austrian socialism in 1934, the Berlin propaganda experts drove their wedge into ranks divided by civic conflict. The working class, disappointed by the defeat of proletarian leadership, provided malleable material. The impoverished middle-class, here as in Germany, succumbed to the fatal attractions of the half-baked, pseudo-scientific doctrine of race and state, propounded by the Goebbels and Rosenbergs. Fresh recruits flocked to National Socialism by the thousands, and Herr Hitler committed the only major blunder of his foreign policy. Nazi conspirators, openly encouraged by Berlin, struck at the heart of Vienna, and Chancellor Dollfuss perished. The authorities, confused and horrified at first by gangster methods heretofore not practised in Austria, quickly recovered from the shock and jailed the assassins. The Nazi coup failed to rouse the country, and fizzled out in the police courts. Austria may then have been pro-German, but enthusiastically pro-Nazi it was surely not.

And yet the balance swung inexorably to the German leader. Mussolini's Mediterranean adventures diffused Italian fighting strength over the shores of Africa and Spain. International sanctions—the last noble and futile

it retreated from long held positions in Africa and Spain. That the annexation of Austria settles nothing as regards Germany's needs for raw materials and that it can't appease Germany's appetite for colonial possessions are issues left to be dealt with by future improvisations. The episode in which Austrian independence was lost has gained for Great Britain the respite of postponement.

Austria was left alone to defend her political independence. Hitler won the first round—by conversation. Austria now hesitated two weeks before the final surrender to a powerful opponent. Austrians recognize the divided blessings of a Union with Germany. Of late, Austrian export-trade has experienced difficulties in obtaining payment for goods shipped to Germany. Foreign trade has shifted noticeably to more solvent countries. Having maintained a fairly free currency exchange, Austria pondered the dubious privilege of entering a closed economy and its cage of restrictive regulations. The lusty tourist trade feared that thrifty German excursionists would not compensate for the loss of a more sophisticated international clientele and its ready currencies. Practicing catholics and the powerful clergy courageously resisted the invasion of a creed which tolerates none but its own living prophet, and the workers, crushed by Dollfuss, now feebly rallied behind Schuschnigg, whom they hated. The odds, however, were not favorable for Austrian independence, and a second Nazi push could be resisted no better than the first. The past—burdened with the mistakes of those who created the country that cannot live—tipped the scale in Herr Hitler's favor. The government, which had depended more on foreign support, and its skill in offsetting German with Italian power-politics, than on the loyalty of the people, collapsed ingloriously. Herr Hitler, faithful to the text of his famous tract, "Mein Kampf" restored Austria to her medieval status of "Ostmark", the realm's Eastern bulwark against the barbarous Slav world, and strategic base to Eastern conquest.

Austria recedes into the twilight of history to share in the destiny of her new masters. But beyond Austria lies Hungary. Independent Hungary stands guard over the richest plains of the Danube Basin, over the roads to the Black Sea, to the granaries and the mineral wealth of Rumania. Hungary remains the last nation around which the Danubian peoples could rally, the last pivot on which their common front could swing into a stand for economic plenty and against the determined Germanic push.

J. Stalin & Co., Executioners

By ALEXANDER BAKSHY

THE list of Soviet leaders denounced by the Stalin Government as foreign spies, traitors, and enemies of the people, and "liquidated" in one way or another, grows steadily in number. The significant fact about this liquidation, aside from the question whether the charges brought against the opponents of Stalin are true or not, is the actual elimination from the Soviet political scene of the majority of old Bolshevik leaders who figured most prominently in the overthrow of the Kerensky Government and in the establishment of the Soviet regime.

This change in the personnel of Soviet leadership becomes apparent upon examination of the membership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party during the first few years of the Bolshevik rule.

The Bolshevik coup was decided upon at the Sixth Congress of the party, held in August, 1917. The same congress elected the Central Committee consisting of the following:

Lenin	Nogin	Kollontay	Sokolnikov
Kamenev	Rykov	Artem-Sergheyev	Smilga
Trotsky	Bukharin	Krestinsky	Shauman
Stalin	Bubnov	Dzerjinsky	Bersin
Zinoviev	Uritsky	Joffe	Stasova, *candidate*
Sverdlov	Milyutin	Muranov	Lomov, *candidate*

Of these Lenin, Sverdlov, Nogin, Artem-Sergheyev and Dzerjinsky died of natural causes; Uritsky was assassinated by a White counter-revolutionary; Joffe committed suicide as a protest against Stalin's repression of his opponents; Trotsky has been exiled by Stalin; Sokolnikov has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment; and Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Bukharin, and Krestinsky have been executed. Of the remaining nine members, excluding Stalin, Mme. Kollontay is the only one to hold a position of some prominence, as an ambassador to Sweden.

The list of the actual organizers of the revolution is even more revealing. On October 23, 1917, on the eve of the uprising, the Central Committee set up two sub-committees, called the Political Bureau, and the Military-Revolutionary Center, to take charge of the operations for the establishment of a Soviet government. The membership of these two sub-committees was as follows:

In the Political Bureau—Lenin, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Bubnov, and Sokolnikov.

In the Military-Revolutionary Center—Stalin, Sverdlov, Bubnov, Dzerjinsky, and Uritsky.

Of the first seven Stalin is the only one to hold power today; Lenin is dead; Bubnov is in eclipse, and the other four have been effectively eliminated from the political scene.

Of the second five, Stalin and Bubnov are the only survivors, the other three having died before Stalin came to power.

A subsidiary of the Military-Revolutionary Center was organized in Moscow at the same time as the two sub-committees, consisted of 17 members. Of these not one holds a ranking position today, and two—Muralov and Rozengoltz—have been executed in connection with the recent trials.

Lenin died in the early part of 1924. In the light of the subsequent events the membership of the Central Committee elected at the congress is highly illuminating. We quote the list:

Andreyev, Bukharin (*executed*), Voroshilov, Dzerjinsky (*dead*), Yevdokimov (*executed*), Zelensky (*executed*), Zinoviev (*executed*), Zalutsky, Kalinin, Kubik, Kirov (*assassinated*), Korotkov, Komarov, Kviring, Kamenev (*executed*), Lenin (*dead*), Lashevich, Manuilsky, Molotov, Mikoyan, Mikhailov, Orjonikidze (*dead*), Petrovsky, Pyatakov (*executed*), Rudzutak (*awaiting trial*), Rykov (*executed*), Radek (*imprisoned*), Rakovsky (*imprisoned*), Stalin, Sulimov, Sokolnikov (*imprisoned*), Smirnov (*executed*), Tomsky (*suicide*), Trotsky (*exiled*), Uglanov, Ukhanov, Frunze (*dead*), Kharitonov, Chubar Tsurupa.

1001 Embezzlers

WHILE it is estimated that employers in the United States lose $200,000,000 yearly through employee dishonesty, yet by choice and by inclination the majority of employees are honest.

Dishonesty, being as old as humanity, is no more a phenomenon of the present times than are the other violations of the Ten Commandments, nor is the embezzler peculiar to any one city, climate, or business. He is usually not of the criminal type. In general, he has held a position of some trust and responsibility and has enjoyed a good reputation.

Your typical embezzler belongs in the white-collar class. He is thirty-six years old. He is married. He has a wife and two children. He is not psychopathic or of feeble mind, nor does he live in a neighborhood where crime is widespread. His upbringing has been good. He is not the lowest paid person in his employer's organization, nor is he the highest. His friends and very often his wife imagine that his salary is $300.00 a month or more, but it is nearer $175.00 a month. He has a high school education. He lives comfortably. He has a medium priced automobile, last year's model, on which a balance is still owing. His traveling has been confined to occasional week-ends and a two-week vacation in the summer. He is a good mixer. He participates in social and community affairs. He enjoys a good time. He likes a drink, but he rarely takes it during business hours.

He lives in every state in the Union, in every province of Canada, in large cities, in small cities. He is employed in every type of business. He is competent and smart. He has held his position for five and a half years. His employer regards him favorably and he has honestly earned the position of trust to which he has attained. In short, so far as his past record is concerned, he is a regular fellow, a normal individual with a better than average business reputation and future.

. . . Yet he becomes an embezzler.

Your typical embezzler is often overtaken by domestic troubles which lead him to spend beyond his means. He may have a spendthrift or nagging or invalid wife. He may have ailing children or an ambitious family whose demands cannot be met by his income. His family may feel that it has to "keep up with the Jones'." His sons or daughters may have become pressing social or financial problems. His wife may be unfaithful or he himself may fall victim to a consuming infatuation for another woman, which will cause him to spend recklessly.

On the other hand, he may succumb to an over-indulgence in liquor—to gambling or speculation, "dipping into the till" or "kiting" his accounts to satisfy his thirst or recoup his losses. In ninety-nine times out of one hundred he is "temporarily borrowing" and would indignantly deny that he is a thief.

Frequently, an unexpected emergency, created by death, sickness, or personal financial loss—he claims as the cause for committing his first but fatal defalcation. He meant to borrow only until the next pay day. After which he may continue for a long period, hoping that some fortuitous circumstance will extricate him from his trouble. When, finally, he finds himself hopelessly involved, your typical embezzler is much more likely to commit suicide or break down and confess than he is to abscond. If he does abscond, however, it is usually "with the other woman."

When brought to book he has little or none of the property or money which he embezzled.

Of all the men 798, or 83 per cent, were married. Twenty were divorced or separated and four were widowers. Of the women, seventeen were single, one a divorcee and four were widows.

Eight hundred and twenty-six of the men—nearly 86 per cent—had dependents. The wives, children, parents and other relatives who were supported entirely or in part by these 826 exceeded 2,000 persons. Eleven of the women had dependents.

The records show that most of these men and women, up to the time their embezzling began, lived normally and honestly. They had clean records in previous employment, as attested by the investigations which preceded their bonding. They had ability. In their previous positions they were subjected to temptation (assuming that every employee at some time is tempted) and resisted it.

They lived among and worked with honest people. They were regarded as honest by those around them, and their employers had no reason to mistrust them. They followed these habits of normal living and honesty well into middle life. They married and supported their families by honest work.

Certainly, on their records, these people are not of the criminal type. The typical criminal is unattached and anti-social, apt to be feeble-minded or pathological. His habits differ radically from the habits of these embezzlers. As a rule he doesn't associate with honest companions. He does not acquire the habit of living by honest means. He does not marry. And marital status is an important point in differentiating the typically criminal part of our population, for prison records show that those who are married are in the minority. When in prison, too, the difference between the embezzler and the typical criminal has been widely commented on. Embezzlers are model prisoners and are despised by professional criminals. Embezzlers do not usually become recidivists, as do ordinary criminals.

It seems fair to conclude from the facts assembled that men and women employees, up to the point where they "dip into the till," are honest. They do not consider that they are stealing. They do not take with the idea of ultimately absconding. Rather, they feel that they are borrowing, and intend to pay it back. When they take the money, they have a real or fancied need.

A number of typical situations were found to exist. One such is where an emergency creates an urgent need for the money. This plus the opportunity to embezzle proves irresistible. Another is based on debts which through misfortune, carelessness or perhaps petty gambling, have been permitted to accumulate, and the employee "borrows" his employer's money "until his luck changes." Still another is that where the employee contracts the habit of living beyond his means or acquires tastes which his salary does not permit. He then attempts to pay for his expensive tastes and habits on the instalment plan—using his employer as the financing agency.

While some criminal persons appear among the 1,001, their surprisingly small number only emphasizes the fact that the majority are, to begin with, people commonly classed as honest.

—A report on ***1001 Embezzlers: A Study of Defalcations in Business***, prepared by the United States Fidelity and Guaranty Co., Baltimore

TVA

A nation-wide survey of newspapers shows a keen interest in the factional dispute

By BURT M. Mc CONNELL

GOVERNMENT ownership will be one of the major issues in the next Presidential campaign, "as a result of the fruitless attempt of the White House to smother the Tennessee Valley Authority scandal," predicts the *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*. "Political repercussions are almost certain to follow the action of President Roosevelt in removing Dr. Arthur E. Morgan as Chairman of the TVA Board of Directors," agrees Edwin W. Gableman, Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer. In fact, unless the joint investigation by the House and Senate, now under way, proves without question that the President was justified in taking this drastic step to clear up the internal row in the TVA, Dr. Morgan's removal "may turn out to be a major issue in the forthcoming Congressional elections, particularly in the region of the Tennessee Valley," predicts this experienced Washington observer. Certainly, if newspaper editorials mould, as well as reflect, public opinion, there is deeper interest in the TVA situation than this writer has noted in any similar governmental probe since the Walsh inquiry into the Teapot Dome oil scandal.

To begin at the beginning, the TVA pot has been simmering for at least two years. The Act setting up the TVA envisaged use of Federal authority and funds and resources to foster "an orderly and proper physical, economic, and social development" of the great Tennessee River Valley. It was to be a modern extension of the conservation movement; it was to develop, restore, and preserve the Valley's natural resources. Soil conservation, reforestation, the generation and distribution of electrical power, the improvement of navigation on the Tennessee and its tributaries, and flood control on these streams and upon the Ohio and the Mississippi were the chief items on the program. To date, seven huge dams have been built or are in process of construction. Electric power is about to be produced in large volume. Markets for that power are opening rapidly, and revenues from its sale will soon be flowing into the Treasury. Negotiations are under way for the purchase of some privately-owned distribution systems.

More than a hundred thousand farms in thirty-eight States are utilizing the new phosphate fertilizer made possible by the TVA. Important advances are being made in the control of land erosion. Co-operative enterprises among the farmers of the Valley are being set up. Seventeen municipalities and fourteen rural co-operatives are distributing TVA power. Some 2,500,000 tons of freight per year are being carried on the Tennessee River. About $400,000,000 have been spent on the project. In the opinion of the *Youngstown Vindicator*, "it would be a tragedy if the mistakes already made and the controversy now raging about Dr. Morgan should wreck the sound principle which underlies the project or nullify the benefits which its proper administration can produce."

It seems to have been on the rock of administration that the TVA Board split. In the syndicated column of two Washington correspondents, Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, we learn that "the fundamental issue of the present controversy is not the doings of any one TVA Director, but the President's method of handling the whole problem." First, we are told, Mr. Roosevelt permitted a quarrel among the three Directors—Dr. Morgan, David E. Lilienthal, and Dr. Harcourt A. Morgan—to continue for more than two years, "and then he tried to settle it by waving his personal wand. The result is an unholy mess." The chronological steps leading up to the ouster of the Chairman are thus summarized by the *Hartford Courant:*

"In the first of his open charges against his fellow-Directors on the Tennessee Valley Authority, Chairman A E Morgan demanded a joint Congressional investigation of the affairs of the TVA. For reasons best known to itself the Administration opposed that demand Instead, the President constituted himself an investigating committee of one and summoned the three Directors to answer the Chairman's charges and the countercharges brought against him.

"At the first hearing, the Chairman refused to produce the evidence to support what he had earlier said was an 'attitude of conspiracy, secretiveness, and bureaucratic manipulation' on the part of his two colleagues. He held that his responsibility was to Congress, and that only an agent of that body was properly qualified to determine the truth or falsity of what he had said. His two colleagues denied the charges against them, and at considerable length elaborated on their countercharges against the Chairman

"At the second hearing, the Chairman continued in his refusal to answer at a tribunal that, he maintained, had neither jurisdiction nor authority. He was found guilty by the President 'on the record as it stands today' of the charges brought against him by Dr. Harcourt Morgan and Mr Lilienthal. He was given until Monday afternoon to submit answers; otherwise, the President declared, he would be guilty of 'contumacy,' which Webster's New International Dictionary defines as 'pertinacious resistance to authority.' "

Dr. Morgan thereupon left Washington for his home in Ohio, completely ignoring the Presidential ultimatum—and was promptly removed from office.

In the furore that has resulted from Dr. Morgan's refusal to testify before the President, "sight seems to have been lost of the important fact that it is the TVA, and not Dr. Morgan, who is the real defendant," we are reminded by the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*. "The administration of the TVA," it goes on, "is a matter of major public importance; the 'contumacy' of Dr. Morgan is not." However, there is no question but that the public interest will be served by the present Congressional inquiry, observes *The Evening Public Ledger* in a second editorial. The TVA, it reminds us, has been functioning for five years, "and there is much about its operation that the country has a right to know."

But a Congressional investigation is a long-drawn-out affair. For weeks we may expect to have additional charges reflecting upon the integrity of all three Directors; of sabotage; of irregularities in the adjustment of the Berry marble claims in Tennessee and the execution of certain power contracts. There will be witnesses, formal accusations, headlines, attendance by scores of newspapermen, photographers, newsreel men, broadcasters, commentators, and election-year oratory by Senators and Congressmen. "There will be little of that straight-line effectiveness which is the boast of executive action in the business world," thinks the *New Haven Journal-Courier*.

However, believes the Omaha *World Herald:*

"A thorough inquiry by a competent Congressional committee will clear the air. The country, we believe, has enough confidence in the integrity of Dr. Morgan to suppose that his charges are made in good faith He must, therefore, be credited with a high degree of public spirit."

"It would have been easy for him, dissenting from TVA policies, to resign from the Board and let the majority have its way. He preferred to stand and fight. That meant accusations as an obstructionist, a Presidential reprimand for 'contumacy,' and dismissal. But in forcing an investigation, Dr. Morgan has performed a public service."

There are few correspondents who believe the Congressional inquiry will develop evidences of dishonesty or graft, says John R. Covert, of the Philadelphia Bulletin's Washington staff. He admits, however, that there may have been waste of money, slipshod methods of reaching objectives, and unwarranted use of funds on fads and fancies. According to the *Detroit News:*

"The controversy between the TVA Directors is so shot through with personal jealousies that it very nearly defies rational analysis. But underlying the mess there appears to be a real issue Chairman Morgan thought TVA power should be distributed as far as possible through existing privately-owned facilities in the Tennessee Valley. The other two Directors were much more in favor of having the Government acquire these facilities and distribute the power itself."

As to President Roosevelt's right to oust Dr. Morgan, there is a division of opinion, not only in Washington, but throughout the country. Before taking this step, the President first ascertained from the Acting Attorney-General, Robert H. Jackson, that he had the power to act. The ground, as he expressed it, was that "efficient administrative management of government will be destroyed in short order" if subordinate officials have the power to defy the President (as Dr. Morgan did), when they are responsible to him. In this case, however, remarks the *Indianapolis News,* "there is a question whether Dr. Morgan was responsible to the President or to Congress." Continues this Hoosier paper:

"The Jackson opinion does not settle the legal doubt. Probably it can be cleared only by Congress. Senator Norris, author of the TVA Act, says it was his intention to keep the project, including control of the administrative board, free of opportunities for political interference. How he could have achieved this purpose without withholding from the President the right to remove members of the Board has not been explained."

Whatever justification the President may have had, the *Birmingham Age-Herald* finds it "difficult to see how his action will benefit the TVA, himself, or the public interest. On the contrary, there is the prospect of a long and bitter fight." There are, as usual, things to be said on both sides, concludes this Alabama paper.

Newspaper editorial writers handle without gloves the subject of Dr. Morgan's removal. "In effect, the President condemns a man who made serious charges against fellow-Directors, and acquits those against whom charges are made—both without an investigation," declares the Los Angeles *Times.* "Dr. Morgan," thinks this California daily, "had perfectly good and valid reasons for refusing to elaborate his charges in advance of their presentation to Congress, the only body with authority to act upon them. The President could not possibly investigate them adequately in the limited time at his disposal." Mr. Roosevelt, however, "preferred to attend to the matter in his own way, and now he must take the political and legal consequences," declares Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times.*

The President, "by his high-handed methods, has convinced more and more Americans that there is something wrong in the TVA, and that his own efforts were largely in the direction of applying a coat of whitewash," asserts the *Boston Transcript.* In Ohio, the *Dayton Journal* thinks "Mr. Roosevelt should realize that the country at large does not consider him an impartial judge or investigator of the TVA affair; for years he has made political capital of his enmity for the utilities." And while we are on the subject of utilities, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* asks for some enlightenment on "whether the TVA 'yardstick' is one which can be properly compared with the rates of private companies, in view of the subsidies which the TVA enjoys." In other words, asks this Virginia daily:

"Do TVA accounting methods reveal the true cost of generating and distributing current?

"In addition, there is the apparently well-substantiated charge made by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in its thorough inquiry into the agency last year, that 'by far the greater part of the low-priced electricity sold by TVA thus far, in more than four years of operation, has gone to large corporations—utilities and industries—which have used it for private profit.' The Aluminum Company of America, controlled by the Mellons, was listed as the largest contract purchaser, with the Arkansas Power and Light Company taking 40,000 kilowatts.

"There is likewise a controversy between the Comptroller General and TVA over the legality of more than $10,000,000 worth of TVA expenditures. Charges also have been made of waste in the purchase of land for soil erosion and reforestation

"These and other pertinent questions should be explored in the forthcoming inquiry. Until the results are in, final conclusions on the disputed points should, of course, be withheld."

It must be admitted, maintains the *Youngstown Vindicator,* that "the TVA has made the egregious blunder of sinking hundreds of millions of dollars in a method of producing power that is more expensive than steam power. In doing so, it threatens destruction of economical private power-producing facilities. Moreover, the TVA conceals its true costs by deceptive bookkeeping." Yet, it is remarked by a number of editorial writers, the TVA has been built with the funds of the American tax-payer. "If there has been mismanagement and extravagance, the public has a right to the facts," contends the *Minneapolis Journal.* The fact that the publicity resulting from Dr. Morgan's dismissal resulted in a Congressional inquiry is, to the *Springfield Union* "a tribute to the effectiveness of public sentiment." It would not be surprising, adds this Massachusetts daily, "if Mr. Roosevelt comes to regret his impetuous and ill-advised attempt to smother an investigation by Congress by discrediting Dr. Morgan." In another *Hartford Courant* editorial we are told that:

"Judicially considered, the President's whole course in the affair has nothing to commend it, and from a purely political point of view his performance gives added color to the oft-repeated charge that he wants to be the whole government.

"Having constituted himself prosecutor, judge, and jury, the President has now passed sentence on Dr. Morgan, and has inflicted the punishment of court dismissal He adjudges Dr. Morgan guilty on three counts, which with the New Deal propensity for alphabetical designation he labels A, B, and C. The first is making 'grave and libelous charges of dishonesty and want of integrity against your fellow-Directors without reasonable excuse or justification.' The second is obstructing the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority The third is 'refusing to submit to the demands of the Chief Executive for the facts' and refusing to 'respond to questions asked by the Chief Executive.'

"What the public wants, and what alone will satisfy it, is to have bared the whole story of this experiment in the Tennessee Valley, including, of course, everything pertaining to Senator Berry's submerged marble quarry."

This Berry business crops up frequently in editorials, so perhaps we'd

better have some enlightenment on the subject. According to the neighboring *Vicksburg Herald:*

"While the controversy between the directors of TVA has raged for months, the climax was not reached until the Berry marble claims were brought out into the open. Senator Berry charges he had an understanding with Dr. Harcourt Morgan and Lilienthal that the claim for the marble property which he and his associates owned, and which was inundated by the waters of Norris Dam, was to be settled by condemnation proceedings. He valued the property at several million dollars. Chairman Morgan charges that he knew nothing of the deal between the two Directors and Senator Berry and his associates.

"Chairman Morgan and a Federal investigating body of three say that the claim is 'valueless.' That was the finding of their investigation."

"Were the other Directors willing to pay a substantial sum for marble properties later found to be worthless?" asks the Syracuse *Post-Standard.* Facts of this kind, if they are facts, should be brought to light, avers this paper. "Not alone TVA, but Senator Berry needs investigation," believes the Chicago *Daily News.* According to the Milwaukee *Journal,* "the Berry claim was the cause of the open break between Dr. Arthur Morgan, on one side, and David Lilienthal and Dr. Harcourt Morgan, on the other."

Whether the President had the legal authority to remove Dr. Morgan from the TVA Board is still a matter of dispute. The Act setting up the TVA contains the following:

> Any member of said Board may be removed from office at any time by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives."

It is true that the President proceeded against Dr. Morgan only after receiving assurance from the Acting Attorney-General that he was within the law. But, points out the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* "the Department of Justice can commonly be relied upon to give the President whatever opinion he wants where a controversial issue is concerned." In the opinion of this Missouri daily:

"The TVA is the creation of Congress, by specific act, and Congress has the explicit right to discharge any of its directors

"Mr. Jackson denies that the Humphrey case is a controlling precedent and goes back to the Myers case, decided in 1926, in which the Supreme Court, by a vote of 6 to 3, upheld President Wilson's dismissal of a Postmaster without the consent of the Senate. The difference, as Mr. Jackson points out, was that Myers was a purely executive officer, whereas Humphrey was a member of a Commission exercising quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions, independently of the Executive. Mr. Jackson contends that the TVA is not that kind of Commission, and that hence Morgan lacked the protection thrown around Humphrey It is a nice legal question—whether the TVA is or is not in the same category as the Federal Trade Com-



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CRACKING UP?

mission—and can only be settled definitively if Dr. Morgan appeals to the Supreme Court."

Editorial writers generally agree that the basic question is whether the TVA Directors are responsible to Congress or to the Chief Executive. According to the *Topeka Capital,* there are only two sections of the Act which provide for the removal of Directors. The other section reads, in part:

"'Any member of said Board who is found by the President of the United States to be guilty of a violation of this section shall be removed from office by the President of the United States, and any appointee of said Board who is found by the Board to be guilty of a violation of this section shall be removed from office by said Board.'

"Dr. Arthur E Morgan has not been accused of violating the section above quoted, so that it is not even claimed that he is being removed by the President for that reason.

"It is, we think, a well-established rule of law that where a specific method for the removal of certain public officials is provided for by statute, by inference if not by words, other methods of removal are precluded For example, the Constitution provides for the removal of the President by impeachment and conviction. Nothing is said about any other method, but no lawyer would claim that he could be removed in any other legal way."

The President's defenders, however, maintain that he does not fear a Congressional inquiry into the TVA; that he moved to make his own investigation of the charges and counter-charges chiefly to restore immediate harmony in the administration of the great project. As the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* puts it: "He was trying to force a showdown of the facts bearing on the Directors' differences. Failing, he dismissed the Director whom he holds responsible for that failure." When Chairman Morgan had undisputed power in an enterprise, he "bossed it well," notes the Emporia *Gazette,* "but when he was no longer absolute boss—merely one of three Directors—he seems to have gone to seed." *The Washington Post* charges Dr. Morgan with having adopted an "obstructionist attitude." "In refusing to answer questions put to him by the Chief Executive, to whom he owed his appointment and who has underlying responsibilities for the effective administration of all Federal agencies, Dr. Morgan laid himself open to deserved rebuke," adds the *Post.* In California, the *Sacramento Bee* maintains that "the conduct of Dr. Morgan was such as to make dismissal by the President obligatory. In fact, if Dr. Morgan had been less obstinate, he would have retired voluntarily from a position that he had made impossible."

"President Roosevelt has proved one thing in his removal of the TVA Chairman," notes the *Charlotte Observer.* "He has proved that a hireling can not defy the authority of the office of President of the United States, and get away with it." *The San Francisco Chronicle* also is of the opinion that "the President had a right to call the Chairman of TVA before him, and to question him."

In fact, declares Jay Franklin, in a syndicated Washington dispatch:

"It seemed clear that either Chairman Morgan had never read the TVA Act or that he did not understand it or the fact that Section 17 of that Act gives the President the power to investigate such charges as the chairman in fact made.

"The other Directors are quite ready to submit to any and all investigations by any competent Federal authority; Mr. Roosevelt is not blocking either a court action or a Congressional investigation; it is only Chairman Morgan who refuses to acknowledge the inherent authority of the Chief Executive or to obey the terms of the Act itself."

BALTIC BICKERINGS

Lithuania ponders her fate as recent events further complicate Europe's Baltic tangle

By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

IT WAS last January that an "official spokesman" of the Nazi party in Germany took occasion to remark that "March will be a month of great events." The accuracy of this forecast may be laid to something else than a proficiency in clairvoyance, for the occurrences of an eventful March form, when examined together, a pattern of such interlocking precision that it is impossible to believe they were not the outgrowth of plans well and carefully laid over a period of months, with every possible contingency provided for as far as human prescience could foresee.

We are here concerned with but a single facet of this jewel of premeditated violence.

It was to be expected, of course, that a German occupation of Austria would produce the most painful apprehensions in Czechoslovakia, which has military alliances with France and Soviet Russia. It also might be anticipated that Prague would seek some reassurance from Paris and Moscow as to what support might be expected in case the flowing German tide rolled over the frontiers of Bohemia. The reaction of Paris was easy enough to guess; that of the Kremlin was not so easy, for the Soviet Union remains, in Europe as in Asia, the enigma of the North. But to the Nazi mentality, it was impossible to contemplate a state of affairs in which the hated Kremlin might utter certain threats—contingent though they might be on events yet to come to pass—without some palpable counter-move being well in hand to preserve German "prestige." Moreover the possibility of those threats being translated into action could not be ignored; against this, provision must be made.

A glance at the map of Europe makes it clear that Russia would have some difficulty in coming to the aid of Czechoslovakia. The frontiers of the two countries do not march. Only through Polish or Rumanian territory can Soviet armies reach Czechoslovakian soil, or indeed exercise direct pressure against Germany at all. Poland is in no mood to permit such a move; Rumania, whatever might be the attitude of her government, affords no contact with Germany and only a long difficult line of approach through the Carpatho-Russian province of Czechoslovakia; a move by this route, lacking any direct rail communications, would be no serious menace to any German plan in Central Europe. The Soviet Navy in the Baltic is negligible as an offensive force. There remains the air. By air alone could Russian help to Czechoslovakia be swiftly effective. But here again the facts of geography intervene. Whatever the performance of individual long-range planes, the effective radius of action of large bombing formations carrying heavy bomb-loads and composed, not of a few of the newest and latest ships, but of planes of average effectiveness, is now considered to be about 500 miles—that is, 1000 miles of total flight, 500 out and 500 back to the base. On this basis, no part of Germany except East Prussia and the two eastward-reaching prongs of Pomerania and Silesia is within reach of Russian air operations; Berlin is comfortably beyond their range.

But there is, or was, to German eyes, a fly in this pleasant ointment. Russia has had for some time a non-aggression pact with Lithuania. There have been undenied press reports to the effect that this pact has secret military clauses, by which Russia guarantees Lithuania's territorial integrity in return for Lithuania's agreement to allow "Russian forces" to pass through Lithuanian territory in case of war. This is very interesting, on examination, because Russia has no common frontier with Lithuania any more than she has with Germany. Latvia and Poland intervene. Hence, unless it be assumed that the neutrality of one of these countries is to be violated by direct invasion, any Lithuanian agreement to permit the free passage of Russian forces can refer only to air forces. It need only be added that Berlin is within bombing range from the western half of Lithuania.

Events followed each other rapidly in this area, as the German invasion of Austria took place. Czechoslovakia made her expected appeal to Moscow. The Kremlin answered firmly, through the Russian ambassadors at Paris and Prague: If Germany invades Czechoslovakia, Russia will come to the aid of her ally. Immediately thereafter, the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, arrived at Warsaw from a visit to Rome and Berlin, and the world was startled by headlines announcing a Polish ultimatum to Lithuania, demanding an immediate opening of the frontier, resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations, and Lithuanian abandonment of that country's claim to the city and district of Vilna.

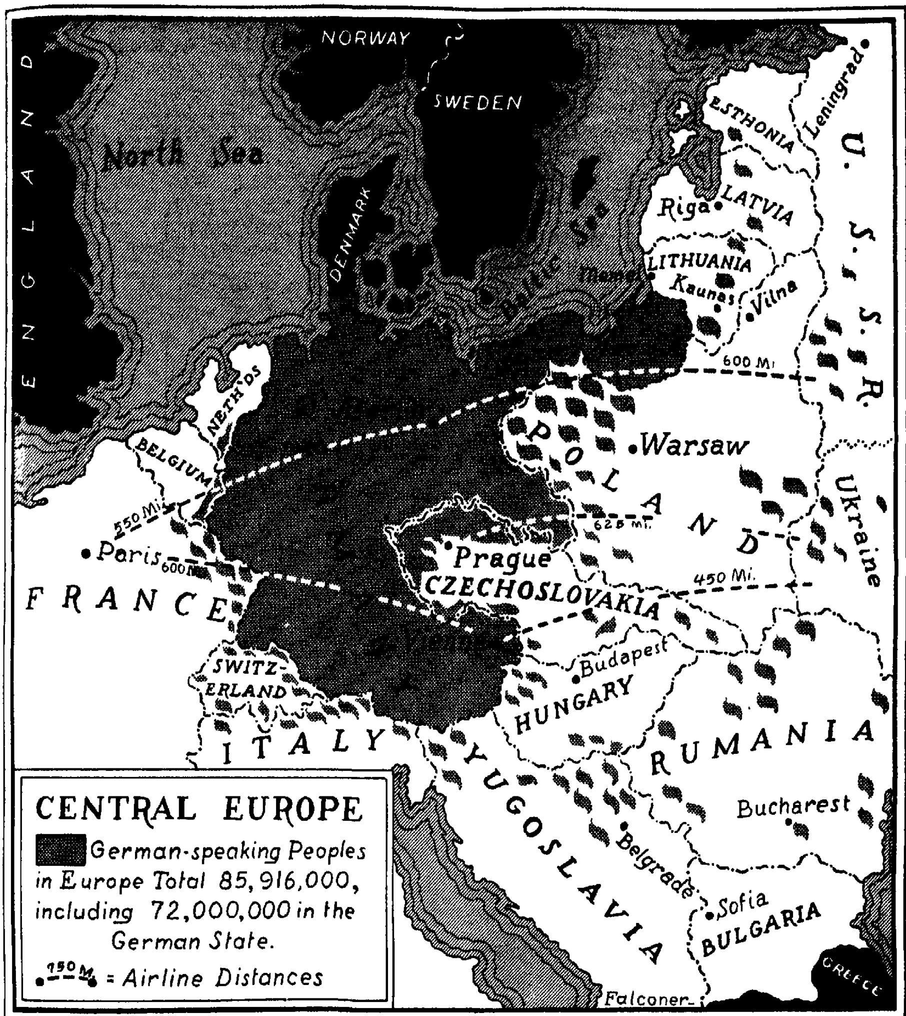
Controversy over a Capital

This requires some further explanation. The Lithuanian Constitution asserts that Vilna is the true capital of the nation; Kaunas is but the temporary seat of government. From the Lithuanian viewpoint, Vilna is merely in temporary, forcible military occupation by Poland—an occupation which was accomplished by the Polish General Zeligowski "unofficially" (on the D'Annunzio-Fiume model) in 1920, and was recognized by the Council of Ambassadors in 1923. From 1920 onwards Lithuania has kept the frontier closed, has refused to have any relations whatever with Poland, even extending to forbidding direct postal and telegraph service, and has kept alive the aspirations of her people for a return of "Lithuania irredenta": the province of Vilna. The last serious negotiations seeking to end this state of affairs took place in 1927. Now, suddenly, the question was reopened, not by ordinary diplomatic means, but by an ultimatum unpleasantly reminiscent of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in the fateful summer of 1914.

The immediate occasion was the alleged killing of a Polish soldier by Lithuanian frontier guards, under circumstances entirely differently reported —as usual in such matters—from Warsaw and from Kaunas.

Polish troops moved swiftly toward the frontier. Invasion of Lithuania was threatened unless a favorable reply to the Polish demarche was received within 48 hours.

Britain, France and Russia pro-



THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF EUROPE

Denmark	60,000	Hungary	600,000
Netherlands	80,000	Czechoslovakia	3,500,000
Belgium	150,000	Poland	1,350,000
Luxemburg	250,000	Danzig	360,000
France	1,700,000	Lithuania	131,000
Switzerland	2,860,000	Latvia	75,000
Italy	300,000	Soviet Russia	1,000,000
Yugoslavia	700,000	Rumania	800,000

tested, sought appeasement. One might reasonably suppose that Germany, too, would protest; for Germany has a very definite interest in Lithuania by reason of the fact that the little country's only seaport, Memel, was once German territory and has frequently been indicated by Nazi spokesmen, including der Fuehrer himself, as one of those Germanic regions whose "liberation" is amongst the ultimate Nazi objectives. The "liberation" of Memel from tiny Lithuania would be one thing; from so powerful a nation as Poland it would be quite another. Berlin did make a feeble protest, probably for the record; and then came the disquieting report that the German protest had been withdrawn on Poland indicating that she would, by way of compensation for being let alone in the matter of Lithuania, have no objection to a German occupation of the "Free City" of Danzig, a much more important bit of "Germania irredenta" than Memel.

Add to these several facts the unquestionable pro-German bias of Colonel Beck, and the picture becomes quite clear. The parts fit together perfectly. The Polish move on Lithuania,

LITHUANIA

LITHUANIA, formerly a Grand Duchy under the Russian Empire; proclaimed its independence in 1918. The claim was recognized by Russia in the Treaty of Peace signed in 1920.

In area, excluding the Vilna territory and including the Memel territory, Lithuania is slightly smaller than the state of West Virginia. This comparatively small European country is bounded on the north by Latvia, on the east by Poland and East Prussia and on the west by East Prussia and the Baltic Sea.

Although claimed by Lithuania, the Vilna territory has been annexed by Poland since October 9, 1920, when General Zeligowski occupied Vilna, the historic capital of Lithuania with 15,000 Polish troops. In 1923, the League of Nations awarded Vilna and its strip of territory, about 10,400 square miles, to Poland. Memel and its territory, about 853 square miles was detached from East Prussia, Germany, by the Treaty of Versailles and consigned to Lithuania.

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sympathetically regarded if not inspired by Germany, is Hitler's reply to Moscow's threat of aid to Czechoslovakia. Russia's aerial stepping-stone toward Berlin is to be removed.

For the moment, Lithuania has yielded. But at the time this issue goes to press Polish troops are still on the frontier, and no final arrangements have been concluded between Kaunas and Warsaw. There are ominous rumors of increased Polish demands; day before yesterday Warsaw mobs rioted fiercely, shouting for complete occupation of Lithuania. In Lithuania there is fierce popular anger against the government for yielding without a fight, though a fight would be hopeless in face of the odds.

Even more ominous is the suggestion, now more definite than ever, that Poland is being drawn into the German orbit, that a third great nation is being added to the Rome-Berlin axis.

The Longer View

The Lithuanian imbroglio is a perfect instrument for effecting this purpose. It enables the Polish government, pro-German in bias as it is, to stifle the protests of the Peasant Party—which is anything but pro-German and is the strongest party in the country—by violent propaganda, by cries of "Restore the Empire of the Jagellons." It looks toward eventual elimination of the great cause of German-Polish dissension, the famous Polish Corridor which cuts off East Prussia from Germany, by providing Poland an outlet to the sea through Lithuania to Memel. This cannot be accomplished immediately, as press reports so hastily indicate. It requires the re-orientation of the whole railway system of Poland, now based on the new Polish port of Gdynia; but it is easy to imagine German diplomats in Warsaw saying: "Not now, of course—but eventually this must be settled. Germany will never endure permanent separation from East Prussia. Would it not be better to take the long view, to work gradually toward a transfer of Polish commerce to Memel, than to face the certainty of war at some future time?"

As to the Polish attitude in the Russo-German differences, it is to be remembered that more Poles have suffered under Russian tyranny than under German, by a good deal; that it is extremely difficult to see how Poland can maintain forever a neutral attitude, caught as she is between two huge neighbors and cut off from any outside aid save the questionable help she might get from Rumania; and that Polish faith in the willingness and ability of France to assist her in time of need by pressure on the Rhine frontier has all but disappeared. A Roman Catholic nation, she has from this fact an additional bias against Communism. It may well be that, weighing all these things in the balance, Polish statesmen have come to the conclusion that in cooperation with Germany rather than either an attempt to maintain a precarious neutrality, or any further dalliance with distant France and uncertain Russia, lies Poland's best hope of maintaining her independence. If they can bludgeon or be-dazzle the Polish people into accepting this idea, the result will surely be of far-reaching, indeed terrible import for the rest of Europe if not the world. It will open to Germany that direct access to the "promised land" of the Ukraine which she has lacked; it will take away the potential threat of a Polish attack on the flank and rear of a German thrust into Czechoslovakia by the most attractive route, that of Breslau-Glatz-Nachod, it will bring the German air force within bombing-range of Moscow, a privilege hitherto unenjoyed. But these things are for the future.

In 1914, there ensued a period of waiting in which a hope grew that Serbia's yielding had been enough, a five-day period filled with frantic efforts for peace on the part of other Powers, ill-directed and futile though some of them were. Then Austria declared war, and moved on Belgrade.

In 1938, we have come upon another period of waiting. Will Poland march on? Will Russia mobilize? Will a great war follow? Those questions may be answered by the time this article is in print; or they may not be. More than likely this period of waiting will be longer. But the first step has been taken and already we hear of a Polish minority in Lithuania which must be "protected"—a minority stated to number 200,000, though the true figure is probably nearer 80,000. There is also a German minority in Lithuania, largely in the district of Memel. One thinks of Czechoslovakia's "Sudeten Deutsch," and one sees the thin edge of the entering wedge: a wedge whose immediate purpose may be the elimination of the Russian air-force's stepping-stone to Berlin, but whose ultimate purpose is in all probability the addition of the great Polish nation of 32,000,000 people, with its excellent army and great resources, to the growing strength of the Rome-Berlin axis. For the accomplishment of this purpose, the pro-German party at Warsaw appear to be using Lithuania as their helpless tool.

Whether this purpose will ever be translated into fact; it is for the future to disclose. The methods by which it will be attempted will undoubtedly take care of the first and immediate purpose also. In any case, unless Russia helps her, Lithuania seems to be coming to the end of her brief career of independence, however the fiction of its continued existence may for a time be preserved; hers is the fate of many another pawn of empire.

And if Russia does help her? Again one recalls—and shudders in recalling—the terrible summer of 1914. But one remembers also Russia's present inaction in the Far East—and wonders whether Russia is able to help.

To test this crucial point—in the fashion of the Japanese on the Amur frontier last summer—may well be another German purpose underlying these recent Baltic bickerings.

DUTCH CURE FOR FASCISM

Herrn Mussert would like to be Holland's Fuehrer but the people have other ideas

By T. JOHN BENNETT WENNER

MOST Dutchmen were still taking fascism lightly when they began to hear of a certain Government engineer who proposed to dynamite the dykes and overthrow parliamentarianism in the Netherlands. This man was drawing a good salary from Her Majesty's treasury; besides, he was a departmental director in one of the Provinces, and altogether this was a little too much for Dutch stomachs to digest. After Hollanders had time to rub their eyes, eat a hearty Dutch breakfast and smoke a mild cigar, they commenced to take stock.

Anton Adrian Mussert was thirty-seven years old at the time he founded the National Socialist Party in Holland. Raised in comparatively good circumstances, he had been able to attend the University of Delft, where he chose engineering as a profession. Entering the Government Service, he rose quickly to become Chief Engineer of the Ministry of Waterways of the Province of Utrecht.

But "the new spirit which conquers the whole world," as he expressed it to the writer this summer, had taken a strong grip on his engineer mind. In 1931, with the help of an employee in the Sheriff's office of the Province of Utrecht, C. Van Geelkerken (now Secretary General of the Movement), he began work on political blue-prints. The result was a National Socialist *Beweging* for Holland, whose principles Mussert believes must sweep him into power just as "fascism is sweeping over Europe."

The inspiration for Dutch fascism undoubtedly has been Il Duce's corporate state. Mussert has been to Rome four times and cherishes a large portrait of Mussolini, which hangs in his office at Party Headquarters in Utrecht. On this, in characteristic bold handwriting, Il Duce has inscribed four lines of well-wishing for the spread of fascist doctrine in Holland. Alongside Mussolini's portrait is one of Hitler. And these men, Mussert holds, "are the two greatest statesmen of our time." Over the mantel hangs a large picture of the Queen, looking strangely out of place. "Her Majesty is kept purposely misinformed of the true state of affairs in the Netherlands," he contends, "and is a good deal more under the domination of Her Majesty's First Minister, Premier Colijn, than is either the King or the Queen of Italy under the influence of Mussolini."



WOULD BE DICTATOR: *Anton Adrian Mussert is Holland's fascist leader but has been rebuffed at the polls.*

The Dutch "Leider" has never met Hitler. This he explains by saying that "the little Dutch wooden ship might get bumped off by the large armor-plated German cruiser before the little Dutch ship is armor-plated. There will be time enough for this when we are stronger," he concludes.

In his spacious office in Utrecht, the desk is pushed far back in the corner and on it lies a foot long mahogany dagger. The interviewer is carefully warned that cigar and cigaret smoke is distasteful to the "Leider." Mussert sips orangeade as he looks through glass doors onto a garden in the rear of Party Headquarters and ponders over the state of affairs in the Low Countries. He has little of the austerity of countenance for which he strives in photographs and on Party posters. Reserved in conversation and possessing almost no oratorical powers, Mussert is something of an anomaly in the present crop of European dictators. Students at both Leiden and Amsterdam have remarked at this lack of dictatorial form. "Imagine a successful demagogue," they said, "who reads his political speeches almost line for line."

But what Anton Mussert could not borrow from his compatriots in Germany and Italy he could construct out of raw materials along the dykes. And he set to work as methodically as though he were about to construct spillways along a Utrecht canal.

The Party's program was formulated in Utrecht in 1931, and amplified a year later. On paper it proved to be about equal parts opportunism, paternalism, economic credulity, dogmatism, idealism, and well-intentioned social sense. Viewed from the larger international perspective it was, and still is, a mixture of corporate-ism, cooperative-ism, individualism, anti-Semitism (carefully veiled), cultural regimentation, preparedness, pacifism, and fascist universalism. Altogether it is one of the oddest assortments of political fish ever to be pulled up in the net of fascist "ideology."

The reason for founding the N. S. B. was asserted to be the weakness which democracy had shown along moral, economic, military, religious, and national lines. Parliamentary government, the party system and class hatred were condemned. Mussert and his colleagues saw "Democracy ending in Marxism and Communism, while Italy and afterward Germany were throwing back Marxism and Communism and standing up as strong young nations." Politicians were held unfit to govern the nation's economy which "ought to be placed in the hands of experienced economic leaders." The principle of private property was accepted but control of the bank capital was asked.

Palatable forms of paternalism were not lacking. "Immorality and brutishness, such as we find nearly everywhere," were denounced. "Social righteousness in a state in which everyone has responsibility for and a right of say in the trades and professions in which

they work," was to be realized under National Socialism. Pension rights ought to be guaranteed at ages fifty to sixty, depending on the kind of employment pursued.

Arts and sciences were to be furthered through "suppression of dogmas, institutions, and actions which threaten the nation and the good morals." Strikes and lockouts were to be forbidden and industrial differences settled "without disturbing the trade." Liberty of conscience and religion were to be guaranteed with protection of the Christian religion for the European parts of the Empire. A compulsory work-year for every young man and woman was decreed. Abolition of "the immoral conscription system" was asked, with "awarding of the defense right to every able-bodied citizen who was considered worthy thereof." Defense plans were to be pushed and order and discipline under a strong national authority were demanded.

Circumscribing all, was "the spirit that will put an end to the everywhere-raging economic civil war and make all available forces of the people cooperate in the 'corporate' state." All this was held to be an adaptation to Dutch conditions, the traditions of the country and its national character.

Trappings of Dictatorship

The national flag of the Netherlands was held unacceptable for supporters of the new *Beweging* ("Unity plus Renaissance"). In its place was substituted the black and red emblem of the new Party. The counterpart of "Heil Hitler" was to be "Hou Zee" (pronounced *How Zay* and variously translated by members to mean "greetings," "courage," and "carry on"). This phrase was borrowed from an old Dutch custom of hailing incoming and departing sea-captains and their crews along the North Sea coast.

The fascist salute was to be used; but in place of the "swastika," or the Roman "fasces," the "Wolfsangel," or wolf's trap was chosen—a sign found on the doors of old Dutch houses, memorializing the struggle of poor peasants against marauding bands of wolves.

Black-shirts were to be worn in public and at Party ceremonies. Members of the "storm troops" were to be distinguished by cap with shiny vizor, shoulder straps and leather boots or leggings. Special insignia were designed for subdivisional officials and "inside workers." District *Inspecteurs* were entitled to wear three silver bars on their sleeves; *Kringleiders*, three gold bars and a gilded lion; *Groepsleiders*, two gold bars and a lion; *Blokleiders*, one gold bar and a lion. All persons who had reached an age of eighteen and could be expected to pay party dues, were eligible to apply for membership. Posters were hung in sub-divisional headquarters, bearing a picture of the "Leider" and inscribed "Mussert or Moscow."

Between 1931–33, Mussert and his group of "reliable men" worked quietly and perfected their organization. In 1933 a parade of about six hundred National Socialists was held in the city of Utrecht, and a weekly propaganda sheet, "Volk en Vaderland," began to be circulated widely.

But most Hollanders forgot temporarily about Anton Mussert as they turned to look at the economic whirlpool that threatened to sweep their small country and the third largest colonial Empire in the World into its vortex.

Conditions were especially bad in the Low Countries between 1933–36. National and city budgets were hard hit. In the late summer of 1934 the Government reduced unemployment benefits. Among other consequences the laboring classes in the Jordaan quarter of Amsterdam rose in revolt and for one day and night the quarter was in communist hands. This was followed by an N.S.B. publication condemning the government. From a small band of stragglers in Utrecht the year before, the National Socialist ranks swelled to 25,000 demonstrators in Amsterdam in the fall of 1934.

By the next summer unemployment was nearing 400,000. Farmers were bitterly complaining of sale prices below cost of production; textile industries were sorely pressed, and there was acute hardship in the mining districts of Limburg. The middle classes saw their savings depleted and the professional classes their salaries reduced. In July-August, 1935, the Government faced the frightening fact that nearly one-fifth of the Netherlands Bank gold had been withdrawn. Crisis organizations were erected for regulating production, prices, imports, and exports. Imports for sea-born merchandise hit low for December 1935, with exports standing at less than one-fourth their 1929 total.

Meantime the way had been prepared for a stampede among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, by an uprising on a naval training ship in the East Indies, the old battle-ship *De Zeven Provincien* (called after the flagship of the celebrated Admiral De Ruyter). Leftist revolutionaries at home were blamed for inciting "mutiny," and the Government was condemned for tolerating "red" influences in the Fleet. Dutch pride was deeply wounded, and many persons were won over to the National Socialist cause.

In certain districts along the German frontier, in Groeningen, Drente, and Limburg—especially hard hit by the agricultural and mining crises—many inhabitants of Germanic sympathy and origin welcomed an opportunity to turn their support to Mussert. Extremists in the labor unions in the industrial centers pointed an angry finger at their capitalist overlords and threatened to sabotage industrial processes. Unable to make their beds with either the extreme Left or Right, many Liberals in the center were persuaded to try fascism as a tonic for their jittery nerves. Mussert even flew to the Colonies and organized mass meetings in the East Indies.

National Socialist Victory

In the elections of 1935 for the movement, some districts gave as high cialists polled nearly 300,000 votes, an alarming total on percentages for the Netherlands. What had happened was that first in the big cities and later in the country districts fascism had taken foothold. Some districts in the Province of Limburg in extreme south Netherlands and in the poorer agricultural Province of Drente in the north, gave as high as 24 and 14 per cent respectively of their votes to National Socialism.

Such sentiment was especially marked along the German frontier, and it is freely admitted in the Netherlands that certain areas of these eastern provinces constitute a real threat to Dutch sovereignty. In middle-east Netherlands, in Gelderland, and also in Groeningen and Drente, National Socialism swept back appreciable distances into the country. Considerable support also came from the Provinces of North and South Holland in which the great industrial centers of Amsterdam and Rotterdam are located. In the Province of Utrecht, home of the Movement, some districts gave as high as 11 per cent of their vote to the National Socialists, while the city of Utrecht gave 10 per cent. Holland really seemed in danger.

Set-Back

Foreign press dispatches of last spring carried brief accounts of Premier Colijn's efforts to secure a mandate for

the Ministry's "policy of adaptation to the economic crisis." Also mentioned was the threat of National Socialism in Holland. But to most Netherlanders the issue of National Socialism vs. Democracy was a good deal more significant than these dispatches indicated.

In the general elections of this year thousands of Dutchmen cast their votes, feeling that for the first time in a general election in Holland the question turned on the preservation of parliamentary government and their constitutional rights. In a whirlwind campaign the Premier made these dominant issues, delivering over thirty addresses in one month. On election eve Hollanders gathered around their radios with more tenseness than usual to see if Anton Mussert and his "black-shirts" would plant their feet firmly in the Parliament. The results proved highly gratifying to a majority of these listeners. The National Socialists lost 42 per cent of their popular strength of two years ago, although they will have eight members in the States General at The Hague this fall—four in the Lower Chamber and four in the Upper.

Factors in Set-Back

A variety of factors has contributed to this set-back. Not the least important has been the "cockiness" of the National Socialists themselves. Too encouraged by its success of 1935, the N. S. B. overplayed its hand in this year's elections. Oceans of ink were spilled by the National Socialist press. Country districts were strewn with party posters. Pictures of the Leider and placards inscribed, "I Vote Mussert," competed for interest with the picturesque Dutch countryside. In some country lanes every third tree was plastered. Between Utrecht and Amsterdam highways were literally papered. Not so strange a phenomenon in certain western countries, the fascist campaign was something of a novelty to Hollanders. Let it be said that the opposition press, once aroused, spared no invective. At first amused, many Dutchmen became a good deal irritated as the campaign progressed. And on election day they became downright mad!

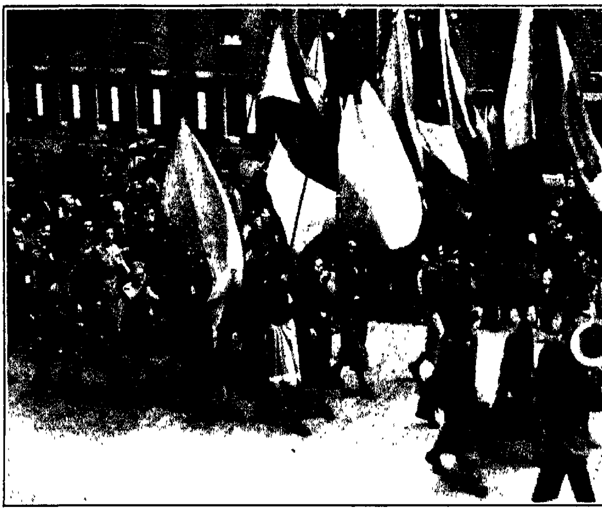
An N. S. B. Party official in Amsterdam summed it up: "The first time you tell a Hollander he *must* do something, he will listen courteously; if told again, he will knit his eyebrows, and the third time he is very likely to tell you to go to the devil. We told Dutchmen how they were *going* to vote, but we will know better next time." A statement authorized for publication by the National Socialist Party Headquarters in Utrecht this past August declared:

"The N. S. B. has been too opportunistic in its campaign, not taking into account the Dutch character, which wants positiveness, goes slow and sure. The older political parties understood the psychology of the people better than the young N. S. B. The N. S. B. is now reconsidering the situation. The Dutch are in reality ripe for the ideas of national socialism: unity, cooperation of all parts of the nation. But they want to do it in their own way—cool, sure, logically, no big words but positive deeds. And there is where the chance of the N. S. B. lies."

Protective Measures

For some time past, laws have been piling up on the statute books to curb the activities of Herrn Mussert's Fascists. Since September 1933, wearing of "black-shirt" uniforms in public has been prohibited. No member of the army, navy, or air force may belong to the National Socialist Party. This applies also to government officials and to teachers in the publicly supported schools. Since May 1936, when clashes in the streets of Amsterdam occurred on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to the Palace, "private armies" have been forbidden. In nearly all of the principal cities the public authorities have refused permission for National Socialist parades. No political uniforms may be worn in public, and all political propaganda over the air is forbidden.

Precautions have been taken in congested areas to prevent clashes between communists and fascists. Special regulations apply to the N. S. B. weekly *Volk en Vaderland*, which cannot be sold in certain laboring quarters. Distributors of this paper are not permitted to call out its name and are required to keep moving on the streets.



FASCIST PARADE: *A new government decree forbids uniformed parades such as these. The young fascists are followers of Anton Mussert.*

Numbers of these restrictions apply also to the Communists and to other political parties.

Since June 1936 a "Vigilance Committee of Anti-National Socialist Intellectuals" has been operating to combat the spread of fascism. This organization, under the chairmanship of Dr. C. Joseph Pos of the University of Amsterdam, has grown from an original charter group of one hundred to about one thousand members, including sixty teachers in different universities of the Netherlands. A much larger organization, "Unity Through Democracy," founded after the election "scare" of 1935 to oppose the spread of both Fascism and Communism, now has a membership of about 25,000. Of this number approximately one-fourth are Jews.

Stand on Jews

When I asked Mussert to what he attributed his recent set-back, he replied that "it was the large Jewish-controlled press." And indeed it takes little reading between the lines to predict what may happen to Jewry in the Netherlands should Herrn Mussert and

his Party come to power. Like Mussolini's earlier stand on the question, the N. S. B. program of 1931 did not contain an anti-Semitic plank. Nor has this position been altered *on paper*. About 200 Jews belong to the Party at present. But fascist leaders in the towns and provinces will tell you that when a Jew joins the Movement "he is suspect from the start." After talking with more than fifteen important National Socialist officials, I gained the very definite impression that an anti-Semitic outbreak is in the offing in Holland if these "inside workers" have anything to say about it—although the *Leider's* more moderate view may hold it in check.

Interestingly enough, many Dutch Jews take a stand not so different from Mussert's, namely, that a Holland Jew should be first and foremost a good Dutchman and that German Jews coming into the country do not appear to understand the importance of this distinction. But even old Portuguese and Dutch Jews are not so naive as to believe that if Herrn Mussert and his ardent party-workers should have a turn for the better, any fine distinctions would be drawn between classes of Jewry in the Low Countries. They are quite certain they could expect to pack up and seek asylum elsewhere.

Economic Upswing

A further important factor in the defeat of Mussert, of course, has been the economic upswing coupled with devaluation of the Netherlands' currency. Although the Government's about-face on fiscal policy (September 26, 1936) has brought higher prices, conditions in the main have shown general improvement. This has been especially marked in the ship-building and steel industries, with certain exports steadily increasing, especially those of heavy industry. But the unemployment crisis by no means has been passed. Nor does the future of agriculture seem bright. Foreign markets must be found for the Netherlands' agricultural products and this promises to be one of the most difficult tasks of the "rightist-clerical-coalition" Government, which comes to replace the broader-based National Cabinet of last spring. In these sore-spots Herrn Mussert and his sympathizers expect to find strength in the next *provincial* elections.

The National Socialists believe that the "reactionary economy" of the clericals who have come back strongly for a total of 56 seats in the Chamber, will only hasten a dynamiting of the Colijn Ministry from mass pressure below. They are confident, too, that the "might of Jewry will be unmasked," throwing support to the N. S. B. in the urban centers. And they expect that the parties of the moderate left will continue



DEMOCRAT: *Premier Colijn has used the methods of a strong man to prevent strong men from destroying democracy in Holland*

to vacillate, failing to unite against their traditional enemies of the capitalist Right or against revolutionary elements of the extreme Left.

But even should these hypotheses prove correct, Dutch National Socialism will still have one very high hurdle to jump This is the cool-headedness and innate conservatism of the Dutch temperament, which takes particular aversion to Europe's present crop of regimenting dictators.

"Victory Is Inevitable"

Meantime, Anton Adrian Mussert is taking stock of his position and realigning his forces. After six years of very hard work he has managed to get himself dismissed from the Government and stepped on by a wooden shoe. What he thinks about it all in the dark of his room at night is nobody's business. Just the same, many Dutchmen wish they knew. Outwardly, the Leider gives no appearance of being disheartened. In August he assured this correspondent that "Victory is inevitable, since time and principles are on our side."

About 20,000 members have left the Party since the last elections. But a fairly strong framework remains—with national departments of Propaganda, Organization, Administration, Finance, Personnel, Labor, Agriculture, Colonies and Culture. At Utrecht sits the High Court, or Disciplinary Council, to hear cases dealing with party disloyalty, infractions of the code of personal morality and failure to pay dues. Upwards of sixty Party correspondents have been delegated to keep the directorate regularly informed of persecutions against the rank and file and to record the names of all persons involved.

Constant Vigilance

Whether Mussert's structure will crash about his ears and send him back to constructing bridges and dykes, remains to be seen. Hollanders are taking nothing for granted and are maintaining a constant vigilance against a fascist regime. They refuse to concede that the basic political struggle of our time is between democracy, communism and fascism, or even between fascism and democracy. Rather they hold that this conflict is between a progressive but sound economic, social and political conservatism, and revolutionary panaceas and "isms" of one form or another for calming Europe's troubled waters.

Most Hollanders are too modest to suggest that the kind of "Dutch Uncle" treatment recently administered to National Socialism in a little country of eight and one-half million inhabitants can be applied elsewhere with equal success. But a majority is not too unassertive to hold that democracy is a romantic faith still worth fighting for, even though it may need a giant to stand up to and require "demagogues" to oppose.

SCHOOLBOYS TO OFFICERS

The nation's high schools and colleges will supply 85 per cent of our army officers in the next war

By EDWIN L. STOLL

"PATENT medicine" governments today juggle the peace of the world with unsteady hands. And in the United States national defense and preparedness are paramount issues. Whether it is two, ten, or twenty years before America is plunged into another major conflict, will she be prepared? Will she be able and ready to defeat the enemy? Or will her soldiers be mowed down in useless sacrifice through poor training and tactics, disorganization, and foolhardy plans?

The answer to those vital questions depends, to a large extent, upon the Reserve Officers' Training Corps.

For Reserve Officers, most of them commissioned after R.O.T.C. training, will supply 85 per cent of our army officers, the brains of the fighting machine, in case of another national emergency. Today there are 96,545 active Reserve Officers—civilians engaged in every type of occupation—and 167,818 high school and college students are enrolled in the R.O.T.C., the officers' training ground.

Only when these figures and the characteristics of the organization are studied, do the magnitude and importance of the R.O.T.C. become apparent. Our regular army officers and National Guard heads will, in actual combat, comprise a very small minority. Actually our Reserve Officers—120,000 is the ultimate goal as set forth by the War Department—will guide and think for our thousands of drafted soldiers.

Most of the Reserve Officers are the cream of American youth, graduates of our colleges and military schools with four years of instruction in R.O.T.C. subjects by officers of the United States army. For the first two years in a regular college, they are enrolled in the basic course, compulsory in some schools, and attend military classes at least three hours a week. Then they voluntarily enter the advanced course with classes five hours a week and agree to a six weeks' training period in camp during the summer between their junior and senior years. Upon the completion of the four-year R.O.T.C. curriculum, they are eligible to accept commissions as second lieutenants in the Organized Reserves at the age of 21. The government furnishes all equipment for their instruction, including uniforms, rifles, ammunition, artillery, and the necessary technical instruments. Cadets in the advanced corps receive regular payments from the government for the commutation of rations, which usually averages about 25 cents a day for the two years.

As raw recruits, cadets in the R.O.T.C. first receive training in fundamentals such as military organization and courtesy, school of the soldier, manual of arms, and simple drill movements. Then, acquiring some of the snap and polish proverbially associated with the army, they progress to rifle marksmanship, military history and policy, and more complicated movements. After two years the basic course is completed, and students may drop the training if they choose. During the advanced course, leadership, command, and military law, tactics, and administration are stressed.

Interwoven with these general subjects throughout all four years is the specialized training necessary to qualify in the branch of service in which the individuals are enrolled. For example, coast and field artillery cadets drill with dummy shells on standard guns, running through with precision every movement of the gun crew with the exception of the actual shooting. In theory classes they learn the how and



MORNING ORDERS: *Student officers belonging to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps of the Amundsen High School, Chicago, receive their orders from a superior.*

why, and finally in the advanced course, they delve into the higher mathematics in solving problems of firing upon an objective—building, troops, warships, or airplanes, depending upon the artillery involved.

They're in the Army now

During the summer camp the future Reserve Officers taste a full-sized bite of real army life. Up at the crack of dawn with a shrill whistle splitting the quiet, and early to bed with the sound of the bugle—far from a college boy's routine—they put in a rigorous day. Brisk infantry drill, bed-making, "k.p." duty, brass and shoe shining, and rifle and machine-gun firing are only a few of the general activities. Artillery students man and blast away with their large guns, and the cavalry cadets sit astride a horse over many dusty miles. It is here that the real practical touch is applied.



CAVALRY TRAINING: *In time of war, these young men will become officers in the cavalry divisions. Military training is a required subject in many colleges.*

The 226 senior R.O.T.C. units in the country, with an enrollment of 106,027 college students, are divided into 90 of infantry, 11 of cavalry, 28 of field artillery, 24 of coast artillery, 29 of engineers, 11 of signal corps, 9 of ordnance department, 22 of medical corps, and 2 of chemical warfare service.

But swelling the total of cadets to 167,818 are the 61,791 students of high school age enrolled in the 142 junior units. The primary objective of these corps is to lay the foundation for further military instruction leading to a position of responsibility in case of actual military service. Secondarily, they inculcate the habits of orderliness, courtesy, correct posture, leadership, and loyalty to constituted authority. Training is offered for three years in infantry only and is similar to the college basic course. High school graduates, naturally, are not eligible for commissions as Reserve Officers, but they receive special credit and certain exemptions in the college R.O.T.C.

Although many of the high school and college cadets do not continue their training into the advanced work to qualify as Reserve Officers, they compose a skeletonized foundation to aid in the building of our army in case of necessity. Many of them will be appointed non-commissioned officers immediately.

For the operation of this vast organization during the year ending this coming June, Congress appropriated $4,637,420—not a very impressive sum for the preparation of the men who some day very likely will hold the fate of thousands in their hands. The per capita cost per year from R.O.T.C. funds for students of the advanced course is $105.80. Doubling this amount and adding the training camp cost of $159.76 presents a total of $371.36, the average cost of putting a cadet through the last two years of the R.O.T.C. The unit cost per basic student is $12.80; for the junior student, $6.17.

Once the Reserve Officers receive their commissions, however, the days of study and preparation are not over. To remain on the active list and to be eligible for promotion, they must continually refresh and increase their knowledge through army extension courses, studying at least 20 hours a year and passing written tests. They must also attend camp for two weeks every three years. But even though the pressure of their civilian occupation prevents activity, they will be valuable assets for the government in case of emergency by virtue of their former training.

The Opposition

The average number of college R.O.T.C. graduates who were appointed second lieutenants in the Organized Reserve Corps each year from 1933 through 1936 was 6,117. During the same period an average of 319 young men who had completed four years of training in the Citizens' Military Training Camps received their commissions annually. Last year a total of 10,224 became Reserve lieutenants, including 5,704 R.O.T.C. graduates, 199 enlisted men in the army, 347 C.M.T.C. trainees, and 45 World War veterans. The remainder were civilians, former National Guard officers, and others who were qualified.

Naturally, pacifists and other "istic" groups in the country arouse the old stock arguments against the R.O.T.C., many of them subtly attempting to destroy the organization for their own insidious objectives. They claim that the R.O.T.C. creates a spirit of war, that it is un-American and a trend toward methods used in fascistic nations, that our youths should be educated to plan for peace rather than prepare for war, that it should be abolished. In brief, the "I didn't raise my son to be a soldier" theme is exploited and twisted in numerous grotesque shapes to fit the individual purpose.

In itself, that theme is very sensible and commendable. Mothers and fathers do not rear their children to be cannon fodder. But many a parent and youth is misled by the clever turn given the theme by the radical opposition.

Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, however, faced the issue squarely when he said, "God forbid that I should want anybody to go to war, but I am too old to be otherwise than frank. The attitude of many youths and many churches in seeking to avoid war by having nothing to do with it is a flight from reality. If this nation became involved in another war, the young men would be drafted, in spite of any pledges or desires, or position or responsibility."

And when the country is mobilized, and the men drafted, they will be rushed through a "short course" training program and pushed up to the lines in a few weeks, there to shift for themselves. Then who will be able best to

defend not only their country but themselves? The answer is obvious—the former R.O.T.C. students, their efficiency naturally increasing with the number of years of study.

Many of the R.O.T.C. cadets and graduates regard their training as self-protection, a sort of vaccination against being struck down helplessly through inability to resist if they are projected into combat. These are the ones, after all, who are facing the problem sensibly. World War veterans will vouch for that statement.

These cadets have no illusions about the glamor of war; all those are destroyed as they study the modern death-dealing instruments and the facts of military history. They do not want to expose their bodies to bullets, bayonets, and shrapnel any more than the most vociferous of those who term themselves pacifists. They back wholeheartedly all attempts to preserve peace; they study world conditions and suggest ways and means to maintain peace. But in case something does go wrong, they can always fall back on their training and preparation. They are like the builder, who, although he puts all types of fireproof materials and devices in his new building, still carries fire insurance.

"Many insinuations are made that by subterfuge we are training too large a proportion of our young people for war in the R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C. and they are becoming militaristic as a result," Maj. Gen. Hugh A. Drum, Commanding General of the second army and the 6th corps area, recently said. "Let me give you a few figures concerning this. France has 14.7 per cent of her population trained for service; Sweden, 14.4 per cent; Switzerland, 14.4 per cent; Italy, 14.1 per cent, and so on until we come to the forty-third country in the list, the United States, which has 36/100 of 1 per cent, less than one half of 1 per cent. We are ahead of Denmark, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, and Venezuela. A comparison of the cost of our defensive forces and that of the percentage of trained men leaves us far behind the defensive requirements considered 'adequate' by other nations."



LIMBERING UP: *The early drills of the R.O.T.C. classes emphasize body building rather than military exercises.*

Today more than seven million men are under arms. These permanent forces are far greater than those just before the outbreak of the World War. To prepare for apparently irresistible mass warfare, most of the governments require universal compulsory military service.

In France, for example, every young Frenchman is required to register in his home district for service with the army when he reaches the age of 20. If physically fit, he is drafted for 18 months or two years and is assigned to a regiment where he enters a strenuous training program. When his two years are completed, he returns to college or job, but his name remains on the reserve list for 28 years. He goes back to the army for a short training course during the summer months. In case of war, he must report immediately for active duty. This system makes it possible for most of the countries to mobilize their entire populaces on a war footing almost over night.

Contrast the character of the R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. in this country, and compare the tiny number of men actually prepared to defend the United States. Then most of the arguments of the opponents become weak indeed.

In a survey conducted a few years ago by the Department of the Interior and the Research Organization on Military Education, answers were received from 10,166 graduates of 54 colleges and universities, who had experienced R.O.T.C. training. Of this total, 79.1 per cent said that it had aided them in the development of leadership, 81.6 per cent replied that it had helped in the development of discipline, and 66.5 per cent answered that it had aided in the development of orderliness. Other characteristics which the training promoted, according to the survey, were initiative, confidence, health, patriotism, and decision.

Summing up the educational value, Arthur Cutts Willard, president of the University of Illinois, said, "Many students have been benefited by the military training program—educationally, physically, and otherwise. It has strengthened their characters and has made them more useful members of their communities. One of the most important obligations of colleges and universities in the United States, particularly the State colleges and universities, is to develop in the hearts and minds of their students a real sense of social responsibility. Their military training program has done as much, if not more, in this direction as any of their other educational activities."

Another leading educator, C. C. Williams, president of Lehigh university, said, "In addition to the primary value of military training as a preparedness measure, I believe that students are personally benefited in their personal appearance and carriage, in their social adaptability, and in their sense of social responsibility. Therefore, I believe that military training represented by R.O.T.C. experience represents a personal benefit which a student will appreciate more and more in his years subsequent to graduation."

Today, as the peace-juggling hands become more and more shaky, the national defense, the hope, and the security of America rest, for a great part, with the Reserve Officers, not only the business leaders of the present, but the military leaders of the future.

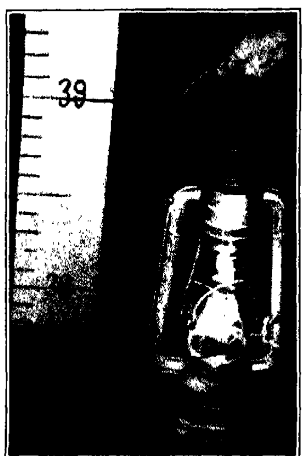
V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

LAST month this department was concluded with a description of *The River,* which the writer considers one of the most significant cinemas produced in many years. This month the department begins with a discussion of the same cinema and includes several quotations from it which contribute so much to make the film memorable. *The River*, let it be said at once, is more than a cinema. It is a cinema plus—plus poetry, plus music, plus design. Unlike the majority of cinemas, it cannot be separated from its contributory elements. Without the poetry, without the music, without the design—without any one of them the picture would be a failure. It succeeds only because all the elements blend so perfectly, so symphonically, into a significant and superlative whole. The words of Pare Lorentz, who is also the director of the film, and the music of Vergil Thompson, are as intrinsic as the shots of the Mississippi, of the river-people, of the timberlands, and of the mad down-rush of waters from creeks, rivulets, and streams into the vast, winding, accumulating body of the river itself.

Fortunately, a book has just been published which contains the words as well as the pictures that constitute the substance of the film. The words heard in the context of the film are magical; yet read aside from the film, in the silent context of type, they are no less compelling, no less magnificent. As a matter of fact, the words are so rare, so fine, so superb, they suggest comparison with Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in their eloquence. Pare Lorentz has caught in those words something of the driving force of the continent, of the power of elemental things, of the gorgeousness and grandeur, of the threat and terror, of nature and life living at cross-purposes with themselves. Whitman himself would have been proud to have written these words:

"From as far West as Idaho,
Down from the glacier peaks of the Rockies
From as far East as New York,
Down from the turkey ridges of the Alleghenies
Down from Minnesota, twenty-five hundred miles,
The Mississippi River runs to the Gulf
Carrying every drop of water that flows down two-thirds of the Continent—
Carrying every brook and rill, rivulet and creek—
Carrying all the rivers that run down two thirds the Continent,
The Mississippi runs to the Gulf of Mexico."



DOCUMENTARY FILM: *Pare Lorentz'* THE RIVER, *from which the above photograph of a flood gauge was taken, rates as one of the outstanding motion picture productions of the year.*

And then there are lines which rise like music to the perilous heights of great poetry:

"And we made cotton king.
We rolled a million bales down the river for Liverpool and Leeds,
1860 we rolled four million bales down the river—
Rolled them off Alabama,
Rolled them off Mississippi,
Rolled them off Louisiana,
Rolled them down the river
We mined the soil for cotton until it would yield no more, and then moved West . . .
We built a hundred cities and a thousand towns, but at what a cost.
We cut the top off the Alleghenies and sent it down the river;
We cut the top off Minnesota and sent it down the river;
We cut the top off Wisconsin and sent it down the river.
We left the mountains and hills slashed and burned, and moved on."

Whatever one may say in condemnation of the Rooseveltian policies of government, this much can be said in definite affirmation of their cultural value: they have produced, through their encouragement of cultural projects, some of the most exceptional work of our decade, in music, in drama, and now in the cinema, and the greatest of all the contributions to date is *The River*.

Negro Culture: 1938

In the twenties, when prosperity was riding high and haughty in the saddle, all kinds of cults ran rife up hill and down, in every part of the country. One of the most interesting and exotic was the Negro cult which thrived by virtue of white rather than black inspiration. White liberals and esthetes in all parts of the nation, especially in publishing houses, suddenly discovered that the Negroes were more than an uncultured primitive people. The Negro Spirituals, which had been admired and lauded—and sung—in England and Scotland twenty-five years before, were discovered at long last by the Americans who then exalted them into a cult. Negro Blues and Labor Songs soon after received a similar exaltation. American publishers went in for Negro things in a big way. Every book of poems, every short story, every novel, regardless of how mediocre was accepted, enthusiastically endorsed, and published with blurbs which made the most obscure Aframericans turn into Shakespeares overnight. The result of it all was that Negro literature suffered from a form of exhibitionism which was nothing short of pathological. Today, for instance, out of all the flash and fanfare of those days only two or

three Negro writers of any importance have survived. The very best of the group in terms of potentiality, Countee Cullen, has produced nothing of significance in a number of years. Only Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Sterling Brown, and George Schuyler remain. Promising writers like Walter White, once a challenge to the new American literature but now too embroiled with political activities to continue to dedicate his talents to fiction, Eric Walrond, Jessie Fauset, Jonathan Matheus, Gwendolyn Bennett, Jean Toomer, have failed to add to the promising work which they began.

New Tests

Today the Negro writer no longer has the opportunity of those early years when anything he wrote was bound to be published. Today he has to meet the market on its own terms, in equal competition with white writers and the consequence has been beneficial. Many Negro writers have been unable to meet the new test of value, determined by a depression purchasing market, but the best of them have managed to continue their work without surrendering to the obvious discouragements and despairs which have beset and defeated many other writers of long experience. Out of the depression-decade of the thirties, two Negro writers have emerged whose work has continued to grow and ripen: Zora Neale Hurston and M. B. Tolson, both of whom possess talent of an extraordinarily high order.

But more important even than these individual writers is the fact that the Negro people themselves have become interested in various cultural activities which promise rich fruition within the next decade. This month, for instance, at Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, a Play Festival has been organized by the Southern Association of Dramatic and Speech Arts, which is a Negro cultural organization of great influence in the South. Attending the Festival were dramatic groups from the following Negro universities: Dillard University, New Orleans; Le Moyne College, Memphis; Texas College, Tyler; Houston College for Negroes, Houston, Texas; Langston State College, Langston, Oklahoma; and Bishop College. Among the plays produced the most interesting were three one-act plays: *A Southern Tragedy*, by Orange Clemens, a sharecropper's drama laid in Arkansas, *The Road to Damascus* by Jimmy Lilly and Inaree Miller, the tragic story of an outcast octoroon and an old Negro mammy who tries to educate her, and *Dawn*, a play built about the unconventional love life of a Negro professor in a Negro medical school. All these plays were written by students at Wiley College, under the direction of Professor M. B. Tolson.

Things Negro

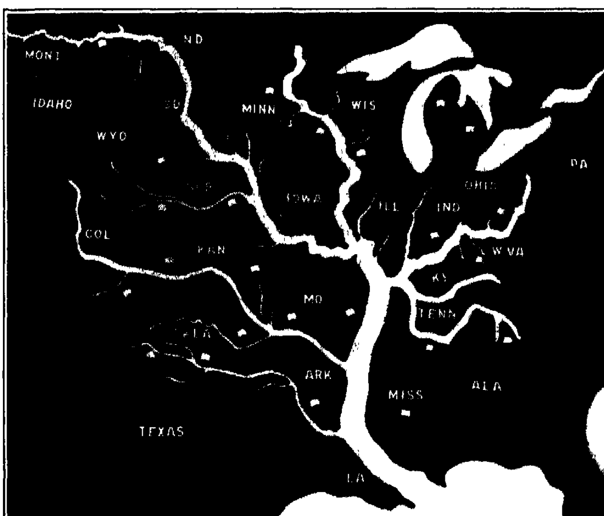
In that connection, it is interesting to report that at Wiley College a Book Review Digest, in dramatized form, has been introduced which has won the hearty support of the entire student body. Among the books reviewed in this dramatized form have been Robert Briffault's *Europa*, Feuchtwanger's *Power*, Carl Sandburg's *The People, Yes*, and T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land*. These reviews are so popular that the chapel, where they are given, is crowded to capacity whenever one is staged. They have helped interest students in books, have increased the sale of books in the community, and have made books into the most vital form of conversation on the campus. It is to be hoped that something like this may be introduced into other colleges to make more and more students realize that books are living things rather than dull texts to be imbibed as a form of mental medicine.

In other parts of the South, the Negro is more interested in dancing as a cultural form than in drama or literature. In Hampton Institute, for example, the Creative Dance Group there has dedicated itself to developing the rich "racial and native material" of the Negro people. Like the Play Festival described above, the aim is to encourage things Negro and not things white. The tendency to imitate white writers and dancers is discouraged. African folk dance and ritual is used as the background for much of the experimental work undertaken by the Hampton Institute group. "At work or at play," the Hampton Institute group declares, "and after work the African . . . and his descendants in America have been alike afflicted with what the Negro poet, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, called 'itchin' heels,' heels ready to caper in almost any kind of dance at a moment's notice."

The Libel Racket

The history of every literature has been checkered with attacks, persecutions, and suits of numerous varieties. Few authors have escaped their inflictions. In ancient days authors found it practically impossible to publish anything which contradicted the aims of the state. In Elizabethan days, for example, suppression was the immediate device resorted to by the monarchy whenever it wished to counteract the influence of dangerous or subversive literature.

In more modern and contemporary days, authors have made more money and won more recognition and esteem from the public than they did in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, but suits against them have increased rather than decreased. In the nineteenth cen-



NEW FILM TECHNIQUE: THE RIVER *makes use of artistic maps such as these to show effectively the path of the flood waters.*

tury, for example, James Fenimore Cooper found himself the center of a whole series of suits which rendered his literary life a veritable battlefield of legal tragedy. To the end of his days he was harassed by the memory of those conflicts. He fought to the right of him and to the left of him, in front of him and in back of him, but the fight seemed never to cease. Edgar Allan Poe was also drawn into similar conflicts. Accused of forgery and drunkenness he fought against his enemies with remarkable success. In his suit against *The New York Mirror*, for example, Poe managed to win a verdict against the paper for the sum of $225.

In our own day, the suit business has varied a bit but essentially it is the same. Instead of the author suing in defense of himself, however, we more often find him forced to defend himself against those who sue him. Many recent cases are illustrative: viz, the case of Ernest Sutherland Bates and Oliver Carson against one of the friends of Fallon in connection with their book on Hearst, and Thomas Wolfe's defense of himself against various and numerous people who claim he has put them into his books.

Of General Interest

One of the most interesting libel suits of literary and cultural significance of the present day is that connected with the conflict between Burton Rascoe, one of America's best known critics, and Max Annenberg, the well-known Chicagoan. Mr. Rascoe in his autobiography *Before I Forget* accused Mr. Annenberg of having used gangsters in the Chicago newspaper war of 1910, at which time, Ernest Sutherland Bates alleges "Mr. Annenberg, with a munition-maker's fine impartiality, functioned first on behalf of the Hearst papers and later on behalf of the Chicago Tribune." Mr. Annenberg instituted suit over nine months ago, for $250,000, with the result that Mr. Rascoe's publisher, terrified by the risk involved, discouraged the sale of the book, Mr. Rascoe declares, and refused to advertise it under the unpropitious circumstances which had arisen. Tragic as such consequences were for Mr. Rascoe, they become more significant when we realize what occurred. When Mr. Rascoe set himself to answer Mr. Annenberg's suit, he discovered that his adversary had not filed his complaint. In other words, Mr. Annenberg made the complaint but did not file it, which made it necessary for Mr. Rascoe, to force Mr. Annenberg to go through with the suit, to file the complaint for his opponent.

Mr. Rascoe's gesture in this regard is both original and significant. It represents an attempt on the part of an author to fight what has become commonly known today as the "libel racket" and put an end to the threat which it has held over the heads of many writers. Mr. Rascoe views his fight as more than personal. It is a fight which he feels must be fought through to a finish for the protection of the writers of the future as well as those of the present. It is for that reason that writers and literary people in general throughout the country — and the world — will watch with eagerness the outcome of the suit. At the present time the writer is well-nigh helpless before the attacks of those people who want to terrify publishers into suppressing books by threat of libel action. Almost every author and practically every publisher has consented to settle such suits out of court because the expense of a trial, even if successful, is too forbidding to contemplate. The result has been that authors have been victimized by their own fears and ineffectuality. If Mr. Rascoe wins in his battle with Mr. Annenberg it will mark a new milestone in the struggle of authors against the "libel racket." Mr. Rascoe, as Ernest Sutherland Bates has said, "is waging a battle in the public interest which should receive public support." Incidentally, Mr. Bates goes further in his discussion of the matter and suggests that "what is needed is an assessment of damages against anyone who brings a libel suit and fails to prove it. That would be treating the libel racket as the blackmail which it actually is. If one stood to lose $250,000 as well as win it, [everyone] would think twice before starting anything."

Censorship and the Films

It is very interesting to note that last year in Fascist Germany the most popular films were those coming from the democratic countries: America and France. German film concerns produced ninety-five full length films and in all, including foreign, 166 cinemas were shown throughout the nation. Thirty-four were American films, fifteen Austrian, and ten French. Of the three longest-running films two were American and one French German films, despite the fact that the German government took over control of the cinema industry, were unable to compete successfully with foreign ones.

German films have been very successful, however, in places where German influence has spread. In Insurgent Spain for instance, German films have superseded French films in importance and drawing-power. In the past, the Spanish market was dominated by French films. Today, German films and also Italian ones, even though inferior in quality, have achieved that domination. The Germans are doing their best to corner the film market in terms of their political objectives. They have been handicapped, to be sure, by the mediocrity of the films of their allies, Italy and Japan, and have been unable to force the German people to spend their money to see such inferior films At the present time, Germany has offered to lend technical aid to the film industry in both Italy and Japan in hope thereby of improving the quality of their films to such a degree that they will be able to compete successfully with American, French, and English films.

A Challenge

There have been several developments in the world of the cinema which represent interesting and unfortunate manifestations of cultural suppression. In Brazil, for instance, which has become an obvious friend of Mussolini and Hitler in late weeks, the film *The Road Back* has been banned, and certain of the religious scenes of *The Garden of Allah* were eliminated as hostile to Catholic interests, and the end of the film *San Francisco* was completely changed by cutting out the conversion scene in the finale. In connection with such censorship antics, it is amusing to note that Eddie Cantor's picture, *Ali Baba Goes to Town*, is now playing in Berlin, but all mention of Eddie Cantor is eliminated from the program and publicity for the picture. As far as Berlin is concerned, Cantor isn't in the picture, even though every audience roars at him throughout the film.

In Soviet Russia censorship scarcely more intelligent is also to be discovered. The director of the Russian film version of Stevenson's *Treasure Island* has recently been removed from his post because he injected too much sentimentality into the story—at least too much sentimentality of the wrong kind in the eyes of the Soviet censors.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

The Religious Horizon

WHEN Dr. Frank Gavin died on March 20 the Episcopal Church lost her most brilliant scholar, the ecumenical cause of a reunited Christendom lost one of its foremost proponents, and this writer lost the dearest and best friend and the wisest, most understanding counsellor he had in the world. The chair of Ecclesiastical History at the General Theological Seminary will never be filled by a more noted scholar, theologian, teacher and "friend of man" than "Father Frank" as he was affectionately called by a host of friends.

The first ordained Gentile Rabbi in the United States, his knowledge of Jewish theology and rabbinical training gave him an invaluable basis of understanding with Jewish leaders throughout the world. Because of his familiarity with Old Catholic and Eastern Orthodox theology, history, manners and customs, as well as his linguistic abilities and his acquaintance with personalities of every rank in those bodies, Dr. Gavin was virtually "an ambassador at large, representing the American Episcopal Church to these groups." His close intimate contacts with leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, the Federal Council of Churches and other Protestant bodies enabled him to be the most valuable counsellor to the Presiding Bishop's Advisory Commission of Ecclesiastical Relations.

Holding degrees (the most of which were received in course) from several Colleges and Universities and speaking fluently nineteen languages, Dr. Gavin served with distinction on many committees and commissions of importance. Frequently in England and on the Continent, he also traveled to the Far as well as the Near East in the interests of the reunion of Christendom. He gave unstintingly of himself to the World Conference on Faith and Order, the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work, the Commission of the General Convention (Episcopal) on Approaches to Unity, and the World Fellowship of Reconciliation through the Churches. His wide knowledge and deep understanding were frequently consulted by high dignitaries of the Eastern Orthodox as well as the Anglican Church.

While representing the American Episcopal Church on the Anglican Mission to the Balkans, Dr. Gavin received signal honors. The Rumanian Patriarch, His Beatitude Miron Cristea, bestowed upon each of the Commission the Patriarchal Cross, the highest honor in his gift. Dr. Gavin also received the Order of the Star of Rumania from the Foreign Secretary of Rumania, M. Titulescu.

The several books which he wrote preserve much of the thought of Dr. Gavin. The influence exerted by his dynamic personality upon the lives of many close friends will perpetuate his influence. His funeral was indicative of the fact that even in death his ideals and work continue to be effective. The entire faculty and student body of the General Theological Seminary, many priests of the Orthodox Church, a number of Roman Catholic priests and hundreds of laymen of many faiths attended the services.

The burial office was read by Bishop Gardner of New Jersey, and the lesson from Corinthians was read by Dean Fosbroke. Requiem mass was sung by Fr. Granville Williams, rector of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin (where the services were conducted). The superior of SSJE., Fr. Spence Burton, gave absolution, and Archbishop Polycarp of the Rumanian Church said prayers, accompanied by Archbishop Athenagoras of the Greek Church and Bishop Bodhan of the Ukrainian Church. One of the leading Rabbis of the U. S., Rabbi Sidney Tedesche was one of the honorary pall-bearers.

May the soul of this great friend of man, through the mercy of God rest in peace.

The fate of Christianity in that part of Europe in which Dr. Gavin spent so much time and thought, hangs precariously in the balance. What will happen to the Church in Austria is a matter of speculation. The situation in Czechoslovakia is anything but encouraging. What the Nazis will do in both of these countries cannot be predicted. Austrian bishops who have spoken or written favorably to the Anschluss have been denounced by Rome as having "spoken out of turn." Either the Vatican must change its attitude toward the Nazis or the Austrian hierarchy must revise its stand. Else there may come about a split, and the Roman Catholic Church in Austria may become the Austrian Catholic Church. This writer will even venture to say that such a move has been in the mind of "der Fuehrer." Certainly separation from Rome would remove a great deal of the grounds for complaint which the Nazis have against the Roman Catholic Church.

Racial and national minorities in both Austria and Czechoslovakia are bringing pressure not only for political autonomy, but also for religious separation. Religious history is definitely in the making in this part of Europe, perhaps to a degree equal to the days of Huss, Luther and Zwingli.

Revival of Hinduism

The present-day revival of Hinduism is distinctive in that it is under the leadership of a vigorous laity. Such men of world-wide reputation as Gandhiji, Tagore, Radhakrishnan, and Arabindo Ghosh are among the leaders. The priestly order very rarely appears in the scheme at all. These lay leaders insist that there can be no separation of the spiritual and the secular. Religion in India has been woven into life and is a real force. Christianity, if it is to make any real progress in India, must be able to point to conditions different than those which now exist throughout the Western world, where ideals are professed in the Church services but are not practiced to any appreciable extent in daily life.

The teachings of Hinduism are claimed as the basis of such movements as the Fellowship of Faith, Liberal Hinduism and a Universal Religion. Other tendencies emphasize the worth of traditional ideas, when men of modern enlightenment renounce worldly interests either for meditation or for devotion to a public cause. Every movement in the field of social reform in India claims the sanction of religion for radical departures from tradition. In other words Hinduism is being presented as the answer to life's problems, capable of grappling with the challenge of an age of upheaval—of change from ancient to modern ways of living.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

Extract from an article written by Louis de Brouckere, former Senator and one of the most prominent members of the Belgian Socialist Party, in connection with the debate concerning Japanese aggression during the Congress of the Universal Cooperative Alliance held recently in London:

"Abetting the Crime"

In order to make war it is not enough to be equipped with cynical brutality and criminal will. It is not even enough to have masses of men whom one can lead into butchery. It is necessary to have the material means which are indispensable to modern war and whose abundance or scarcity is decisive for the result of the conflict.

Enormous quantities of metals are necessary. Steel is of prime importance, but copper, nickel, zinc, aluminum and many others are needed too.

Great quantities of cotton are necessary as are coal tar products and wood pulp for the manufacture of explosives.

Oil is needed for the airplanes, tanks and transport of all kinds. Oil is difficult to store up in sufficient quantities and if prevented from being supplied for several months, could considerably weaken the aggressor.

It is well known that Japan lacks all these things, with the exception of steel, almost entirely. Even steel is not manufactured in quantities sufficient to prosecute a major war.

It can continue its criminal enterprise in China only because the Powers—all Powers—daily sell all this that Japan needs to perpetrate its crime. Thus the Powers become the most direct and certain accomplices of the criminal exactly as the dealers in arms sell weapons to the under-world character with the full knowledge of the purpose to which they will be put.

We are all horrified when looking at the moving pictures of the carnage caused by air bombardments. We are only too prone to forget that the governments of the world whose reprehensible actions we do not impede give Japan the means to assassinate children and women—and do it for the profits of the national trade.

We indeed almost entirely forget that in democratic regimes the people are responsible for the acts of their Powers since they are enabled to prevent them. The Congress came to the conclusion that it is necessary to redouble their efforts in influencing public opinion for the re-direction of international politics which have been sinking into the mire in Europe.

This is a necessary and a promising effort. It can give great results as one will see when the time comes to profit from the lessons of the events in Spain.

But this effort is not sufficient. It must be completed by the direct action of every citizen.

I say that Japan lacks almost everything that is necessary to wage war. It must buy abroad all "the raw materials of its aggression," if I may express myself in this manner.

To buy, gold or foreign currency is needed. It has neither capital nor foreign currency abroad. Its reserves would soon be exhausted if it couldn't continually replenish them by exportation.

If, therefore, the friends of peace (President Roosevelt said justly that they constitute nine-tenths of humanity) would stop buying from the perpetrators of the crime, their position would become difficult.

When we buy a Japanese fountain pen which is not expensive (and, by the way, not good) we give the Japanese Government the means to buy a certain number of cartridges. When women buy stockings made of Japanese silk they will see on them, if they look well, the blood of little Chinese children. When we buy a cheap bicycle made in Tokyo it means that the Japanese militarists can obtain a bomb to renew their horrors of aerial bombardment.

What to do? Very simple. If you find that the aggression is criminal, if you really desire the re-establishment of peace, do not help the aggressor. Refuse to be an accomplice in the crime and don't buy any goods before being sure that they do not come from the aggressors.

This is a very simple conclusion reached by the assembly only after two Internationals—the Labor and the Socialist International—arrived at the same decision.

—*Le Peuple*, Socialist Daily, Brussels, Belgium



Glasgow Record

Is He Going to Bid?

Ivan the Terrible and Stalin

The personality of the autocrat remains the same throughout the centuries. It has the same vehemence, the same uniformity, and is guided by the same contempt of all measure and mod-

eration. Stalin has not only the same tendencies, but even the same motives as Ivan IV, called the Terrible. The tribunals of both are as native to the soil as the mountains and the rivers. And the parallel, between Stalin and Ivan the Terrible, cannot be purely accidental. It is the expression of the inherent law of Russian rule.



Robinson in the *Star*, London

SNOW WHITE AND THE DWARFS

Ivan IV announced to the world that there was a conspiracy against him, which in reality never existed. This, however, gave him the pretext to start a blood purge against the boyars, the ruling caste with its aristocratic organs. He banished from his sight the old aristocratic oligarchy, by which he felt constrained, just as Stalin feels constrained by the old guard of the Bolsheviki. He sought to form a new oligarchy from a lower nobility entirely depended upon him. And the old oligarchy was as much surprised when the danger threatened, as was the old guard of the Bolsheviki by the execution squads aiming at them. The boyars helped Ivan climb to the throne, just as Zinoviev and Kamenev lifted Stalin on their shoulders to power after Lenin's death. Cautiously, patiently, shrewdly Ivan went to work. He displayed on his throne the same kindly, smiling, harmless face as Stalin in his soldier's blouse behind his modest desk. "The boyars," wrote the Russian historian Kliuchevsky, "did not suspect anything while the murders were in preparation, and they stood helpless before Ivan; when they finally saw the danger."

And then, writes a chronicler of the time, a great holocaust of cruelty broke out.

"With dogs' heads and brooms on their saddles and quivers," reports Staehlin in his History of Russia, "as symbols of the biting guardians and the creators of order, Ivan's henchmen rode about and waged a war of extermination at the order of their master. Thousands of families were plundered and thrown into misery, many exterminated to the last living soul. The whole following of these nobles were their hunting prey, beginning with the children of the boyars in their service down to the kennel grooms." The Tsar Ivan murdered the boyars with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, just as Stalin murders Bolsheviki while quoting from the writings of Lenin. Just as Stalin is the disciple of orthodox priests, Ivan also knew the liturgies by heart and mumbled them nightly to himself. Ivan saw God's word through his irascible temperament. Ivan's writings show, however, that the Tsar aspired to achieve the united indivisible state with the words of the evangels, with sayings of the prophets and quotations from the New Testament. It was the struggle against the primitive feudal powers. His murders could therefore "dialectically" and from the "Marxist point of view" be considered as extremely progressive, and nevertheless, because he overbid his "progressivism" he failed, when he became the victim of his imagining conspiracies everywhere and when he saw everywhere around him enemies conspiring with foreign countries. Soon the new friends felt as insecure as the old ones—and the period of Russian turmoils began.

As Ivan was in his time, so is Stalin now, while using the traditional Russian methods, on the road of losing all objective perspective and measure.

He follows the tradition of Russian rule, by exterminating the protagonists, who in accordance with the aims of the Russian Revolution intended to establish the Russian state, Russia's nationalities, on a new federative basis. But he overreaches himself and also makes his new friends tremble. They still agree with him now because he throws at them the old dignitaries of the proletarian dictatorship. The historical meaning of these trials and the murders without trials is the gloomy liquidation of bolshevism, an ignominious liquidation, such as no other revolution ever had in store for its heroes. No record and no song will remain, only the story of murder and strangulation from Byzantium. All enemies of revolutionary socialism can now consider themselves avenged. When could they ever have gone in their hopes so far, that they not only would destroy their enemies, which, after all, was in the realm of possibility, but to see them in their most abject humiliation, delight in the savor of their "confession" as if they were drops of nectar. And all this in the name of the Revolution itself! The celebrated hero of Soviet justice, the public prosecutor Vyshinsky was, before the bolsheviki seized power, their bitter enemy. Mikhael Koltsev, the public slanderer of the accused in the "Pravda" was fighting arms-in-hand on the side of the "Whites" during the Civil War. Troyanovsky, who from Washington attacks the victims, was, just as Grinko, the successor of the condemned Sokolnikov and of the executed Pyatikov, member of the anti-bolshevik armed fighting organizations.



Il 420, Florence

NIGGERS MEET

"You do not even say 'Good Morning' to your friends."

"No, I am in a white mood"

Can anybody imagine a sadder swan-song of the revolution? A more hellish irony than the fact that the "revolutionists" of all countries enthusiastically approve this accusation of treason hurled by Stalin and denied by Trotsky? The enormity of this accusation which resembles a howl from the united insane asylums of the world, is an example of despotism rejuvenated by unbridled power. This accusation is the proof that after a few thousand years of history, which certainly was not lacking in atrocities, man was never more degraded than by what is now

called "victorious socialism." Into all eternity, as long as there are weaker groups, Stalin shouts to the strong, Nero's words: "Before me no prince knew how far he can go."

—Valeriu Marcu in *Das Neue Tage-Buch*, Paris.

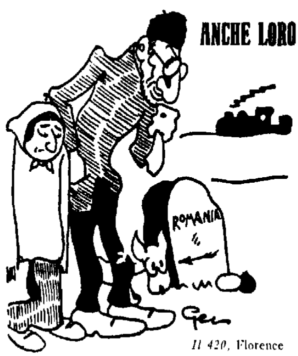
Rumania's Royal Dictatorship

When Carol the Second established his non-parliamentary royal dictatorship in Rumania he took a step which wise chiefs of states should not take and which, indeed, wise chiefs of state do not want to take. Having thrown overboard the last vestment of democracy, he stepped frankly and undisguisedly into the political arena. From now on whatever happens in Rumania is quite openly a reflection upon his person and his abilities. Thus he undertakes the largest adventure of his by-no-means unadventurous life. And while judgement was suspended after his former escapades, the test of the present may be definitive.

As far as Carol's former adventures are concerned we need to remember only that he resigned, or was compelled to resign, the succession to the throne twice within the span of eight years.

The first time this happened was in September 1918 when one night he left his garrison to be married in Odessa to a Miss Zizi Lambrino. His father, Ferdinand the First, did not accept Carol's renunciation of the throne. Instead he punished him for breach of military rules with 75 days close confinement. He also had his marriage annulled and declared illegal by a commission of jurists. Carol, however, maintained his renunciation for two years more and did not abandon his bride. He returned to the fold later and married Princess Helene of Greece who presented him with the heir apparent to the throne, Prince Michael. Nothing untoward happened for several years.

Before the son of the recognized marriage reached his fifth birthday, there began the affair with Madame Lupescu. On December 28, 1925 Carol for her sake again renounced the throne. This time, however, it was not by Carol's own volition. While the Queen petitioned for a divorce which was later granted, Ferdinand, supported by Prime Minister Bratianu, a member of the liberal ministerial family, wiped the slate clean. By a decision of Parliament on January 4, 1926 he had the succession to the throne and the renunciation of all parental power over Prince Michael by Carol finally ratified and legalized. By the same law King Ferdinand had Carol stricken from the lists of the Army and thus for ten years he was prohibited from entering Rumania. He established a Regency Council composed of a Royal Prince, the President of the Supreme Court and the Patriarch of the Rumanian Church which would act in the event that Crown Prince Michael should ascend the throne while still a minor. The Patriarch had then been quite recently



Il 420, Florence

En Route From Rumania

Isaac: *"Where shall we go now?"*
Rebecca: *"To the Promise Land."*
Isaac: *"To Palestine?"*
Rebecca: *"No, stupid! To France."*

created because until February 1925 the Rumanian Church was officially subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Two years after this event the Regency took office upon the death of Ferdinand in July 1927. The six-year-old Michael succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand and the prerogatives of the chief of state fell to the Regency in which the Patriarch Miron Christea, the present Prime Minister, was a member of lesser importance. But the death of Ferdinand was followed in the same year by the death of Jean Bratianu. This gave the banished and dethroned Carol the possibility of withdrawing his renunciation and to prepare more energetically for his return. He was assisted in this aim by the forceful help of the same leader of the National Peasant Party, Maniu, whom he now persistently excludes from the Government. In May 1928 a putsch was attempted in Bucharest in favor of Carol. It miscarried and resulted only in the expulsion of the royal exile from England. However in June 1930 the "National Peasants" received over 90% of all the seats and Maniu became president. And then one day Carol made his sudden appearance in the country from which he was prohibited by law from entering. In 48 hours his elevation to the throne and the demotion of Prince Michael was just as unanimously approved as was his expulsion four and a half years previously.

When these events are considered one can hardly suspect Carol of any strong inclination to stability nor credit him with any great power of resistance against sudden flighty decisions. The peculiar weakness of his career is hardly over-caution.

Apparently it may really be among Carol's intentions to prevent the Nazification of his country. There is no doubt that one of his guiding ideals is the prevention of the former Iron Guard, now parading under the name "All for the Country," from making further gains. This was also the motive when he appointed the five-sixths Nazi Goga to power on December 28, 1937. Optimists believed that a definite strategy was pursued. However, the more sober minded could never be entirely convinced that Carol had carefully planned and hatched this scheme. To begin with, the policy of "stealing the thunder" or "taking the wind out of the sails" has not succeeded wherever it has been tried. The main weapon in this thunder stealing—the shameful persecution of the Jews—is, by the way, too much of a thing in itself to be considered as a mere means to an end or a lightly wielded political maneuver. Then too it was always a riddle how power could be given to a group representing but 9% of the votes while at the same time maintaining the constitution.

From the first, therefore, there were reasons to doubt that there were really deep hatched plans for the *coup d'etat* of December 28.

As this attempt was reversed after several weeks, no matter from what causes, it is now definitely established that the whole thing was nothing but a violent and sputtering improvisation. Now some may believe that the present second attempt is something better than the first, in that it represents greater foresight. Just as the crypto-nazi-six-weeks-episode of Goga, the succeeding Royal Dictatorship of Christea is being officially proclaimed as "A New Era in the History of the Fatherland," and is beginning "As An Extremely Solemn Moment in the History of the Rumanian People." But taking everything into consideration

this construction, which has even less backing than Goga, creates even a smaller impression of solidity and careful planning. It is obvious that the disturbance caused by Messrs. Goga and Cuza in economic life had to be remedied promptly. If it is true what the German press maintained with venomous attacks that on account of foreign policy the intervention of London and Paris greatly contributed to the liquidation of the Goga adventure, this could be praised only as a rare case of decisive action. But outside of the possible consideration of foreign policy, the second coup makes the same impression as the first—of throwing dice.

—*Das Neue Tage-Buch*, organ of the Left Liberal German refugees, Paris.

Concerning the Devil's Work

I refrain from congratulating Hitler on the suppression of *Der Stürmer* until I know that it is really suppressed and not merely banned for the moment on the private understanding that it or its equivalent is to be allowed to continue the filthy work in a few weeks' time. Most people in this country have read something about Streicher's obscene fanaticism, but comparatively few have actually read the paper. I do not think the history of beastliness contains its equal. For Streicher was not content with general nonsense about the Jews betraying Germany in the war and during the Republic, with fake "science" about race contamination and Nordic blood and with the crazy thesis that all international and national troubles of the world throughout history have been due to the Jews. That would only have been mad. But he is also malignant, cruel and obscene. He loved to pillory individuals and to hound unfortunate and obscure men and women to concentration camps. He had a spicy column of personal insults for people who were depraved or brave enough to shake hands with a Jew or to continue their friendship with men whom only a few years ago the German public was delighted to honour. The more salacious, the more detailed the allegations of sexual offences the more satisfying no doubt to Herr Streicher. No law of libel protects the Jew in Germany, no police protect him against private assault and public insult. Why Hitler should have chosen this week to take action against his old friend, Herr Streicher, I don't know. No one has done more of the devil's work of lying and bamboozling; no one has thought of crueller ways of stopping thought by creating superstition and encouraging thuggery. It may be—I hope it is—that Hitler has at last been convinced that in the present unrest of Germany and with the increasing need of a favourable opinion abroad, Streicher is no longer an asset. I hope so. But I shall not be surprised if the thing appears again very soon on the assumption that foreign opinion is foolish enough to believe anything, forgive anything and forget anything.

—Critic in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London.

Political Refugees

Reports on the number and condition of the refugees from various countries paint a tragic picture. At the end of 1937 the total number of refugees was estimated at 150,000, of which approximately 130,000 are Jews. The remainder are political refugees or persons who left Germany after the enforcement of the race laws promulgated at Nuremberg.

All categories of refugees are increasing constantly while the conditions for their admission to asylum countries become continually more unfavorable. In spite of considerable emigration to Palestine and to countries over-seas, forty to fifty thousand are still in Europe. A small number only have found means of subsistence and a considerable number live in abject misery.

The socialist refugees number 4,000. More than 1,000 are in France, about 1,200 are in Czechoslovakia, and about 300 are in the Scandinavian countries. The remainder are scattered in other European and extra-European countries.

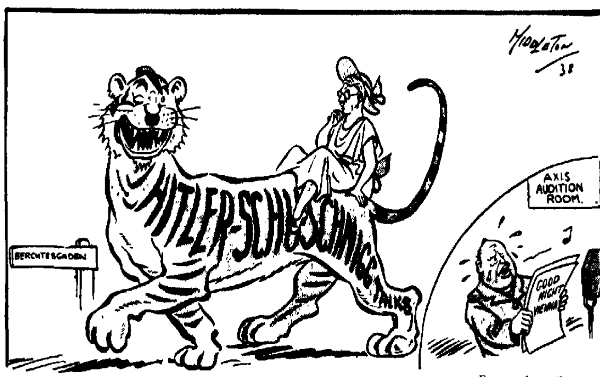
As terror is being methodically applied to all those who do not adhere to the doctrines of the Third Reich, it must be expected that a large number of persons will continue to attempt to escape from the harsh restrictions.

It must be recognized that regular aid is being given to a considerable number of Socialist refugees by the Labor and Socialist International, the International Trade Union Federation and affiliated organizations in the various countries.

The following has been submitted to the Commission concerning refugee scientists and university professors: 2,500 have been dismissed for political or racial reasons, about 1,900 of whom went abroad. Of those about one-half found new occupations. England received the greatest number of German scientists. Turkey and the United States are in second place. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has by now expelled almost all German scientists including those who went to that country motivated by idealistic impulses.

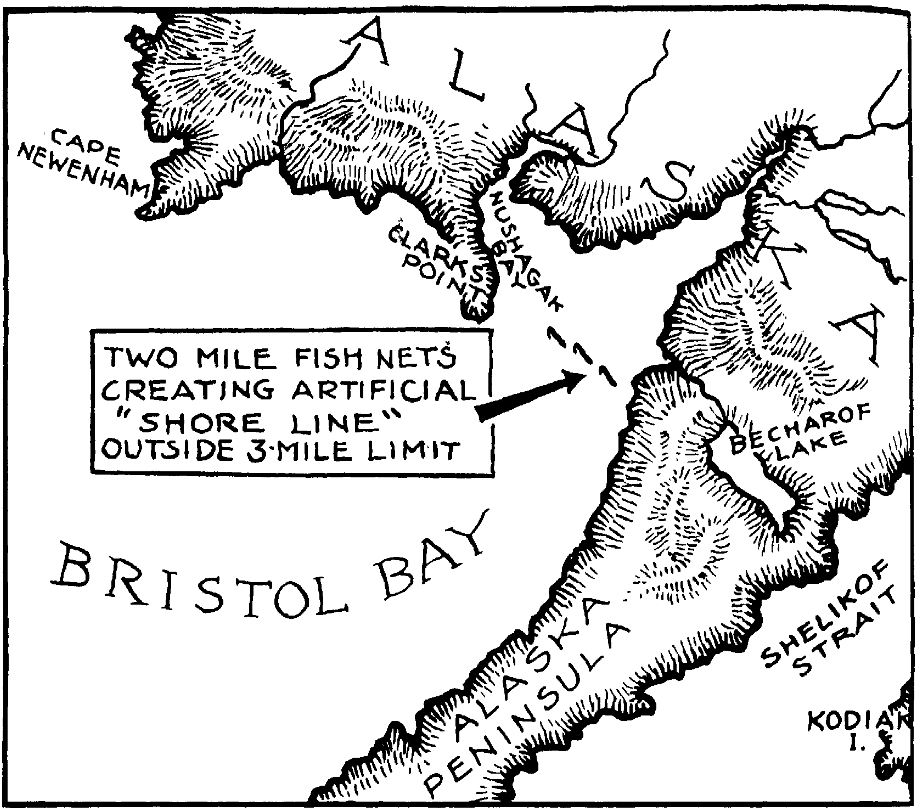
A further increase in the number of German scientists who must leave Germany is expected. In fact, at present, only professors who are members of the Nazi Party are tolerated in institutions of higher learning.

—Paul Hertz in *Journal des Nations*, February 10, Geneva



Birmingham Gazette

There was a young Lady of Riga, who went for a ride on a Tiger . . . .



JAPANESE FISHING DISPUTE

SALMON, say doctors, is the most perfect fish food. It contains phosphorus for mental energy (the familiar theory that fish is a "brain food" has a sound basis as far as salmon is concerned), protein for muscle and tissue building, fats for energy, minerals for regular body functions, and vitamins for physical well-being.

The Japanese, in whose diet fish plays as important a part as rice, have long envied the plentiful supply of salmon available to Americans. Unsuccessful themselves in creating large local salmon hatcheries, the Japanese have sent fishing vessels to Alaskan waters outside the three-mile limit. Using heavy two-mile nets, high-powered Japanese boats have taken back to Nippon hundreds of thousands of salmon, food of foods in the eyes and appetites of all natives. Again and again, the boats have raided Alaskan waters, stretching their nets across the entrance to Bristol Bay (see map), and preventing the salmon from returning to American fresh water streams from which they have come and where they spawn and die.

Instinct of salmon to return to the clear-water spawning places is one of the most amazing of all nature's vast phenomena. Spawned in fresh water, salmon (most desirable of five species of the fish is red salmon) spend a year or two in local waters before heading out to sea. A couple of years later, having wandered far and wide, the salmon head for home on a direct line, regardless of its distance from the spawning grounds. It is on the "run" home that they are intercepted by Japanese fishing nets.

Protesting against the Japanese salmon raids are the Coast fisheries groups, nucleus of an industry that employs 30,000 people, does a volume of business amounting to $50,000,000 a year. They appealed to the United States Government, when the raids were first observed more than a year ago, claimed that the Japanese fishing boats were engaging in "theft;" pointed out that the Nipponese used nets as long as three miles while Americans were forbidden by law to cast nets larger than 900 feet, and predicted that the entire Coast salmon industry would be ruined within a few years if the foreign boats were not curbed.

Acting upon these protests, the Federal Government last year sounded out Japan as to whether these boats operated with the knowledge and consent of the Tokyo authorities.



This photograph, showing the Japanese fishing boats in the waters of Bristol Bay, was taken from the air.

Japan disclaimed all responsibility for the raids, saying that no licenses were granted to Japanese boats for the purpose of salmon fishing in Alaskan waters. The Japanese would not, however, discontinue their "fishing survey" near Alaska, they said, nor would they halt in any way their crab-fishing operations. The fishing survey had started in 1936 and was to continue for a three-year period for the purpose of collecting data on the salmon resources in Bristol Bay. Coast fishermen were willing enough to allow the Japanese to fish for crabs and even monopolize the industry if they wished (crab-fishing is tedious work, the processing is comparatively expensive), but charged that the Japanese fishing survey was in reality part and parcel of a salmon-raiding expedition. They furnished Federal officials with proof in the form of photographs of Bristol Bay, taken from an airplane, showing Diesel-powered trawlers aboard which were long salmon fishing nets.

Once again (November 22, 1937), the United States Government protested to Japan, citing these photographs in addition to numerous affidavits as conclusive evidence



Thomas Riggs, former Governor of Alaska, and Congressional Delegate A. J. Dimond of Alaska, point to salmon-raiding territory.



Even salmon are entered in contests. There are five types of salmon, red salmon being considered the best.

that Japanese boats were engaging in salmon fishing, contrary to Nippon's earlier assurances regarding its refusal to grant such licenses. Moreover, said the State Department, the Japanese "survey" always seemed to be in operation during the salmon season. The note declared that the "American Government believes that the right of obligation to protect the Alaska salmon fisheries is not only overwhelmingly sustained by conditions of their development and perpetuation but that it is a matter which must be regarded as important. . . "

On March 26, 1938—four months after this protest was filed with the Japanese Government, during which time the salmon dispute broke on the floor of Congress—Japan backed down and, though it denied official responsibility for the salmon raids, offered fairly strong assurances that it would prevent Japanese boats from further salmon fishing in American waters. Moreover, the Japanese Government consented to discontinue its "survey" (the survey would expire this year according to the original plans) and would set up machinery to "prevent any such further operations."



Fish and Game Commissioner George Stobie exhibits two beauties.



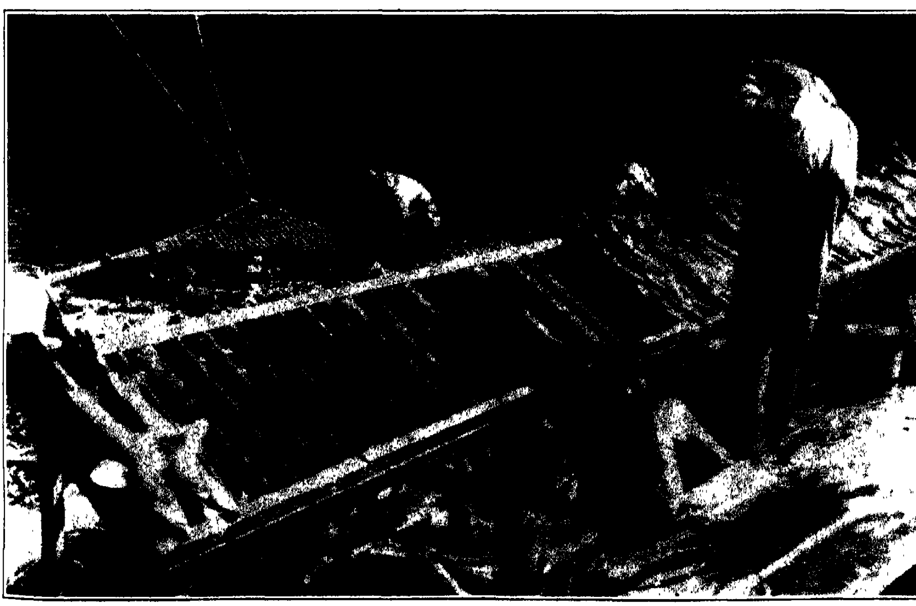
The lone angler, using no nets, has caught a full basket.



Oldtimers' Day at Raymong, Maine, where each year a "salmon sweeping," with appropriate ceremonies, is held.

Though pleased with the new assurances given by Japan, American fishermen are not diminishing their efforts to outlaw definitely Japanese fishing expeditions in Alaskan waters. Under their sponsorship a bill has been introduced in Congress which declares that salmon spawned and hatched in the waters of Alaska are the property of the United States, and extends jurisdiction of the Federal Government over all national waters in the disputed territory. Regardless of whether the act becomes law, fishermen have declared that further salmon poaching by Japanese will be the signal for "taking the law into our own hands." They would drive out the Japanese by force of arms, if necessary, they recently told a Congressional committee.

The fisheries dispute is one of the few occasions on which Coast labor and capital have been able to agree. In the face of a threat to the industry as a whole, unions and employers have banded together and have adopted a mutual line of attack. A more ominous note is the charge that many Japanese fishing boats are designed for conversion into mine-layers or torpedo craft.



View of the Government salmon hatchery on a branch of the Cowlity River, in the State of Washington.

ADULT EDUCATION

THE WPA Adult Education Program attacks directly the problem of illiteracy. Indirectly it attempts to satisfy the desire among an ever increasing number of Americans for self-improvement. The New York City project alone, since its inception two years ago, has registered over 200,000 adults in some 35,000 classes. And the New York project, if not a typical example of adult education, is, perhaps, the most interesting.

More than 50,000 illiterates attended classes in elementary and general English for foreign-born in the New York area. Although numerically but one-fifth of the estimated illiterates among the city's population, they nevertheless represent a good beginning toward the building of more literate American citizenship. But the reduction of illiteracy, though the basic and tangible achievement of the program, is, however, merely one prosaic function among many others. Adult education has been made available to all through the facilities of the WPA Program. It is for adults of any age, scholastic achievement, or interest level. It is informal, and characterized by its catholicity and adaptability.

The Adult Education Program provides, first of all, some solution to the personal adjustment problems. Women are offered competent instruction in home making, family budgets, marketing for the kitchen, personal hygiene, buying clothes for children, neighborhood relationships, and civic responsibilities.

Occupational adjustment problems, although basically individual in character, are also attacked by the Adult Education Program along a broad front. The mature student is trained for new occupations, re-educated to meet the changes in rapidly developing industrial technologies, and acquainted with placement methods and agencies. The WPA Program places emphasis upon the discussion and study of contemporary affairs in order to stimulate interest in modern social problems.



Between shines this WPA student does his homework.

Nor is learning for the sake of knowledge neglected by the Program. Here the adult finds a limitless range. The Program offers instruction on philology, astronomy, epistemology and modern American verse, science and religion, and any other subject to which a sufficient number of people are ready to bring an intellectual interest. But most important of all the Program's work are the recreational activities



Students learning to sew for the family.



Free cooking class under the supervision of a WPA teacher.

of an educational character. Numerically, this phase ranks second in popularity to "useful" study. It covers all of those spare-time activities that recreate, restore and retain the enthusiasms, and the mental and physical health of the adult.

Many qualified observers have credited the Adult Education Program as one of the outstanding accomplishments of the New Deal. It is a program new to the country although long needed. It is mass education for that part of the population past high school age. And it is paradoxical that America could afford it only in the years of economic depression. The question now is whether America will be able to afford it in a period of economic normalcy? Judging from its present popularity, the Program will be continued. In the forefront of those advocating its continuance are many who believe that there is no better way to insure the future of democracy than through the education of the electorate.



Store Promotion and Advertising class available to all adults over 17 years of age.



Afternoon tea party for neighborhood mothers where inexpensive cooking is discussed.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Mar. 4 - Apr. 1

DOMESTIC

MARCH 4—President Roosevelt authorizes publication of a memorandum from two directors of TVA saying they could no longer work with their co-director, Chairman Arthur E. Morgan, and suggesting that he retire to private life

The President, on the fifth anniversary of his inauguration, declares that "the old Ship of State is on the same course."

Robert H. Jackson is confirmed as Solicitor-General by a Senate vote of 62 to 4.

President Roosevelt says that he favors publicity on salaries of over $15,000 and that he believes the public needs such facts.

MARCH 6—Senator Borah declares that economic boycotts are dangerous and tend to cause strong feeling between countries which could easily lead to war The Senator urges that the movement to boycott Japanese products in the United States be abandoned

MARCH 7—John L. Lewis enters Thomas Kennedy in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary, putting labor to a political test.

Navy Bill is called blanket power for President Roosevelt's foreign policy by Republican minority of House group.

MARCH 8—The Interstate Commerce Commission grants increases in railroad freight rates. Experts of the Association of American Railroads estimate the increase to be upward of $175,000,000, instead of the $469,000,000 applied for by the railroads. In contrast to the experts' estimates, Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman implied that the total would be $270,000,000 and said that that amount was what the railroads needed.

Richard Whitney & Co is suspended by the New York Stock Exchange for insolvency. A Stock Exchange statement declares that Mr Whitney, head of the suspended company and five times president of the Exchange, has been summoned to face charges, on March 17, along with his two partners, of "conduct apparently contrary to just and equitable principles of trade"

President Roosevelt summons all three directors of the TVA to the White House on March 11, to be present at an investigation of his own into the facts behind the long-standing dispute within the Administration on the TVA

Attorney-General John J Bennett Jr tells Governor Lehman and the New York State Legislature that milk distributors' profits range from 13 to 27 percent of their costs, with the prices "dictated" by a small group in New York

Secretary of State Cordell Hull declares that Great Britain and the United States understand each other on the Pacific Island claims.

MARCH 9—The "third basket" surtax on closely held or family corporations is badly defeated in the House by vote of 180 to 124. New sources of revenue are being sought by Representatives.

Senator Bridges assails Lilienthal as a "Hitler" and demands a Congressional inquiry on the TVA.

MARCH 10—Richard Whitney is indicted for theft of $105,000 in securities by Thomas E. Dewey.

The House of Representatives places a levy on pork imports and votes liquor tax rise to replace "third basket."

MARCH 11—Arthur E. Morgan refuses to submit evidence to the President to support charges against his fellow-directors. He insists upon a Congressional investigation

After three hours of continuous voting, the Tax Bill is passed by the House 294 to 97

MARCH 14 Experts of the Treasury estimate the Tax Bill $20,000,000 short and suggest that the Senate restore the "third basket" levy

MARCH 15 - Mr Roosevelt indicates that consolidations will be forced upon the railroads, if necessary to solve their problem

John L. Lewis paints a gloomy picture of America in his broadcast to Great Britain, saying that the United States is drifting to an economic collapse.

MARCH 16—The Income Tax yield for March 15 shows an increase of 18% over last year with a total of $615,947,718

Leaders of the American Federation of Labor, including William Green, visit the White House and agree to work for a wage bill.

A tornado in the Mississippi Valley affects 8 States and kills 22

MARCH 17—Secretary of State Hull, in an international broadcast, says that we stand for peace but will not retreat before anarchy

The I C C group is named by the President to report rail legislation in a week's time for prompt action by Congress

MARCH 18 -The President gives TVA Chairman A E. Morgan until Monday at 1:30 P.M to give facts supporting his charges

The House of Representatives, putting the final touches on the $1,120,000 Navy Bill, votes for a minimum air force of 3,000 planes.

MARCH 19—In a nationwide broadcast, Secretary of State Hull assails Hitler's methods in annexing Austria while granting de facto recognition to the new regime.

MARCH 21—Trouble within the TVA moves rapidly to a climax as President Roosevelt hands down an ultimatum that Chairman A E Morgan either retract his charges of dishonesty, which he has made against his associates, resign, or be removed from office. A. E. Morgan immediately defies the ultimatum.

The House passes the Administration's $1,121,546,000 Naval Construction Bill, the second largest peace-time naval authorization in United States history by 292 to 100 Quick Senate action is being planned

MARCH 22—A. E Morgan is dismissed by the President from the TVA. Mr Roosevelt takes this action with the opinion of the Department of Justice that he has ample power to remove Mr Morgan

Harcourt Morgan is appointed A E Morgan's successor

MARCH 23—President Roosevelt, speaking before 20,000 people, declares that a selfish few delay national prosperity.

MARCH 24—The Senate Finance Committee eliminates the Profits Tax and modifies the capital gains levy.

The Byrd plan to retain the Controller-General in fund control is defeated in the Senate by 47 to 36

The United States agrees with Great Britain to evoke the escalator clause against Japan and build bigger warships.

MARCH 25—The Senate Finance Committee restores the present estate and gift taxes to the revenue bill.

Tokyo agrees to curb her nationals in settlement of the Alaskan fishing dispute.

The Senate votes resolution for a joint investigation of the TVA as amendments widen scope of inquiry

MARCH 27—The Senate is flooded with thousands of telegrams in opposition to the Reorganization Bill on the eve of final vote

MARCH 28—The Reorganization Bill is passed in the Senate by vote of 49 to 42. The Bill is then sent to the House where there is a sharply divided opinion.

Colonel Edward M. House, wartime advisor to Woodrow Wilson, dies at the age of 79 in New York.

MARCH 29—A substitute for the Reorganization Bill is drafted by House leaders

The House passes the Army Bill, representing a rise of $32,853,130 over last year's Bill

The Senate Committee votes approval of the Glass Bill for expansion of RFC powers to grant loans

MARCH 30—Tornadoes kill 19 and injure hundreds of others in five Midwestern States

House of Representatives approves a Senate resolution that provides for a joint investigation of the TVA.

MARCH 31—The Senate Tax Bill, now completed, adds an estimated $23,000,000 to yield of the House measure.

The House amendments are accepted by the Senate on the TVA inquiry as Republicans try to place Bridges on the Committee.

APRIL 1—Administration leaders suffer setback as 100 Democrats revolt and join with 91 others to vote against limitation of Reorganization Bill debate

The F. C C. receives a report suggesting a 25% cut in phone rates The report is the result of a study over a three-year period by Commissioner Paul A. Walker under mandate of Congress

INTERNATIONAL

MARCH 4—Premier Hodza of Czechoslovakia warns Germany that his people will make any sacrifice to defend their independence.

MARCH 5—Two Pacific Islands and Byrd's Antarctic discoveries are claimed by the President for the United States.

Great Britain sends terms of friendship to Italy Spain is held to be the main question.

MARCH 9—German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop reaches London; demands five concessions from Great Britain.

MARCH 11—Nazis seize Austria after Hitler ultimatum forces Schuschnigg to resign Dr Arthur Seyss-Inquart, newly-ap-

pointed Chancellor, requests that Germany send troops to preserve order.

Italy refuses to cooperate with Great Britain and France for the support of Austria.

MARCH 12—Adolf Hitler enters Austria in triumphal parade. In a speech at Linz, he proclaims the unity of Austria and Germany and defies the world to break that unity.

MARCH 13—Austria is formally incorporated into the German Reich despite previous assurances by Hitler that she would retain her independence.

President Wilhelm Miklas is forced out of office. By proclamation, Hitler assumes office as Chief of State of Austria and takes command of her armed forces. *Anschluss* makes Hitler ruler of an Empire of 73,000,000 people.

Hermann Goering voices warning to Europe that the Reich extends protection to all Germans, whether or not they live within German borders.

MARCH 18—18,000 Mexican oil workers seize the properties of 17 U. S. and British companies.

MARCH 27—The United States Treasury stops buying Mexican silver in retaliation for oil seizures.

Mussolini warns France that armed intervention in Spain would threaten peace in Europe.

MARCH 29—Great Britain, France and the United States tentatively agree on 41,000-ton battleships.

MARCH 30—The United States demands, as does Great Britain, that Mexico pay for expropriated oil holdings.

APRIL 1—President Lazaro Cardenas, in a note to Cordell Hull, promising to settle all obligations, eases tension and gives the Secretary of State hope of an early agreement.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

MARCH 5—Rebel aircraft bomb Barcelona seven times in 24 hours, killing 39 and wounding 55.

MARCH 6—The *Baleares*, a Rebel cruiser, is torpedoed by a Loyalist destroyer off the coast of Spain during a hard battle. British ships effect the rescue of about 400 while nearly 500 die.

MARCH 7—Insurgent planes raid Cartagena five times in retaliation for the sinking of their warship.

MARCH 9—Insurgent forces launch a drive on a 70-mile front north of Teruel.

MARCH 10—Rebel troops occupy Belchite after a 15-mile gain but are checked at Madrid.

MARCH 15—Loyalist forces are in a desperate plight as Insurgents press to within 30 miles of the Mediterranean. Premier Negrin flies to Paris to seek eleventh-hour aid from France. Barcelona denies rumors of unrest.

MARCH 16—Barcelona suffers from eight air raids up to 2 A.M. with more due.

MARCH 17—A total of 12 air raids by Rebel planes kill over 1,000 in Barcelona. 1,100-lb. bombs drop in city streets.

MARCH 20—Loyalists form new defense lines on the Aragon front while Rebel planes raid coastal towns.

MARCH 27—Insurgents invade Catalonia and make gains on all fronts. Loyalist forces are reported fleeing in disorder. Fraga undergoes a heavy shelling in one of Loyalists' hardest days.

MARCH 28—Insurgents besiege Lerida. Barcelona asks for 100,000 volunteers.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

MARCH 7—Japanese officials report the capture of Puchow, terminus of the railway from Tatung, and claim all of Shansi.

MARCH 8—Chinese report the recapture of 12 towns behind Japanese lines North of the Yellow River.

MARCH 20—Japanese troops approach to within 27 miles of Suchow and increase southward push in Shantung.

MARCH 22—Chinese save Suchow by driving the Japanese northward. The Communists are only 30 miles from Peiping.

MARCH 27—Chinese drive results in the capture of two cities in Southern Shantung while 50 planes take part in Hankow air raid

MARCH 31—Chinese officials in Hankow admit that Japan is making headway in Southern Shantung.

FOREIGN

Austria

MARCH 9—Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg calls for a plebiscite on Austrian independence to be held on Sunday.

MARCH 10—Nazi disorders are prevalent in protest against the coming plebiscite.

France

MARCH 10—Camille Chautemps quits as French Premier Leon Blum attempts to form a Cabinet.

MARCH 12—All army leaves affecting forces guarding the Maginot line are cancelled.

MARCH 13—Leon Blum completes a new Popular Front Ministry Paul-Boncour accepts a Cabinet position.

MARCH 16—British pledge of Mediterranean naval aid is won.

MARCH 23—Officials rush completion of port for seaplanes in Corsica while the Foreign Minister warns Senators of war perils.

MARCH 31—President Lebrun is asked to form a government of *"public safety"* by French war veterans.

Germany

MARCH 6—Walther Funk, new Nazi Economic Minister, appeals to the United States for an improvement in American-German trade relations. He proposes international plan as basis for stabilizing currencies

MARCH 8—Former President Herbert Hoover, in a meeting with Adolf Hitler, expresses doubt that National Socialism will succeed.

MARCH 11—Troops, 50,000 strong, move toward Austrian border.

MARCH 14—Thousands in Vienna applaud Hitler's entrance.

Former Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria is placed under arrest. Anti-Jewish feeling grows rapidly

MARCH 15—In a speech before a large Vienna crowd, Adolf Hitler formally announces the incorporation of Austria into Germany. After his speech, Hitler reviews a military parade and returns to Munich.

Seyss-Inquart is appointed Reich Statthalter (Governor) of Austria.

MARCH 16—Major Emil Fey, former Vice-Chancellor of Austria, commits suicide.

MARCH 18—Chancellor Hitler, before a cheering Reichstag, defends his actions in Austria, saying that he saved many lives. Hitler also praises Mussolini, and says that he will respect Italy's borders.

MARCH 23—Hitler takes command of the Austrian flotilla and orders the building of a new war fleet on the Danube.

MARCH 24—Buerckel begins Austrian plebiscite campaign. He attacks Jews and mocks Schuschnigg.

MARCH 25—Hitler declares that the Reich will again act across her borders if it becomes necessary.

MARCH 26—Hermann Goering is acclaimed in Vienna. In a wildly cheered speech, he warns all Jews that they must leave Austria. He also says that the court will take up Schuschnigg's fake plebiscite.

MARCH 29—Before an audience of 25,000 in Vienna, Dr. Joseph Goebbels says that Germany no longer fears France.

Great Britain

MARCH 4—Navy estimate of 123,707,000 pounds is submitted to Parliament for use in the coming fiscal year. Two capital ships are included.

MARCH 7—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain wins approval of the House of Commons for his foreign policy. The Commons voted to reject a labor motion to amend the bill implementing the huge rearmament program but subsequently voted approval of Chamberlain's foreign policy statement.

MARCH 18—United States Ambassador Kennedy warns Great Britain that no nation can count upon American neutrality or American participation in another war. Whatever course Americans follow, he declares, will be guided "primarily on the firm ground of national interest."

MARCH 23—Chamberlain talks with trade union leaders to urge cooperation for British rearmament.

MARCH 24—Prime Minister Chamberlain warns that Great Britain would help France in time of war He refuses to pledge aid to Czechoslovakia but warns that war cannot be limited.

MARCH 25—British unions and Laborites condemn Prime Minister for not aiding the Loyalists and for refusing to pledge aid to the Czechs

MARCH 29—The Archbishop of Canterbury heads the pro-Germans in Lords, praising the work of Hitler in annexing Austria.

Italy

MARCH 11—Rome is amazed at Austrian coup. Officials consider the situation too grave to make any statements.

MARCH 16—Mussolini in a speech to the Chamber declares that the Rome-Berlin Axis still remains sound and that he backs Hitler's annexation coup.

MARCH 30—Mussolini praises army and navy power and, in speech to Senate, says that Italy can raise an army of 9,000,000.

Poland

MARCH 17—Polish army, on Lithuanian border, prepares to invade Kaunas unless a favorable answer is received to their ultimatum.

MARCH 19—Poland's demands are met by Lithuania. Threat of war ceases. All Poland expresses gladness over their little neighbor's decision. The Government's desire now is to form a Baltic Entente.

Travel

READING AROUND THE WORLD

By MALCOLM La PRADE*

WHEN one speaks of "must" travel-books for any season, the old inevitably joins hands with the new—for, brilliant as is this season's crop of books, there are timeless classics which tug at the conscience of the reviewer and insist on being mentioned. Asked to suggest twenty outstanding travel-books for 1938 reading, I have tried to divide the number just about equally—half, new books of this winter and spring, and half, books published in past seasons but still, in their perennial lure for the traveler, as fresh as tomorrow's sailing!

Although it was not the author's intention in writing it to produce a travel book, my selection for the Travel-Book-of-the-Spring-Season is definitely *The Arts* by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. To a travel man the spring season is the time of the year when thousands of Americans, attacked by "wanderlust," turn their thoughts and imaginings toward Europe. For the armchair tourist, or his more active brother who actually holds a reservation on some transatlantic liner, Mr. Van Loon's book is a godsend. Here at last is a delightfully readable and unacademic history of architecture, painting, sculpture, music and many of the minor arts which play such an important part in almost every conceivable scheme of Old World travel. The author divests himself of the expert's point of view and writes as an "amateur" for other and less accomplished "amateurs." (I am using the word "amateur," of course, in the French sense, meaning "one who appreciates deeply though he may practice casually.") Both as a travel-man and an "amateur," I have great pleasure in congratulating Hendrik Willem Van Loon on giving us the Travel Book of the Season, and I earnestly recommend it to anyone thinking of Europe or planning to go there.

Up with the gang-plank and, almost before we know it, "Land ho!" for the coast of Ireland—vividly and poetically brought to life in *My Ireland* by Lord Dunsany, a volume of the new "My Country" Series inaugurated by Funk and Wagnalls. "I shall tell of the Ireland that I know best," writes the author, and that is the Ireland of A. E. and the Abbey Players, of Tara rising up like music and the folk that come out at evening to dance on the raths, of young poets and old myths, and above all of the out-of-doors and shooting. Lord Dunsany has distilled, in distinguished and beautiful prose, the spirit that is Ireland and the quality of the Irish mind, the fog and sunshine of the Irish landscape, and the poetic enchantment of the Irish imagination.

Companion volumes are *My Scotland* by A. G. MacDonell and *My Wales* by Rhys Davies, each in its own way a highly interesting justification of the central purpose of the series—in no sense conventional travel books, but each volume intended rather to portray the character and spirit of a distinguished author's own country and people. *My Scotland* sketches in a swift, clear-cut style the moving and dramatic history of Scotland; revealing always a deep love for Scottish character and tradition, yet offering an invigorating and provocative portrait of a people which is at the same time a challenge to the Scot, abroad or at home. In *My Wales*, Rhys Davies throws much light on this picturesque country, still rather mysterious to those not born among its magnificent landscapes: giving a full description of modern life in that miniature but quaint and lively land—its social and cultural activities, its characters, its humors, quarrels and nationalist efforts, its agricultural and industrial life. Above all, an attempt is made, not to "explain" the Welsh people, but to display them, with humour and understanding, as they are today.

Fourth volume of the "My Country" series is *My England* by Edward Shanks. "My England," says this author, "begins in antiquity and I can not think of her without remembering all her past, without dwelling affectionately on the tool-marks countless generations have left on her surface." This deep awareness of history gives a solid foundation on which to base a real understanding of England today, and to this task Mr. Shanks brings the observant eye and analytical mind of the trained novelist—ranging far and wide in his coverage of the English scene, from such venerable and awe-inspiring institutions as Parliament, the Crown, the Constitution and the Civil Service to roast beef, cricket and the minor poets.

Mr. Lucas' Travels

Turning from England-as-a-whole to what is inevitably the heart of England, one may well read, or re-read that classic among travel books, *A Wanderer in London* by E. V. Lucas Mr. Lucas is second to no living travel-writer in his ability to recreate the individual atmosphere of cities. Mr Lucas writes of romantic London, aristocratic London, commercial London, galleries, churches, palaces, streets, squares and the zoo—all with rare charm and intimacy.

Crossing the channel, one could not do better than to choose another book by the same author, *A Wanderer in Paris*. This book, now in its nineteenth edition, has been thoroughly revised within recent years, and with its many reproductions of pictures and sculpture, offers an introduction to the beauties and treasures of Paris, as well as to the picturesque atmosphere of the city—its fascination and variety, its color, and its self-containment.

More About France

Another revealing portrait of that "enchanting mistress, Paris, whose

* "The man from Cook's."

moods and manners are as varied as the weather," appears in *From a Paris Scrapbook* by Richard Le Gallienne. This companion-volume to *From A Paris Garret* can be recommended as an intimate, confidential potpourri of a city that is as old as Caesar and as young as Annabella, by the famous poet and writer who has for years made his home there.

Awarded the Prix International du Tourisme by the French Government, *The Face of France* by Harry J. Greenwall takes the reader on a most delightful tour of France, extending throughout the four seasons and covering almost every inch of the country. The author is a witty and charming companion, equally at home in matters historical and gastronomical. We are taken through the north country, where we attend a Norman wedding breakfast lasting from dawn to dusk, and go on fishing expeditions with the weather-beaten Bretons. In leisurely fashion we motor through the chateau country, Touraine, and Provence—and best of all, abandon all modern modes of conveyance and enter on foot many an old town that sleeps peacefully on a hill, seeing thus the true "face of France."

From Salzburg to Scandinavia

This Salzburg by Count Ferdinand Czernin, a lively and entertaining description of the famous old city of Salzburg, now appears in its first American edition, attractively bound in Austrian Dirndl cloth, which subtly suggests the bright peasant costumes of the countryside surrounding Salzburg. The many Americans who have been to this lovely place and reveled in its great musical and dramatic festivals, as well as its charming atmosphere, will welcome this book as a reminder of delightful experiences abroad. Many others who plan to go to Salzburg this summer will find this preview of the town and the life of its people and its foreign visitors enchanting. Mention should be made of the illustrations by Count Eugen Ledebur; pen drawings that are as gay and informal as the author's text.

Agnes Rothery's Scandinavian trio, *Sweden, Finland* and *Denmark*, remain, each in its way, classics among travel-books, so completely has the author grasped the spirit of the country. *Sweden: The Land and the People* is an introduction to an unfamiliar land for those who cannot go as far as Bali or Africa to find beauty unspoiled by man or the machine—an introduction, too, to man-made beauty unlike anything to be found on the Continent. Miss Rothery takes the reader from the cities of the South from whose "ancient soil spring up towers and walls of such new rhythm that all the world is traveling to gaze upon them," northward through spotlessly clean little peasant villages, through forests "dark with spruce, glinting with clusters of white birch," across the Arctic Circle where electrified trains from Stockholm lead into the land of the nomadic Lapp and reindeer, where the Sun-symbol is worshiped alongside the Cross in ancient wooden churches. With it all, she gives a comprehensive and stimulating picture of Sweden's remarkable present day achievements, cultural and economic—never losing sight of the social and political evolution which has made them possible. (Similarly, *Finland: The New Nation*, and *Denmark: Kingdom of Reason*, are striking illustrations of this author's ability to make intelligible and real the character of a foreign country.)

Summer in the Soviet

An unusual and entertaining book is *Laughing Odyssey* by Eileen Bigland describing an Englishwoman's summer in the Soviet Union—days in Moscow, Kharkov, Rostov, and the wild regions of the Caucasus. Mrs. Bigland went to Russia with the intention of enjoying herself—and she did. Free from prejudice, gifted with humour and a genuine interest in people (plus a slight knowledge of the language which allowed her to talk with the various types she met) she has produced a high-spirited and delightful chronicle of an adventurous summer. She tells of her experiences in Moscow, of her search for slums in that city, of her visits to Moscow hospitals, to the Park for Culture and Rest, to the theaters, the museums, and the marriage and divorce bureaus. From Moscow she goes on to other cities, where Russia gets more and more into her blood and finally to the Caucasus, where she takes a perilous week's trip through the mountains on horseback, accompanied only by a Cossack guide, sleeps in native huts, sees strange, primitive Caucasian dances, and enjoys the almost incredible beauty of the country.

Along the Nile

Cruising along the sunny Mediterranean, one finds a book that really gives the magical history of Egypt in *The Nile: The Life Story of a River*, by Emil Ludwig. This deserves to be placed in the front rank of travel books.





BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER
A Wanderer in Paris	E. V. Lucas	Macmillan
My Scotland	A. G. MacDonell	Funk and Wagnalls
My Ireland	Lord Dunsany	Funk and Wagnalls
My England	Edward Shanks	Funk and Wagnalls
My Wales	Rhys Davies	Funk and Wagnalls
From a Paris Scrapbook	Richard LeGallienne (Introduction by William Rose Benet)	Ives Washburn
Sweden: The Land and the People	Agnes Rothery	Viking
First Penthouse Dwellers of America	Ruth Underhill	Augustin
This Salzburg!	F. Czernin	Greystone
Australia Advances	David M. Dow	Funk and Wagnalls
Notes on a Drum	Joseph Henry Jackson	Macmillan
Laughing Odyssey	Eileen Bigland	Macmillan
Invitation to Travel	Helen Dean Fish	Ives Washburn
South by Thunderbird	Hudson Strode	Random House
The Face of France	Harry J. Greenwall	Funk and Wagnalls
Cartoon Guide of Arizona	Reg Manning	Augustin

BOOKS *for* TRAVEL

Selected by

MALCOLM LA PRADE

"The Man from Cook's"


MY IRELAND
LORD DUNSANY
MY ENGLAND
EDWARD SHANKS
MY SCOTLAND
MY WALES
RHYS DAVIES
The FACE of FRANCE
by HARRY J. GREENWALL
SWEDEN
A WANDERER IN PARIS
By E. V. LUCAS
AUSTRALIA ADVANCES
DAVID M DOW
THIS SALZBURG!

Following the Nile from its two sources in Equatorial Africa to the Mediterranean Sea, 4,000 miles distant, Mr. Ludwig reveals the essential character of the great river; and skilfully dramatizes the history of the many races of people who inhabit its banks.

Down Under and the Americas

Australia Advances by David M. Dow is given especial timeliness by the growing importance of Australia in international affairs, and by the close bond of sympathy and mutual respect existing between Americans and Australians. Thirteen years' experience as an Australian Government official in the United States have given Mr. Dow unusual opportunities to contrast the general situation in his homeland (which has met—and solved—certain social and economic problems which America now faces) with conditions in this country. Knowing the temper of both countries, he is able to present to the American reader a clear picture of the great Commonwealth of the South.

Swinging round the Southern hemisphere, we come to that superlatively fine travel-record, *South by Thunderbird* by Hudson Strode, which was, recently, my choice for the outstanding travel-book of the Fall Season. The author offers a comprehensive and invariably interesting view of South America, as the modern air traveler sees it, and what a splendid panorama it is: mighty Andes, broad pampas, tropical jungles, rivers, lakes, waterfalls, ruins of ancient civilizations, splendid modern cities. Though he travels among the clouds, Mr. Strode comes down to earth to provide intimate and diverting close-ups of our Latin American neighbors, always with a keen understanding of their philosophy and a thorough appreciation of their best qualities. Whether one chooses to fly, to travel by sea or by land, or merely to indulge in "arm chair journeys," to South America, this book is indispensable.

Another dramatic, if less comprehensive, view of South America is found in *Land of Tomorrow* by R. W. Thompson. In this case, the author journeys to the remote inland republic of Paraguay, writes intriguingly about this little-known country, and the famous "Chaco War." Wishing to view that famous dispute from both sides, he also visits Bolivia and describes that country with equal fluency and understanding. Here, again, is a fine acquisition to "South Americana."

Guatemala has its due in *Notes on a Drum: Travel Sketches in Guatemala*, by Joseph Henry Jackson. Immensely picturesque and colorful, primitive yet readily accessible, this hitherto little-known corner of the world is beginning to compete with its next-door neighbor, Mexico, as a tourist country. In the informal, easy fashion of his *Mexican Interlude*, Joseph Henry Jackson now covers this "Switzerland of the Americas." From the pagan rituals and the echoes of drums in the hills, to the shouts of Caribs loading bananas in the hot coastal ports, he misses none of the abounding life and incredible color of Guatemala.

Of such intriguing material as buried treasure, slave revolts and hurricanes, with a liberal allowance of tropical scenery and atmosphere, Hamilton Cochran constructs *These Are the Virgin Islands*. The result is a highly entertaining book which can be recommended as a "bon voyage" gift to cruise travelers bound for the Caribbean As a matter of fact, after reading certain chapters dealing with pirate gold, this reviewer was inclined to buy a pick and shovel and book passage on the next ship bound for St. Thomas.

Cuba and Bermuda

Not far distant are two other island paradises, Cuba and Bermuda and here again Hudson Strode, author of *South by Thunderbird* has done two excellent and vivid travel-books. In *The Pageant of Cuba* the pageant begins when the gentle-spirited, naked natives crept to the shore to watch the arrival of ships they thought had come from heaven—ships bringing Columbus and the heavy-weaponed Spaniards, who bore Christian commissions and an unconscionable lust for gold. It proceeds through all of Cuba's colorful and pulse-racing history down to the present. But whatever quality of tropical background, whichever political party is in or out, Mr. Strode has stressed

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 4

1. Congress is obliged to meet at least once a year.
2. There are 435 members in the lower house of Congress
3. Congress determines the number of members in the House of Representatives, by reapportionment bills which are supposed to be passed after every decennial census.
4. Twenty-five years of age.
5. Thirty years of age.
6 Thirty-five years of age.
7. A foreign-born citizen is elfgible to membership in either or both houses of Congress.
8 France, Argentina, Sweden, and Canada.
9. Ulysses S. Grant was the only Republican President to serve out the full two terms.
10. Chairman of the General Motors Corporation.
11 Madrid (latitude 40° 24′) is nearer to the North Pole than Philadelphia (latitude 39° 58)
12 By the franking privilege is meant the right to send letters or packages by mail free of charge.
13. No; it comes from the Latin "francus" meaning free.
14. Robert W. Bingham was Ambassador to Great Britain.
15. Mr Bingham was publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal.
16. In 1936 Poland produced 511,000 metri tons of oil, while Japan produced 350,00 metric tons.
17. China ranks third in the production cotton, with India second, and the Uni States first.
18. The Chinese rice crop of 1936 outweig the American corn crop by about one-t
19. Japan catches more fish than any o country of the world.
20. Hirohito occupies no position in Japanese Cabinet; he is Emperor of J

the foreignness—the otherworldliness—of the island. The locale shifts from remote country districts to the gilded capitol; from modest brooks to brigand-infested mountains; from battlefields to fountained patios. The machete and guitar, the garrote and rumba, the cockfight and nuns-of-the-orphanage; the collapse of sugar, the glories of the Cuban skies, by day and by night, the national game of love-making—these and many more are elements in the drama of the land which Columbus said was the fairest man's eye had ever looked upon.

All those who have once fallen under the charm of the Contenting Islands will want to possess *The Story of Bermuda,* with its many illustrations and the word-picture it presents of the old and the New Bermuda. Those making the voyage for the first time will get a double enjoyment by first reading Hudson Strode's frank, colorful descriptions of life, of sport, of brilliant society, of primitive, lotus-eating seclusion on the sunny little islands stretched out in jewel-like sea-water just to the southeast of us. *The Story of Bermuda* is an indispensable guide-book; an informal, vivid history containing some fascinating stories; a treatise on the native architecture; an appreciation of gardens; and it contains a delightful chapter on important writers connected with the Islands from Shakespeare through Tom Moore and Mark Twain to Kipling and Eugene O'Neill.

Invitation Accepted

Although it does not strictly belong with the specified list of twenty books on individual countries, I can scarcely close without mentioning an unusual and valuable book, *Invitation to Travel* by Helen Dean Fish. This volume is as entertaining as it is practical. The author, who herself would rather travel that eat, knows from experience that it is important not only where you travel, but *how.* And so—although she gives unusual itineraries for England, France and Italy, and an excellent travel-reading list for these three countries—her real theme is how to travel, delightfully handled throughout. She lets the reader in on travel secrets—good ones—ranging from the one steamer-gift guaranteed to cement your friend to you for life, to sights, sounds, and things to do in Europe, that the casual tourist doesn't dream of. The book's tips are of real value, not only for the first-time traveler but, in many instances, for the seasoned voyager as well.

This concludes the twenty books, but no mention of recent travel literature, especially that dealing with the United States, would be complete without Reg Manning's *Cartoon Guide of Arizona* and Ruth Underhill's *First Penthouse Dwellers of America.* Mr. Manning's little book is a brief and satisfying guidebook to Arizona. Looking through this humorous little book, with its myriad sketches and strictly colloquial American phraseology, one finds an amazing wealth of entirely useful information relative to Arizona's people, both red and white, its natural marvels, and man-made phenomena. *First Penthouse Dwellers of America* is an extremely important book for two reasons: first, it represents an innovation in American travel literature; second, it describes a section of American life that has been hitherto almost entirely neglected. Miss Underhill gives the reader an actual desire to visit the scenes described and photographed in her book, which is a story of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. Included here are the customs, traditions, and history of the race, which compare in interest with any African or South Sea island account. The photographs tell a story in themselves.

NOTES ON AUTHORS

(*Continued from page 1*)

he sees the problems involved through military eyes. For no one will deny that Europe today is an armed camp. It is a camp to be surveyed in military terms; political knowledge is yielding to the computation of cannon fire.

★ As a newspaperman, **Marc Rose** has served many masters. He has written extensively on business affairs and was, at one time, editor of *Business Week.* The legislative no-man's land lying somewhere between the power of the State and of the National Government has intrigued the interest of lawyer and layman alike. Authority to cure many of the peculiar ailments of law and law-enforcement is lost to the people in this land of legalistic murk.

★ Few who were intimately associated with the American Army during the World War will ever forget the inadequacy of the junior officers. Poorly trained and inexperienced, their blunders cost the lives of hundreds of men. In the future this will not happen; or, at least, it will not happen if the Reserve Officers' Training Corp does a thorough job. **Edwin L. Stoll,** R.O.T.C. editor of the *Chicago Tribune,* reports on the present status of the organization, the approval and opposition it encounters, and its benefits, results, and possibilities.

★ **Thomas J. B. Wenner** is head of the Department of Political Science, Cleveland College, Western Reserve University. He is a frequent visitor to Holland, and discusses the coming and going of fascism in that country. It seems the Dutch have a way with them in dealing with strange political ideas. Perhaps their struggle with the North Sea has endowed them with more than a passing knowledge of life and love and extremism of any sort.

The World Today in Books

(*Continued from page 5*)

or both, rush to Czech aid, of course, the issue will be far from settled. Mr. Freund, who has the ability to make the most complicated international tangles clearly understandable to the casual reader, says the Czech leaders are firmly convinced that Europe will not let their country down unaided. They base this conviction on the danger of an expanded Germany to the rest of Europe. France, Great Britain, and Russia have a stake in the inviolability of Czechoslovakia that is scarcely less than that of the Republic itself. A Germany dominant in Middle Europe will also be dominant on the Continent and the other great powers are not disposed to permit Hitler to place himself unchallenged in such a strategic position.

Is settlement without war possible? Mr. Freund believes that the possibility does exist but must take into consideration a number of important factors. The outcome of the Spanish Civil War may have an important bearing on the question. Moreover, Czech leaders have shown a desire for peaceful settlement of the quarrel and it may be that some sort of working agreement between Czechoslovakia and Germany will be effected.

Watch Czechoslovakia, like Mr. Freund's earlier work, *Zero Hour,* is a first-rate product of interpretive reporting. Mr. Freund is one of Europe's most qualified observers; those who are familiar with *Zero Hour* will note the accuracy with which recent developments in the European scene compare with his forecasts.

Decline of the League

It is not surprising that the recent ascent of Germany has seen a corresponding decline in the effectiveness and prestige of the League of Nations. When der Fuehrer observed the ineptitude with which the League handled his own occupation of the Rhine and the Ethiopian affair he knew that he would brook little trouble from that quarter in any future undertakings he might contemplate. That he has been proved right is not to his credit but to the discredit of the gentlemen at Geneva who have been unable to speak out with a single voice when speaking out might have prevented what has now happened and thrown democracy on the defensive. Who are these men who head the League? What are the inner workings of the League? Could it have been possible for the League to have acted in any way other than it did? It is around these questions that George Slocombe, he of the fiery red beard that a dictator once threatened to pull, has written *A Mirror to Geneva,* which is described by the publishers as a "League of Nations Merry-Go-Round."

Unlike the *Washington Merry-Go-Round,* however, Mr. Slocombe's book is far more interested in historical accuracy than in sensationalism and gossip. The comparison to the Washington book is hardly fair to Mr Slocombe, for his work is an objective, moderately-stated, and highly qualified study of the League, of the men who made it in the past, and those who are making it today. The author is dean of the correspondents at Geneva and has had opportunity at first-hand to observe and analyze the League's leading personalities, to talk to them, learn their philosophies and processes of thought. And having learned them, George Slocombe learned the League

Only a handful now remain from the first 1920 round table which many at the time thought would be the means of outlawing war forever. There are "graceful little Paul Hymans, the white-haired Belgian, the suave Greek Politis, the Swiss ex-President Motta, the Roumanian Nicholas Titulescu." The others? Many are now dead. Some resigned when their countries withdrew from the League. Some were replaced.

Despite the League's failures and its inability to show itself to advantage when the opportunities presented themselves, it is, Mr. Slocombe believes, "a highly perfected machine such as the world has never before constructed. It is a very complete microcosm of a superstate, a world government in miniature. . . ." The League's historic days are past but it still has functions entirely apart from stopping wars: it has its health missions, waterways committees, refugee

duties, currency operations, and organizations devoted to anti-slavery, anti-narcotic, anti-white traffic work. Yet, though all these functions are highly worthwhile and even essential, it is difficult to escape some disappointment at the failure of the League to do the one big job cut out for it.

Mr. de Kruif's Fight

Paul de Kruif—author, scientist, social philosopher—needs no introduction. He has translated scientific progress in terms that all can understand and enjoy. He is a man with a mission, acutely aware of the successes and failures of civilization, sensitive to the economic and medical needs of the people—especially where those needs go unsatisfied. If it were in his power to change the world, remake it overnight in such a way that there would be neither poverty nor suffering, destroy the excesses of wealth, and make miracles of science available to all, Paul de Kruif would not hesitate for one second. But since, like the rest of us, he is no more than mortal and can wield no such power, de Kruif writes books such as *Why Keep Them Alive* or his latest work, *The Fight to Live,* which he hopes will make people conscious of their unjust and unnecessary suffering. "The people are beginning to know that life is no longer a question of do I live or do I die. No, in their onward march of life it now becomes do we live or do we die."

De Kruif does not need to work himself up to a fighting pitch. He is exhorting with the very first page, deeply angered that the wonders of medical progress have not been made available to those needing them the most. Literally bristling with emotion, he will draw the picture of thousands of Southern pellagra sufferers, each of whose lives could be saved through a daily ration of yeast costing no more than two cents. Medical science has finally succeeded not only in controlling, but in actually destroying the diseases most feared by man. But of what use is all this, he asks, if only those with bulging pocketbooks are privileged to receive its benefits. Yet Mr. de Kruif is far from pessimistic; every line in his work carries the strong undertones of the *vestigia nulla retrorsum,* the never-say-die spirit, the conviction that the fight for life will someday result in victory.

The Fight for Life presents the account of medical progress in reducing infant and mother mortality, wiping out infantile paralysis, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases, and in extending the average life expectancy. But it also tells of the extreme dependence of science upon the gods of finance; of thousands of physicians who are kept from specializing and additional training because of their inability to support a family at the same time; of selfish, narrow-visioned medical associations; and finally, of people who are dying for want of medical care. "Death does not wait. . . . What economic obstacle is in the way of giving people life, when it is costing our whole nation —its rulers and owners included—

billions to keep the people only half-alive and to let them die?"

De Kruif's book may be vulnerable to criticism—as what book is not—but it is doubtful whether the challenge it presents can be lightly dismissed. Certainly, no good can be served by a pollyanna disposition to consider medical wonders alone, without any thought as to whether that progress is being earmarked for certain sections only of our social strata.

The Traveling Novelist

What does a novelist do when he is not writing novels? John Dos Passos goes from place to place, piling up new experiences, gathering up and storing new ideas and plots like a farmer stacking up hay for the winter. His wanderings, it appears from his *Journeys Between Wars*, are often as colorful and interesting as some of his fiction material. In fact, a Dos Passos enthusiast can go through this odyssey and pick out places and incidents which have found their fictitious expression in his novels.

Dos Passos, unlike many other novelists, does not lose his effectiveness once he leaves his chief medium. He still uses a language of his own; there is still the challenging disregard for conventionalities of punctuation and transition; the old proletarian spirit still flames; his words still run and sing and shout with his moods.

Journeys Between Wars, as its title indicates, covers the period from the World War to the current Spanish conflict. Dos Passos was always around where people were saying important things or where socially portentous events were in the making. He is equally at ease in a Paris cafe or in a besieged barricade. His eyes are keen and if he misses anything the reader will have great difficulty in detecting it.

A Royal Outsider

Hubertus Maria Friedrich, Prince Loewenstein - Wertheim - Freudenberg, Count von Loewenstein-Schaffeneck are the various names and titles of one man. He is a young aristocrat who had a severe falling out with the Nazis when they came into power and who has spent most of his time since then boring from without. Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein, as he is known for short, was and is not only against Nazi Germany; he opposed the feudal system of which his family, direct descendants of no less than twelve Roman-German emperors, was so integrally a part. Together with other spirited and youthful friends, he agitated and propagandized for a new and revitalized democratic Germany. The Germany that he envisioned, however, never materialized. A painter of sorts from Austria had talked his way into the role of dictator and Loewenstein was one of thousands who found they were no longer welcome in Germany.

All this we learn in *Conquest of the Past*, Prince Loewenstein's extremely readable contribution to the Germany that he believes is no more. In it he describes the days of his childhood and early youth, the customs of nobility, the experiences of a socially-conscious member of the royalty. When Hindenburg capitulated to Hitler, the Prince shouted treason. "What is coming cannot be foreseen: it may be blood and horror and slavery such as our people never hitherto experienced." As for himself, he found it impossible to surrender. "I will never submit to tyranny which I hate from the bottom of my soul and with the whole inheritance and tradition of my name."

TO THE EDITOR:

TO THE EDITOR:

In a recent issue of *Current History* appears an article of sensational propaganda entitled "Are the Americas Safe?" written by Mr. Genaro Arbaiza. Upon investigation, I was surprised to learn that Mr. Arbaiza is a Peruvian. This, of course, explains quite a few points.

It is my desire simply to correct the falsehoods and exaggerations which Mr. Arbaiza makes about his own country, a country which he should know better and which he should have the love that every man of sincere feeling has towards his Fatherland.

1. It is not true that the President of Peru is a "cuartelazo colonel" since he exercises the post of Chief Executive strictly in accordance with legal procedure. There has never been a so-called "Cuartelazo" or revolution. Mr. Benavides is President by virtue of Law No. 8463 which was passed by Congress in the discharge of its legislative powers, on November 21, 1936. It is to be noted that the members of this Congress were elected by popular vote two years before, at which time Mr. Benavides was in Europe, far removed from his country to be able to exercise any personal political pressure.

2. In the general elections of October 1936, the majority of the voters

voted in favor of the parties which support the orderly and legal methods; the leftist party, represented by the Apra (The American Revolutionary Popular Alliance) having obtained only 30% of the tabulated votes.

3. The Caproni bombers acquired some time ago by the Government have not been and never will be used to exterminate the members of the Apra party. These airplanes are machines of war reserved exclusively for national defense and cannot be used or needed in the suppression of the Peruvian Left, whose members are too few and incompetent to endanger the public order.

4. It is not true that the government of Mr. Benavides is a corrupt one. It is well known to all members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Lima, and to all responsible persons, that Mr. Benavides' government has been one of the most honest and upright the country has known.

5. The Italian capital invested in Peru does not rise above twenty million dollars, this being some 20 per cent of the one hundred million dollars, the figure used by Mr. Arbaiza in his statement. The Italian Bank is a very old institution, founded some 40 years ago, and its capital is owned by Peruvian and Italian business men and industrialists of small means, who have no interest whatever in any political manoeuvres.

6. The few Peruvian Cadets who receive military training in Italy, in the same fashion in which they received it previously in the United States of America, Spain, Argentine or other countries, and the Italian Air Mission, contracted by the government for the purpose of technical training, have nothing to do with fascist or other political methods, and their only objective is the training of the Peruvian aviators. We believe that the Italian Air Force is one of the most efficient in the world. It is also natural and logic that our officers and pilots, who handle airplanes of Italian make, should be trained by Italian instructors and pilots. Using the same line of reasoning, we have contracted a French military mission and are seeking to obtain an American naval mission such as we have had in the past in charge of our technical naval departments. The Peruvian Police was organized by a Spanish mission with the idea of creating an institution instructed and designed solely to guarantee public order and not to mingle in politics. The government of Mr. Benavides, whom Mr. Arbaiza calls "fascist crony," has

just contracted the services of a German mission as experts in Fiscal and Statistical matters. Mr. Arbaiza will be surprised to know that this mission is formed by old and distinguished officials of the Fiscal Department of the Reich, who have been living in exile in London, where they took refuge after being expelled from Germany by the fascist regime.

7. The Peruvian Government, in compliance with the doctrine of "no intervention" proclaimed at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference, is not concerned in what form of government other countries may wish to adopt, whether it be dictatorial or democratic. Its only concern and one which the government strongly enforces, is to prevent the penetration into Peruvian Society and principles of disintegration which communism or other political ideologies teach. A proof of this spirit is the fact that not long ago the Peruvian diplomatic representation in Mexico which certainly does not pass as a fascist state—was raised to the rank of an Embassy.

8. The Italian Police Mission, made up of a small membership, has as its only duty that of organizing the technical services of our police force. It is universally conceded that Italy is one of the nations which has perfected more the methods of crime prevention.

9. Mr. Arbaiza shows a supreme and inexcusable ignorance of the history of his own country by not being able to explain the presence of the Italian Air Force at the inauguration of the monument to Jorge Chavez, on September 23, 1937. It is well known that the famous Peruvian aviator lost his life at Domodossola, Italy, after having taken off from French territory and crossed the Alps on the same date in 1910. It is for this reason that the Peruvian Government invited simultaneously the French (with the Popular Front at the head) and the Italian Government (with the Fascist form of government), to the ceremonies commemorating the heroic deed of Jorge Chavez.

10. It is absolutely false that the Inter-American Aviation Conference gave rise to a keen competition between American and Italian airplane manufacturers for the control of the Peruvian market, and that the Italians emerged the winners. The fact is that since the Conference adjourned, the Peruvian government has not acquired a single airplane and should it acquire any in the future the question of the country's welfare will be the only deciding factor.

11. The Peruvian Government invited all the great airplane producing countries, including the United States to the Exposition of Aeronautical Products, and it is not the fault of the Peruvian Government that only three countries—Germany, Italy and the United States, exhibited their products. One Ford airplane of the Arrow Aircraft Corp., one of the Panagra, and numerous accessories of the Nicholas Beazley Airplane Co. and of other factories, were exhibited side by side with the German and Italian products There was besides, a room with meteorological articles and apparatus exhibited by the Department of Commerce of the United States.

12. It is not true that the Government of Mr. Benavides has completely failed to meet the service of the external debt. Mr. Arbaiza should know that at present there is an office at 21 West Street, Room 506, where the coupons of said external debt are redeemed. Forty-eight and one eighth per cent of the holders of Peruvian bonds have already received payment in the form proposed by the Peruvian Government and every day more holders call at that office, where they are duly taken care of.

13. It is also untrue that there are Italian capitalists interested in the sugar industry. There are none. In Peru the sugar industry is in the hands of Peruvian Capitalists, a large German firm, established in the country for over fifty years, and considerable American capital (W. R. Grace & Co.).

14. I do not believe that the Peruvian Government could understand how, when and in what form it has antagonized the views expressed by President Roosevelt in Buenos Aires and Chicago.

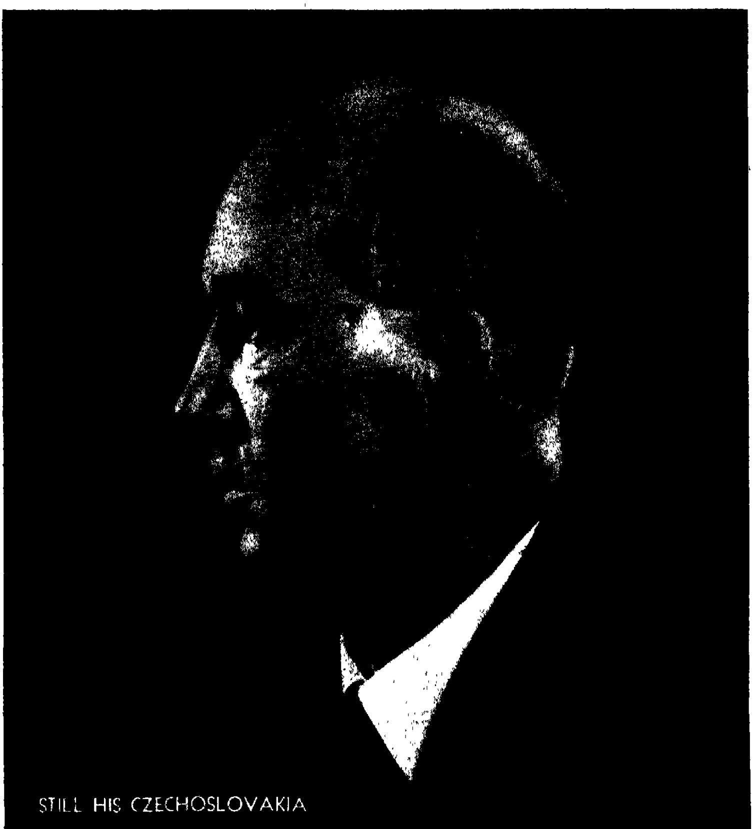
15. Finally, the Peruvian citizen, Mr. Arbaiza, does not have to go to the trouble of recommending to the Washington Government to organize a quarantine against his own country, because not only the American State Department would even endeavor to establish such a quarantine, but neither would the Peruvian Chancellery tolerate any kind of tutelage coming from anybody.

F. PARDO DE ZELA, *Consul General of Peru in the United States of America.*

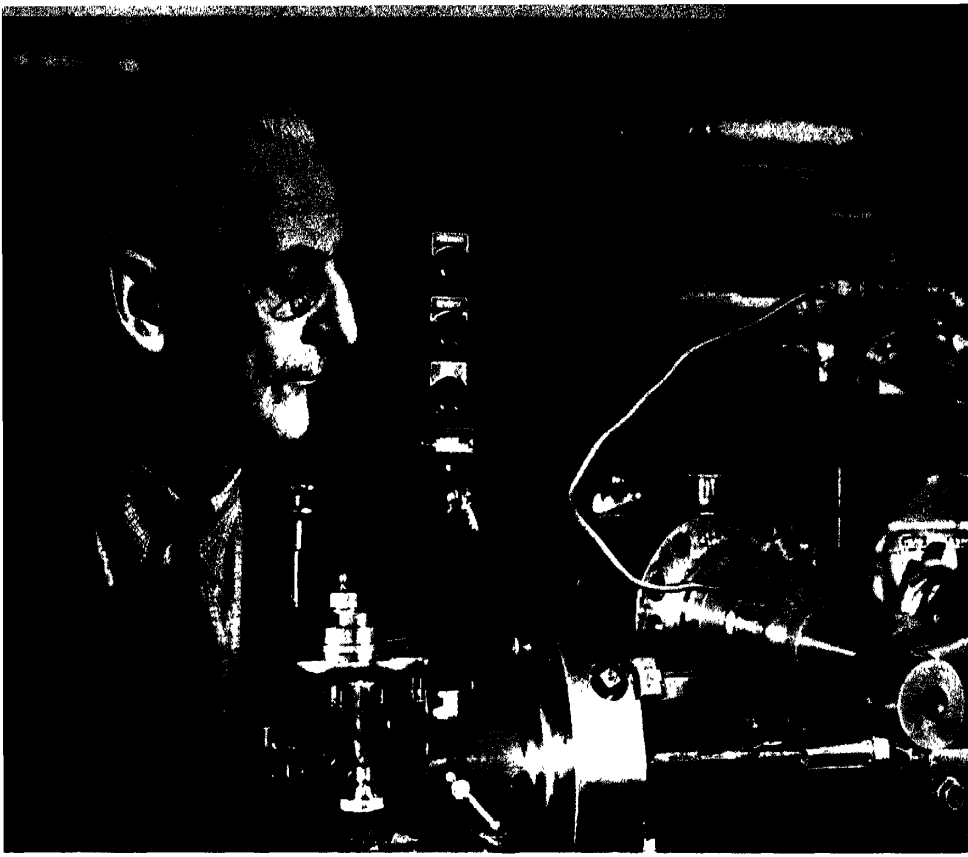
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CURRENT HISTORY



STILL HIS CZECHOSLOVAKIA



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★ Perhaps Eduard Benes, who occupies the cover spot this month (Underwood & Underwood) is not enjoying the Spring weather as much as some of his contemporaries. For it is his nation that has finally been caught in the nut-cracker of German expansion. **Henry C. Wolfe,** veteran correspondent, author of the recently published book, *The German Octopus*, this month examines Czechoslovakia.

★ **Lawrence Fernsworth** has enlisted in the Spanish War for its duration. However, in place of a death-dealing firearm, he carries a typewriter. And it is such a talented machine that the London *Times*, the New York *Times*, and *Current History* are more than pleased to have it operated in their service.

★ Nothing under the sun is sacred in these days of bombs and bayonets. Even the American Medical Association is suffering the pains of scepticism. **Howard Stephenson,** former editor of the *American Druggist*, has something interesting to say concerning the rebels who are inducing numerous headaches in the A.M.A.'s inner sanctum.

★ It has been suggested, that in the advent of a war with the United States, the Canadian Army might concentrate upon cutting off the newsprint supply of the New York *Times*. It is a bold suggestion, and one which should cause some concern among editorial writers. However, **David Martin** assures us nothing will come of it. For he has traveled from one end of Canada to the other seeking, among other things, some indication of what Canada will do if the British Government becomes involved in a European war.

★ It is not reassuring to know that once on the operating table, with the anesthesia cone poised above your nose, it is less than an even bet the ether will kill you. According to both **Doctor Norman W. Burritt** and **Howard Watson Ambruster** the medical profession is faced with an amazing crime wave. And it is crime of a sort that has become familiar to the citizens in the past few years. It is the mercenary crime of highly respectable persons engaged in the manufacture of medical supplies. Of course, not all are guilty. Dr. Burritt is Chairman of the Special Investigating Committee on Food and Drug Legislation of The State Medical Society of New Jersey. And Mr. Ambruster is the author of numerous articles on medicine.

★ **James A. B. Sherer** is supposed to be the best informed writer on things Japanese. He has lived in the Orient many years, and is the author of *Japan Defies the World*. Although he is the recipient of the Emperor's medal for outstanding service to Japan, Mr. Sherer is not a hired propagandist.

(Continued on page 62)

N. B. COUSINS

The World Today in Books

IT IS something less than a secret that Mussolini was once an ardent socialist and that in his redder-than-the-rose days he led the Italian proletariat parade with a zest and a flair that warmed the hearts of appreciative Marxists the world over. Some of the Duce's pleas for the overthrow of the bourgeois by the workers are a matter of preserved record. But many more have been withdrawn from public inspection or destroyed entirely by their originator. Mussolini lost no time after ringing up the curtain on fascism to burn his socialist bridges behind him. That he has not made a very good job of it is evident in Gaudens Megaro's *Mussolini in the Making*. For Mr. Megaro, after applying a little diligence and intelligence to his investigation, found material sufficient for "perhaps fifty volumes."

In resurrecting the Duce's past, Mr. Megaro has hardly suffered from an impulse to spare Mussolini any embarrassment arising out of a simple, honest, and straightforward account of his early life. After collecting the Mussoliniana—both in and out of Italy—the author assorted, correlated, and condensed his material into the present book, which is concerned almost entirely with Benito's pre-dictatorship career. It is a revealing book, frequently a startling one. Who, for example, would credit the bolshevik-baiting Duce with this meaty Marxism: "Socialism has spread among all the peoples of the world; it is the soul of contemporary thought in all its finest philosophical and artistic manifestations; it has rehabilitated man, substituting for the evangelical idea of renunciation the revolutionary idea of conquest . . . it is the sole, the great, the luminous hope of all the oppressed! O innumerable writers of the entire reactionary press, how you seem microbes when you speak to us about the end of socialism!" This is but one of hundreds of Mussolini's tangy toasts to his hoped-for workers' revolution. Once, speaking before laborers during the general strike in Italy in 1904, he reminded them that "only without a struggle without quarter are the partial conquests of today and the final victory of tomorrow made possible!"

As a member of a minority group in 1914, Mussolini was strong on civil liberties: "Imagine," he said to a court considering a case involving a minority, "an Italy in which thirty-six million citizens should all think in the same way as though their brains were cast in the same mould and you would have the kingdom of boredom and imbecility . . . It is necessary that beside those who say no there be those who say yes, that beside those who exalt the army there be those who decry it, and that beside those who acclaim bourgeois society there be those who wish to destroy this bourgeois society . . . unanimity, uniformity mean acephaly, death. Gentlemen of the jury, pay homage to the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, the melancholy man of Ephesus, who declared: 'Strife is the origin of all things.' Well then, allow us to struggle, give us the liberty to struggle, and you will render homage to a very great principle: the principle of liberty!"

Strange words for the founder of fascism? Not so strange when it is understood that Mussolini had a penchant for political extremities, revolutionary or reactionary, black or red. He was inconsistent in his ideologies, consistent in his burning ambition for power. The color of the flag was not as important as the assurance that he would carry it: "With him," says Mr. Megaro, "as with so many men of action, the utterance of an idea and the conviction that he alone can be its standard-bearer are inseparable."

The First Fascist has been bothered little by his conscience, which he once defined as a pair of breeches that can be lowered as may be deemed necessary. He has scorned the human rights he pretended to champion before he came into power; he has allied himself with his former enemies—personal and political. As for the people—the same people whose individualism he used to glorify—he has poured them into a huge machine which cuts them into the same mould and turns them out as arm-raising, uniform-wearing, war-loving yesmen.

A logical question in considering Benito Mussolini's change in political coloration is whether, like the late Huey Long, he made his appeals to the people on the basis of pie-in-the-sky promises and hoped to ride into power on the wave of demagoguery. Yet it is clear from Mr. Megaro's book that Benito was more rabid revolutionist than rabble rouser. What he said, wrote and did in his socialist days showed him to be dialectician, not demagogue. The Duce was a keen student of history and philosophy; he wrote with an extremely sensitive pen sensitive to the needs of humanity and showed the unmistakable strain of intellectualism.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
Mussolini in the Making	Gaudens Megaro	Houghton, Mifflin	$3.50
Burgos Justice	Luis Vilaplana	Alfred A. Knopf	2.00
The Culture of Cities	Lewis Mumford	Harcourt, Brace	5.00
The Big City	Robert Sinclair	Reynal, Hitchcock	3.00
America Goes to War	Charles C. Tansill	Little, Brown	5.00
Our Country, Our People, and Theirs	M. E. Tracy	Macmillan	1.75
Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel	C. Vann Woodward	Macmillan	3.75

In the end, it was not socialism but Mussolinism that triumphed in Italy. When he split with the party during the World War over the issue of participation his thirst for revolutionary leadership did not die. It would have to be another type of revolution, one which would belong all to Benito. Fascism became the device by which he "hoped to make a mark on history with my will, like a lion with his claws." Mussolini the individualist met Mussolini the humanist at the crossroads of fascism and socialism and went marching off to the extreme right.

If there is a fault with Mr. Megaro's work, it is that he put down his pen too soon. *Mussolini in the Making* is so significant, so valuable that it produces a strong appetite for a continued consideration of Mussolini-already-made. The book shows a healthy disregard for personal prejudice; its author has carefully examined his subject's early career with an eye not to derogation nor glorification but to actual history. Mr. Megaro is an historian, and, what is fortunate from the reader's viewpoint, an interesting one. His book belongs on any shelf containing G. A. Borgese's *Goliath: The March of Fascism* or Gaetano Salvemini's *Under the Axe of Fascism*.

Barbarism in War

An English Peer stood up in the House of Lords last December and charged that Ruiz Vilaplana, author of *Burgos Justice*, a book attacking the supposedly orderly Franco government in Spain, is an embezzler, a swindler, and a man who had deserted his wife and children to live with a variety artiste in Burgos. These are strong words, even for a Noble Lord. No documentary evidence, however, has been furnished to support these allegations, which, even if true, do not detract from what *Burgos Justice* has to say about the Franco regime. The material here is too complete, too well-authenticated to be lightly discounted It is an account of the author's life in Burgos, Rebel Spain, where he held the post of Commissioner of Justice Its message is that there is little basis in fact for the belief that insurgent territory in Spain is free of any or all terroristic activities, that peace and security prevail everywhere, and that the people are solidly pro-Franco.

When the war broke out, Vilaplana went along with Franco. He had no fixed political views but he looked upon the Moroccan revolutionist as the leader of a necessary crusade. He had a number of civil and judicial duties, checking up on other officers, certifying the finding of dead bodies, investigating charges of theft, etc. He writes of the local prison camp:

> Every night—every morning—a few poor wretches are taken from their cells and handed over to the bearers of the dreaded lists Those "chosen" were handcuffed and taken two at a time to motor buses which were all ready for them, and so were conveyed, in grisly procession, to face the firing squad . . The sufferings of the men imprisoned there is appalling and the uncertainty and moral torture is a hundred times worse than any physical ill-treatment.

Although the Left-wing movement in Burgos was virtually non-existent and the people offered no resistance against the military rebellion, hundreds were killed, with or without suspicion of Loyalist sympathies. The regular Burgos authorities were unable to maintain law and order, realizing that they were expected to close their eyes to looting and terroristic activities by the military. Secret shootings, inspired by Rebel leaders, continued long after Franco had served notice to the world that life went on in Rebel Spain as if there were no war at all.

As a matter of fact, says Vilaplana, life was such that he could not tolerate the continuous crime and barbarity:

"My nerves had been completely shattered by what I had seen—and supplied by a testimony which was irrefutable." Morever, it was no longer a Spanish revolution. The Italians and Germans—outsiders and real enemies of Spain—had appropriated the war for their own.

On June 30, 1937, he crossed over into French territory. He was neither pursued nor disguised (he is sorry that he cannot provide a "heroic and spectacular ending" to his story). He is anxious now to serve Loyalist Spain, believing that it is the *real* Spain and represents the will of the Spanish people.

War is not child's play and it is to be expected, though not condoned, that there will be a generous exhibition of terrorism behind the front lines. What cannot be condoned, however, is a barbarism far greater than can ever be justified under the circumstances of war, especially when the perpetrators make the assertion that none exists. As to whether there may be similarly extreme manifestations of barbarism on the other side is by no means a vindication or justification of Rebel horrors but a subject for careful investigation.

The Story of the City

If there is an aspect of city life that has been overlooked in Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of Cities*, this department has not found it. Mumford, extending the study of the possibilities of a truly "civilized" society considered in his *Technics and Civilization*, has written a biography of the city from medieval times up to the present. With a thoroughness that is admirable, though sometimes annoying because it appears inhumanly thorough, he examines the development of the city with almost microscopic care.

Mumford describes the city of today as a "geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an esthetic symbol of collective unity. On one hand it is a physical frame for the commonplace domestic and economic activities; on the other, it is a consciously dramatic setting for the more significant actions and the more sublimated urges of a human culture." A new type of design is needed, he says, one that will give the city a fuller and warmer social meaning. Town planning can be eventually handled in a routine manner, thus releasing greater energy and economic support for the arts, for painting and sculpture, drama and music. This should have more importance, he adds, than "sanitation and sewage and the studious habits of antisepsis."

What he sees, then, is a future for cities in which the physical problems will have adequate machinery for their routine solution, coincident with a concentration upon cultural forms: "Psychological growth is more important than somatic satisfaction; and in designing cities we must provide an environment broad enough and rich enough never to degenerate into a 'model community.'" Now that the machine age is running its course, this new conception of the role of a city has strong possibilities of finding full expression. "None of us," he concludes, "may live to see the complete building, but some of us will see the flag or the fir tree that the workers will plant aloft in ancient ritual when they cap the topmost story."

(Continued on page 62)

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 62

1. To what country do the Balearic Islands belong?
2. In what sea are the Balearic Islands located?
3. What is the largest island of the Balearic group?
4. What country controls Majorca at this time?
5. Why are the Balearic Islands considered of such great importance from a military standpoint?
6. Who is President of Spain?
7. What are the two largest cities in Spain?
8. Is Zaragossa the name of a city or province in Spain?
9. Where is Formosa?
10. Excluding Australia, what is the largest island in the world?
11. What word is out of place in the following names of winds chinook, monsoon, typhoon, tycoon, pampero?
12. Who, or what, are the Cagoulards?
13. Who is President of the Ford Motor Company?
14. Who is Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee?
15. Identify the following: William Henry Harrison; Benjamin Harrison; Carter Harrison.
16. Who is Governor of the State of Ohio?
17. In what activity did Martin L. Davey become famous before entering politics?
18. Who is Davy Jones?
19. What does the Byrnes Law prohibit?
20. Would you say that Vatican City is larger or smaller than Washington (D.C.) in area?



"SUPPOSE I get sick? After all, I'm only human. And if I do get a touch of colic . . . or have a nervous breakdown . . . do you know what'll bring it on? Worry! Yes, sir, worrying about how long it would take us to get the doctor if anything should happen.

"Or suppose a pipe bursts in the bathroom? Or a burglar comes along? When something like that happens you don't write a letter, or go after help on horseback. No, sir. You hop to a telephone!

"And what about my mother? She's got marketing to do. Sometimes she needs to get in touch with Dad during the day. And there are errands to be run. Well, she can't do all those things without a telephone . . . and at the same time give me the attention I expect.

"All Dad needs to do to have a telephone is get in touch with the Business Office. I'd do it myself if I could just get out. But I can't. So is it any wonder that worry is keeping me awake half the day?"

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

Third Parties

AGAIN, we face the prospect of a third party, which means nothing new or original in American history. The situation is different, of course, because the situation is always different in a restless, progressive country like ours. Both old parties are badly split, which means that each contains sizeable elements of discontent. Most of this discontent finds lodgment in the failure of experimenting and spending to restore prosperity. The Democratic Party is divided as to what should be done next, and the Republican Party is divided as to whether the opposition should be imitative or antagonistic.

Governor Philip La Follette has merely seized a favorable opportunity for launching a third party. Whether he can put it over rests on two simple facts: his own personality and the appeal of such plans and programs as it may adopt. Thus far his pronouncements have been satisfactory but rather vague. More blueprints and specifications will be required for the public to form positive opinions. Meanwhile, the movement appears to be agrarian and midwestern rather than laborite and radical. As a matter of fact, radicals have been virtually told to keep out.

Governor La Follette has said nothing so far to which Thomas Jefferson could not wholeheartedly subscribe. Some of his propositions sound rather reactionary when measured in the light of New Deal philosophy. He is definitely opposed to "coddling" and "spoon-feeding" the American people, for instance, as well as to the idea of creating wealth by the simple art of getting more for doing less.

Labor does not seem to be taking a major part in the parade—especially that section of labor which is supposed to be most politically minded. Nothing has been heard from such leaders as John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Homer Martin; neither has anything occurred to suggest that their advice has been followed even if it were asked. Those who looked for a Farmer-Labor coalition are naturally surprised. Maybe their surprise is premature. Maybe a Farmer-Labor coalition is in the making. It does not look that way, however, at this time.

It looks as though the prairie States were in a mood to re-enact their favorite pastime of independent action, with little change except in the music. It looks as though we might get about what our fathers and grandfathers got from the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Non-Partisan Leaguers, and the Bull-Moosers. If that is so, such organizations as the C.I.O. and the American Labor Party will have to stage their own performance. In this case, the question arises as to whether Governor La Follette and his collaborators can get very far without their help.

In this connection, it is very interesting to recall that we have had many third parties. Few of them have survived more than an election or two. The few that have survived linger on as impotent minorities, with such notable exceptions as the Whig and Republican Parties.

Since the Civil War, most of our third parties have found their chief support in the midwest and have originated in what is generally regarded as the "agrarian movement." Governor La Follette is, to a large extent, a by-product of that movement. His traditions and attitude of mind are not only agrarian, but midwestern. His approach to present-day problems has little in common with that of our industrial centers, and particularly with that section of organized labor which looks to political action. Not only his recent speeches but his career suggests that he has little use for "collectivism," centralization of power, the type of economic planning which would transform the Federal Government into a wet-nurse. He does not believe in the possibility of abundance through subsidized scarcity or in the support of able-bodied men in idleness. His theory of Government spending seems to rest on the assumption that people should be helped to help themselves and no more. This stands out in sharp contrast to the assumption that they should be helped without purpose or program. In some respects, his criticism of the New Deal sounds like that made by former President Hoover. In most respects, it sounds starkly individualistic. In all respects, it swings to the right rather than to the left.

M E Tracy



Manning in the *Arizona Republic*

SOMEBODY LAUGHED!

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

PUTTING it bluntly, Europe has reverted to her pre-War attitude; to alliance and counter-alliance, backstairs diplomacy, imperialism, a free-for-all race in armament. The situation turns on two great alliances, just as it did in 1914—the Rome-Berlin axis and the Anglo-French accord. The one great difference is Russia's isolation.

In 1914, the Franco-Russian Pact made her a party to the democratic line-up. A new Franco-Russian Pact is in existence, but it is viewed coldly by the British Tories, while Hitler and Mussolini are bending every effort to break it. Indeed, they are bending every effort to break all pacts and alignments which threaten their respective expansion programs. The entire continent is thus thrown back into just such a maelstrom of intrigue, spying, bribery and secret maneuvering as prevailed twenty-five years ago. Things have become so bad that Switzerland would like to be relieved of the embarrassing task of protecting the League of Nations. They have also become so bad that few of the smaller states are free from the peril of being browbeaten into support of their stronger neighbors, split up, or actually absorbed.

England's Policy

Most Americans find it very difficult to grasp the whys and wherefores of present-day British policy. To begin with, it appears to rest on a definite change of purpose and objective. Only a short time ago, England was most vociferous in protesting against the creation of a Japanese protectorate for Manchuria and Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. Now she is ready to give both her official blessing. Where she once bullied France, the League of Nations and small Mediterranean states into adopting sanctions against Mussolini, the head of her government now extols him as a benevolent genius. Where she formerly opposed a trade agreement between Germany and Austria, she now accepts Austria's complete absorption by Germany with indifference, if not approval.

Apologists for the present-day British attitude, and all the queer shifts it implies, argue that her leaders have become realistic; that, while striving to maintain peace and uphold democratic ideals, they have found it desirable to adopt a new style of strategy, to substitute kind words and perhaps a little money for blunt, straightforward tactics.

In other words, England has decided to sit in on the European game and play it according to European rules with the time-honored idea of maintaining a balance of power uppermost in mind. So there is a sudden and desperate effort to placate Mussolini, which results in a pact that virtually sanctions his role in Spain, and which rests on the hope that he can be induced to act in less complete accord with Hitler. This hope was somewhat dimmed, if not blasted, by Hitler's six-day visit to Rome early in May. Having been guaranteed what he wanted from England, Mussolini seems satisfied to go along with Germany as usual, and Mr. Chamberlain has the privilege of consoling himself the best he can.

It is disheartening to think that the old Tory crowd, schooled as it has been in the art of diplomacy for centuries, could be out-traded so easily. The Italian pact, however, and its obviously disappointing results, is but one of a long series of faux pas. Since 1932, England can hardly be credited with one successful maneuver in the field of foreign relations. Whether this should be charged to the wrong-headedness of her maneuvering or to lack of sincerity, remains a debatable question. It is a fact, however, that she failed to prevent Japan from erecting the puppet state of Manchuria, though she pretended to try; that she failed to prevent the annexation of Austria, though she pretended to try; that she failed to prevent intervention in Spain, though she pretended to try, and that she failed to prevent disintegration of the League of Nations, though she pretended to try. British policy during the past five or six years has done more than any other single factor to make Germany the strongest nation in Europe; to place France in an embarrassing position; to weaken the League of Nations beyond recall; to promote an unprecedented race in arms; to recreate the general policy to imperialism, and to strengthen dictatorship as opposed to democracy.

Spain's Plight

The futility of British tactics is illustrated in no place so vividly as in Spain. At the outset, intervention by other countries was to be stopped at any cost. An international committee was formed, largely through British efforts, to accomplish this end. There were many meetings and a lot of noisy propaganda. There were charges, there were accusations and protests galore; there was a general mobilization of navies and an allotment of coasts to guard, but men and money overflowed into Spain by land and sea—not only as usual, but in an ever-increasing volume. In spite of the tumult and shadowboxing, the war turned out to be anything but Spanish. As one irate member of the British Parliament remarked, "The Spaniards ought to be evacuated so that other nations could fight it out in peace on their territory." As in so many other cases, Italy and Germany have won the war in Spain. Unless they are more philanthropic than is commonly supposed, the Spanish people will pay dearly for their services. Academically, it may have been a quarrel between the right and the left, but practically, it has been a quarrel for spoils, for metals, trade advantages and perhaps military concessions.

The outside world and particularly America has been doused with propaganda regarding Spain. Much of it has been written, published and distributed by sympathizers of one faction or the

other outside of Spain. Emphasis has been laid on the political or religious angle. The Loyalists have been charged with Communism, atheism, and ruthless murder; the Nationalists have been charged with Fascism, clerical dominance, and equally ruthless murder. When it comes to the mere killing of non-combatant human beings, both sides have done an excellent job. You cannot find much to choose between



Louisville Times

THE LAST CHAPTER

them when you count the numbers of women and children slaughtered and leave out political or religious evaluations. Both groups have had the help of foreign soldiers. Help for the Nationalists has taken on a more definitely official form. Government forces have been aided by Russians, French, English, expatriated Germans, etc., but they have enjoyed no such official assistance as have the Rebels. Meanwhile, Spain has been riddled, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, many of them innocent bystanders, and the pay-off will be in tribute to other countries.

Is Czechoslovakia Next?

All eyes are focused on the little republic of Czechoslovakia, created by the Treaty of Versailles to afford protection for minorities and exemplify the workings of democracy. It is an irony of Fate that she should now be threatened by the very minorities that were supposed to find a haven within her borders. Of course, there is something artificial, something manufactured in the picture. The minorities—Germans, Poles and Magyars—are acting through inspiration, if not on orders from the outside. Their cry is for more autonomy, meaning virtual independence, and if they don't get it, the assumption is that their powerful fatherlands will "protect" them. It is only natural that the German minority in Czechoslovakia should be making the most noise. It is not only the most numerous but it has the most powerful, aggressive and insistent backing.

Poland and Hungary, however, sense the advantage of this technique. If Czechoslovakia is to be sliced up, they want their share. Thus, Herr Hitler is able to cultivate friends and associates where he least expected to find them. Out of this possible coalition for spoils in Czechoslovakia, there may develop an anti-Russian coalition.

Russia's Silence

Russia must be aware of what is going on, but if so, she remains surprisingly inarticulate. It is a real mystery that so little should have come out of Moscow with regard to all the plotting and scheming in Western Europe. Some people think that it is because of internal weakness that Russian authorities are afraid to take a stand, afraid of their army, afraid of their leaders, afraid of the rank and file. There may be another explanation. It is not impossible that Russia finds the Coolidge method advantageous, and is proceeding on the theory that what other people don't know regarding her attitude or plans is of real benefit. Besides that, and in spite of all the propaganda and demands for revolution in other countries, Russia has shown real capacity for keeping out of trouble. She has stood consistently for peace in all her international dealings and has overlooked some rather irritating circumstances—not only in western Europe, but in Asia. And that reminds us of the Orient, where a very real, though still undeclared war, is in progress.

The Far Eastern War

More than a hundred years ago, Napoleon described China as "a sleeping giant" and warned those who awakened her to beware. Progress of the Japanese invasion or, more accurately, perhaps, its lack of progress, justifies speculation as to whether this prediction is about to be fulfilled. At any rate, China appears to be showing unmistakable signs of resurgent vitality. Not only Japan, but the rest of the world, find an amazing difference between the China of 1938 and the China of 1894. The difference embodies hard-headed efficiency on the battlefield, as well as an aroused national consciousness. This new China is able to mobilize, train and equip huge armies; to produce and move supplies up to the front with reasonable dispatch and, above all else, to offer stubborn resistance.

Win, lose, or draw, China has already done enough to impress the outside world with her ability to organize and fight for self-preservation, while Japan has encountered enough trouble to suffer a distinct loss of prestige. The invasion has proved to be anything but the easy walkover which Japan, and most everybody else for that matter, anticipated. Not only have the Japanese been stopped in several major offences, but they have actually been driven back. Instead of being discouraged by early reverses, the Chinese appear to have gained strength as they retreated. The farther Japanese forces penetrate the country, the more perilous their position becomes. Every ex-



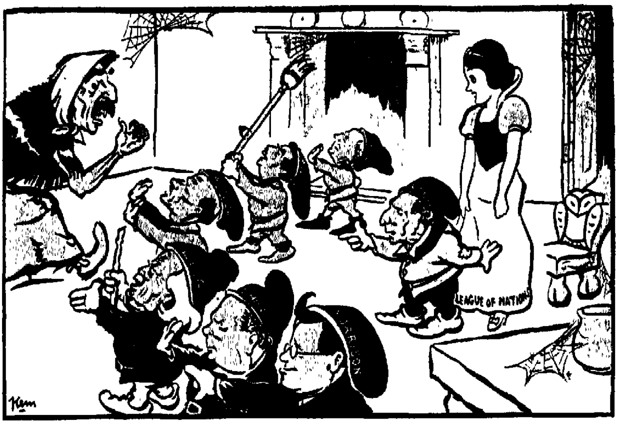
Kladderadatsch, Berlin

DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER: *It must be overwork that causes that pressure at the back of my head and the buzzing in my ears.*

pansion of their lines of communication means opportunity for the numerous and quick-moving guerilla bands which China is mobilizing. The Japanese have not been halted in a permanent sense, but they have run into sufficient difficulties for real anxiety. They have learned enough to know that this is war, not just a punitive expedition.

Neutrality

The Sino-Japanese situation reveals the futile, impractical side of our latest adventure in prescribed neutrality. We have saved not only our faces but the situation by simply forgetting to carry



Daily Herald, London

THE SEVEN DWARFS DEFEND SNOW WHITE

it out. We have discovered a plausible excuse for this course by saying that since war was not declared, there is no war. We might have discovered a similar excuse with regard to the civil war in Spain, but instead, we rendered the Rebels, or Nationalists, substantial assistance by clapping on an embargo. In other words, by insisting on neutrality, we became definitely un-neutral and that seems likely to happen in most cases. The trouble is that you can't be neutral by simply striking a negative attitude; can't assist justice by refusing to take part in human affairs; can't promote peace by sitting on the sidelines while bullies beat up weaklings, or racketeers exact tribute from their helpless victims. The mortal world is not neutral, and neither is civilization or progress.

It is reassuring to learn that President Roosevelt and our State Department seem in a mood to recognize this simple fact.

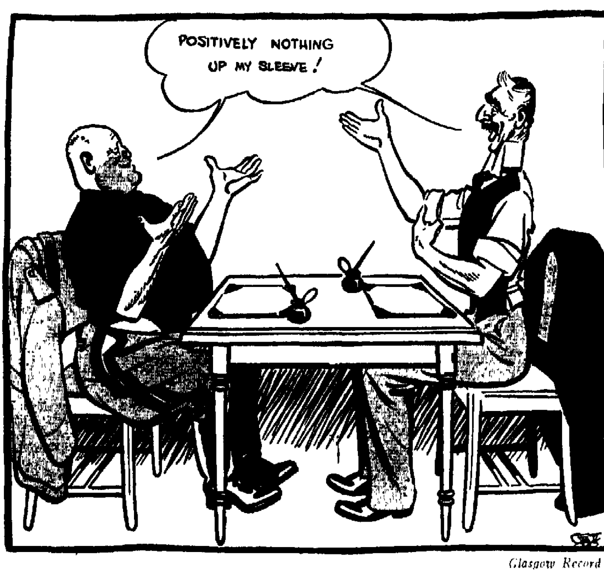
More Billions For Relief

There is little use in arguing as to whether the government should appropriate more billions for relief. It is necessary, and that's that! The best we might do is to taper it off very gradually, but we can't desert those multitudes who have been forced to depend on the government for their bread and meat. A better scheme might have been chosen in the beginning—though that is debatable—but we have to see this one through. It must come to an end, of course, unless we are prepared to concede the dole for large numbers, but it cannot be brought to an abrupt end. This experiment, in taking care of able-bodied people without recompense and in providing work for those who cannot get it somewhere else, must be completed. Our only choice is to accept it as a permanent part of our political and economic set-up, or try to get rid of it in a graduated, intelligent way. There are some experiments which can be abandoned about as soon as they are started without great loss or hardship. There are others which must be carried through once they are undertaken.

Our experiment with regard to improving relationships between labor and capital is second only to relief in its cost and implications. In this experiment the predominating idea was not only to recognize the existence of two opposing factions but to hold them apart for fear that one might corrupt the other. One can only speculate as to whether Abraham Lincoln was right when he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

Easy Ways Out

Like some other experiments, our adventure in prescribed neutrality appeared to be an easy way out. It was in the nature of a sit-down strike on the disagreeable job of trying to distinguish right from wrong. As a matter of fact, much of our experimenting has been in the nature of a sit-down strike. We have paid the farmers to sit down in order to avoid overproduction of certain crops. To a large extent, we have based relief on the idea of sitting down, and we have tried to make ourselves believe that prosperity could be restored by the simple art of getting more for doing less, which is just another way of telling people that they would be better off if they sat down more. During the last five years, we have paid out vast sums to encourage a negative attitude, preaching the gospel of increased consumption through decreased production, of abundance through scarcity, of more good things through less effort, of greater wealth through the manipulation and control of money, of solvency through borrowing and spending.



Glasgow Record

Chamberlain's new policy is described as "shirt-sleeve diplomacy"

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

THE first round in the Mexican oil fight was all Cárdenas. The expropriation blow delivered last March sent the two oil titans staggering over the ropes while the world rubbed its eyes in amazement. No one had believed that possible. But the titans, too powerful to take it lying down, are now putting all their might into the second round, which is full of uncertainties. In the meantime the State Department is, to all appearances, doing its best to play referee.

The battle is easily the most significant in modern Latin-American history. *El Nacional* of Mexico City calls it the greatest since the battle for independence from Spain.

"What!" the oil despots of the world roared when 18,000 Mexican workers took control of seventeen American and British oil establishments representing a $450,000,000 investment. "What do we have governments for? Couldn't they have stopped these peons from stealing our petroleum?" Evidently they couldn't. What the oil despots perhaps do not realize is that from Calles to Cárdenas the world has stumbled from one age into another. And Cárdenas has been aware of it.

But apparently Cárdenas did not intend to leave his corner of the ring so soon. There was an unforeseen turn of events early in March that prompted him to sign the expropriation decree when the general expectation was receivership. The story of the sudden move that struck Ambassador Daniels like "a bolt from the blue" has not been written, *malgré* hundreds of columns of dispatches from Mexico City. As late as March 7 Cárdenas was still offering the oil companies some concessions to help them meet the wage increases, and they turned them down.

Cárdenas has said that the Mexican government was "compelled" to expropriate. Compelled by what? Among his public statements on this matter in the Mexican press we find one that may help to reconstruct the story of expropriation. Besides saying that the companies had refused to accept the processes of Mexican justice by merely declaring their financial inability to do so, he discloses "a sordid international campaign" undertaken by the oil interests "to hurt Mexico's economic life and frustrate the measures adopted by the Mexican authorities." He adds that he had mentioned the fact to the manager of one of the companies, who "had not denied it." The withdrawal of liquid funds from Mexico was part of this drive. Cárdenas also said that the intended stoppage of oil production would have paralyzed domestic transportation and endangered the government's very existence.

The oil fight has upset Mexican economy. The breakdown of the peso that, following expropriation, fell from the 27.77-cent level at which it had been pegged to the dollar since 1932 to between 22 and 23 cents, is crippling Mexican business. The metallic reserve of the Bank of Mexico has shrunk from $32,000,000 at about the time of expropriation to $23,000,000 on April 29.

As Mexico has at present no cash to pay compensation for the expropriated interests, and oil will remain its greatest card in foreign trade, the paramount question is—will she be able to sell her oil? Upon her ability to sell her oil depends to a large extent the success of expropriation and the readjustment of her economic life with a nationalized petroleum industry.

Rumors of oil sales have circulated by the millions of barrels in the past few weeks—much of it propaganda barrelage. Japan was to buy 500,000 barrels . . . oh, no, more than that—$16,000,000 worth of oil. Mexico had given Japan a concession "to improve" the Mazatlan harbor that would enable the Japanese to send an army . . . of workers into Mexico Now Germany was negotiating to grab all of the oil production. Mysterious Mr. Rickett returned with a 25,000,000-barrel rumor from his first trip to Mexico. Soon after his second trip, when he went back there "to see the Mexican ruins," the newspapers snatched his contract and the deal was off. But next day he secured a 15,000,000-barrel headline. During his recent visit to New York the Mexican Finance Minister Suarez was reported to have been negotiating "with little success" for the sale of oil and the chartering of tankers.

The head of the Mexican National Petroleum Board denied on April 21 that contracts had been made for the sale of oil abroad. It seems that up to this writing the Mexican government has disposed only of a negligible amount, estimated at 250,000 barrels during the first four weeks. Most of the wells have been reported shut in, and the rate of production in the expropriated establishments is said to be 25 per cent of the former rate.

Mexico has not been able to organize international selling. But how could she, when the companies she is fighting against control all but 17 per cent of the world tanker tonnage and even this "free" tonnage may be made inaccessible to her?

Seen from within Mexico, this fight is a crusade for economic liberation—in Cárdenas' words, a fight "to end forever economic and political domination by the petroleum companies." The Mexican people have given Cárdenas a thunderous O.K., and stand behind him. A few days after the decree was signed a million people paraded throughout Mexico celebrating expropriation with flags flying and bands playing, and now a 100,000,000 peso domestic loan is to provide the government with needed funds and help pay for the nationalized oil interests.

Cárdenas' political position has been strengthened by the organization of the new Party of the Mexican Revolution which has come to supersede the PNR (National Revolutionary Party), and in which workers, peasants, soldiers and various other groups including women's organizations, small tradesmen, professionals and the lower middle classes are represented.

Liberal Adjustment

The United States government's position, as defined by Secretary Hull's note of March 29, is in line with the Rooseveltian attitude that placed Latin-American policy on a liberal plane for the first time since the United States became a world power Recognition of the Mexican Government's sovereign right to expropriate property of foreigners would not have been possible twenty or ten years ago However, only the course of events can tell whether the Administration will maintain an attitude that has earned President Roosevelt universal respect in the western hemisphere, for Mexico is facing heavy odds, and this fight will put that policy to its most serious test.

Caught between the good-neighbor and non-intervention commitments, on one side, and the oil interests' demands, on the other, the State Department seems to be seeking some sort of an adjustment. But seeking an adjustment between the oil interests and Mexico may really be trying to recon-

cile two irreconciliable ages in economic evolution. While Mexico wants to put an end to its economic "colonial status," the oil companies would like to see Roosevelt scrap non-intervention, and pick up the big stick. On April 1 they requested the State Department to take steps to prevent the sale and movement in international trade of crude oil and its products derived from its seized properties.

Will the companies accept compensation? The reported State Department's position is that the companies are entitled to claim compensation only to the extent of their actual investments in Mexico. It does not favor claims based on prospective profits. As Mexico is notoriously unable to pay fully in cash there always remains an open door for the companies to demand action later on for the return of the oil properties if the terms of the Mexican indemnity payments are not satisfactory. The United States government seems to have suggested also an agreement by which the companies would take over the marketing of Mexican oil, and perhaps supervise operations, deducting from its sales whatever amount is owed to them for expropriation. No doubt many other suggestions could be made, but the Mexican government's attitude toward any of them will probably depend upon the effect of the extra-diplomatic drive the oil interests are carrying on at present against Mexico.

Higher tariffs against Mexican products, the severing of diplomatic relations with Mexico, the withdrawal of recognition from Cárdenas and other friendly measures have been suggested by inspired editorial writers as a means of "exerting pressure" upon Mexico. The only thing they have not suggested is the sending of an army into Mexico, but that is in their minds.

Silver Reprisal

Following right after expropriation, suspension of Mexican silver-buying by the United States Treasury came as a reprisal. The Mexican government announced then that it would put its silver on the world market, and as the U. S. Treasury buys "all the silver that is offered," it may now be buying second-hand Mexican silver. In fact, two weeks after the suspension of silver-buying it developed that the U. S. Treasury had bought white metal from Mexico even though Secretary Morgenthau "didn't know where it came from, and did not care." In the week ending April 22 U.S. imports of Mexican silver were valued at $480,-991.

The queerest note in the expropriation howl was His Majesty's angry note. As a rule, British diplomacy never writes angry notes, for it prides itself on having removed emotion from the handling of international affairs. Something beastly provoking, besides expropriation, must have happened. We are wondering whether Aguila and Poza Rica have thrown British diplomacy into a blind alley, for no matter how much Standard and Shell share their hate for insolent, backward countries that want to nationalize somebody else's oil, they are still rivals. Mexican and Venezuelan oil has great strategic value to Great Britain and Shell may not come with flying colors out of the present tangle in which not only the fate of the British stake in Mexico, but control of Mexican oil distribution are being decided.



El Machete

LAZARO CÁRDENAS

Of course, if the United States is not willing to force Mexico to return the expropriated establishments to British interests, as seems to be the case, His Majesty's government is at freedom to bring this international affront before the League of Nations.

Coming Events

While Mexicans are singing "economic liberation!" the oil interests are shouting "stolen goods!" President Farish of the Standard Oil of New Jersey was reported the other day to have said that the affected companies were "not disposed to stand idly and see their properties confiscated." And, indeed, they are not standing idly, for at this moment they are engaged in a vast drive to isolate Mexico economically into submission.

With the help of allied interests, they are carrying out a financial and monetary boycott of Mexico that really began months before expropriation with the heavy suction of liquid funds from that country, and that seeks to paralyze Mexican international business. Mexico is feeling the effects now. Controlling most of the tanker tonnage, they are maintaining an effective boycott against the marketing of Mexican oil. They threaten prospective purchasers they would "hold them responsible" for any oil thus bought, and take legal steps to recover it. They have tried to divide Mexican labor ranks. They are fighting Mexico with propaganda in the press within and without the United States. They have exhumed weapons that had been buried since the Morrow-Calles pact, and have launched a Hearstian anti-Mexican campaign that pictures Mexico as "Communistic" and a jumping board for Japan.

The issue, as far as the oil interests are concerned, involves not only the matter of possession of a large part of the Mexican oil wealth. An independent Mexican oil production would always be a permanent source of weakness to the interests that control most of the world production. Her oil would be felt in the world markets as Russian oil was in the 'Twenties. If recovery of the properties is not possible, we may see the interests compromising on control without possession.

But if possession and control are not possible, if the present gripping economic boycott of Mexico fails, will the interests fall into the temptation of playing the old game, and fight Mexico's new nationalization policy within Mexico? Economic disruption may bring political turbulence. The reactionary opposition to the Cárdenas regime may be willing to be hired.

Cárdenas seems to have been on his guard. He said in Mexico City the other day that "some groups may take advantage of the present situation to start trouble," but that in such an event the Mexican Army would be "anxious to liquidate" any attempts to disturb peace. And, since expropriation, almost overnight, he has organized a proletarian army, 100,000 strong, far outstripping in size the Regular Army of 55,000, that marched past him on May Day giving the Leftist clenched-fist salute.

GENARO ARBAIZA

WHOSE CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

Surrounded on almost every side by unfriendly neighbors, the Czechs have fought to survive

By HENRY C. WOLFE

This article answers the following questions:

1. How many people in Czechoslovakia are neither Czechs nor Slovaks?
2. How large is the German minority?
3. Who is Father Hlinka?
4. What country or countries bordering Czechoslovakia does she regard as friendly?
5. Who is Petrescu Comnen?

FIVE years ago—indeed, only a few months ago—most Americans looked upon Hitler's announced ambitions to build a great Nazi empire as the dreams of a mystic, as the unredeemable promises of an irresponsible politician. Today, few people in any country can doubt the serious purpose of the Fuehrer to carry out the ambitions for a Nazi empire which he outlined years ago in *"Mein Kampf."* His Austrian *Putsch* was part of the carefully prepared long-range Nazi foreign policy.

This man of Napoleonic ambitions is motivated by messianic fanaticism. In his hands rests Europe's peace. In what quarter does he threaten peace first? We cannot answer that question with certainty. For although the longer term plans of Nazi foreign policy are definite, the near term plans are guided by opportunism. It might serve these immediate policies for the Reich to strike at Memel, or to compel Denmark to begin "negotiations" about the Danish province of South Jutland (North Schleswig to the Nazis). But wherever Hitler may stage his next *coup de force*, he will be guided by the political opportunities of the moment; he will be encouraged by the weakness and indecision of his opponents to gamble on another successful *fait accompli*. He will attempt to time his action as astutely as he did when he seized Austria.

But whatever the front that Hitler may choose for his next aggression, there is one country that looms ever larger in Nazi political calculations. Czechoslovakia, that "island of democracy in a sea of dictatorships," is a rock that lies squarely in the road of Pan-German Empire. If this obstacle can be removed from the path of the *Drang nach Osten* without a heavy expenditure of men and money, so much the better. If the Nazis can strangle the Czech democracy, if they can isolate this republic, if they can accomplish the same results as in Austria, German resources can be conserved for more formidable prey. But by one method or another the Czech state must be compelled to bow to the Third Reich. Every Nazi from the Fuehrer down to the youngest member of the Hitler *Jugend* is determined to carry out that policy.

Valuable as the Czech loot would be to the Reich, Hitler does not regard conquest of Bohemia as an end, but only as a beginning. The Fuehrer wants the rich oil fields of Rumania; he wants the fertile black earth of the Ukraine, he wants a free hand down the Danube to the Black Sea. But as long as an independent Czechoslovakia exists, the Nazi left flank is exposed to attack. Prague lies athwart that famous "transversal Eurasian axis" that swings southward from Hamburg and points toward the Persian Gulf. Once Czechoslovakia is destroyed or brought under German domination, the road is open to Hitler's drive for world power. France would *ipso facto* become a second rate power; Italy would sink to the class of a third rate nation. And Britain would find that a European balance of power had ceased to exist. On the Continent, only a Russian Colossus—itself threatened by an aggressive Japan—could any longer dispute the challenge of the Teutonic Titan. Armed with Czech industry and food, and aided by an additional three millions of Sudetendeutsch man-power, Hitler would be able to dictate the terms of European "pacification."

The situation involving Czechoslovakia is complicated, easily influenced by political developments in other countries, indeed in other parts of the world. But some factors that may prove decisive in the coming months will help the reader appraise a problem on which may hang the future of Europe. For if a strong, independent Czechoslovakia survives, Hitler's empire will never pass today's blueprint stage. The Czechs and their little state are as important as all that.

Czechoslovakia's greatest weakness is, of course, inherent in the fact that it is not a homogeneous nation. At least four and a half million of its people are neither Czechs nor Slovaks. In addition to the more than 3,000,000 German minority, there are about 750,000 Magyars, 500,000 Ruthenians and about 100,000 Poles. Probably more than two-thirds of the German minority, nearly all the Magyars and Poles, and some of the Slovaks are irreconcilable minorities. The trend of the minorities away from cooperation with the Czechs has taken on increased impetus since the Nazi conquest of Austria. Two of the small German "Activist" parties that were formerly aligned against the Henlein (Nazi) faction, the Christian Socialists and the Agrarians, have practically joined forces with their National Socialist fellow Teutons in Bohemia. That leaves, at this writing, only the small German Social Democratic party in actual opposition to Hitler's drive in Czechoslovakia.

But perhaps even more disturbing to the Czechs is the autonomist movement that seems to be gaining ground among the Slovaks. Seventy-four year old Father Hlinka, leader of the Slovak Clericals, declared on April 12 that there was nothing left for the Slovaks to do but join forces with the Henleinists and work for autonomy for the various minorities in Czechoslovakia. Although the Polish minority is small, it is the seat of considerable unrest and the focal point of strained relations between Warsaw and Prague. As for the Magyar minority and its influence upon relations between Budapest and Prague, it is hardly necessary to point out that Hungary has never ceased to demand the return of her minority in Czechoslovakia. Indeed, the Hungarians demand the return of all Slovakia.

As long as Austria remained independent, the Czechs could feel that they were not entirely isolated. During the last year of Austria's existence, increasingly cordial relations developed between Vienna and Prague. President Benes and Chancellor Schuschnigg both realized that if the Reich overran either country, the other's position would become all but untenable. The Czechs, therefore, felt bound to support Austria's independence. The "Hodza Plan," a project for Danubian confederation fathered by Czechoslovakia's Premier, was an attempt to create an anti-Nazi group of nations that could block Hitler's path down the Danube.

Czech Mistakes

But unfortunately for the Czechs and Austrians, Prague was late in realizing the necessity of saving Austria from Hitler. The Czechs had listened to over-confident words from the Western capitals. While Hitler drove on toward his Austrian objective, the Czechs hesitated about supporting Archduke Otto; they were uncertain as to what their attitude toward Austrian rearmament should be. Consequently, the Czechs and their French and Little Entente allies made Hitler's success in Austria inevitable. Once the German army was in occupation of Austria, Hitler could threaten Czechoslovakia on its least defendable flank, the Czecho-Austrian border that had not been fortified to resist an attack by the Wehrmacht. Czechoslovakia's principal rail lines now run into enemy territory, where they point toward the Greater Reich, Hungary or Poland. Hitler can dictate to the Czechs what imports and exports may pass over the lines from Germany into Bohemia. He can use the threat of economic strangulation.

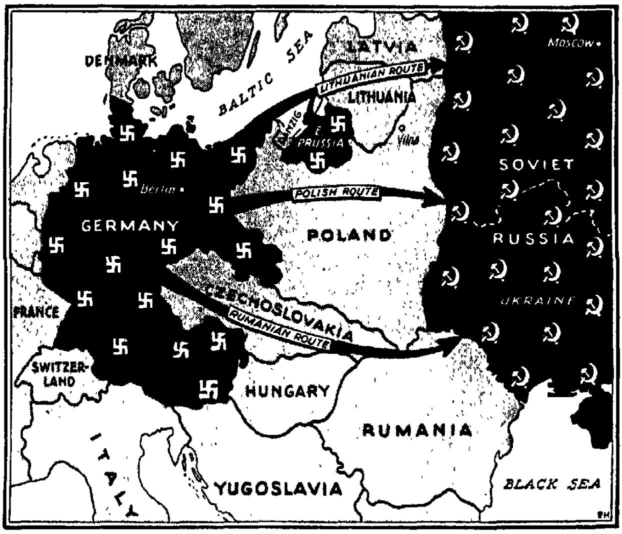
Hardly had Hitler presented the world with his Austrian *fait accompli*, before Europe began to hear about renewed trouble between Poles and Czechs, and redoubled Hungarian agitation against their northern neighbor. The influential Polish newspaper, *Express Poranny*, which often voices Government views, warned Czechoslovakia that it "must cease to be the Communist International's Çentral European rampart. If Prague is not ready to comply," the paper warned, "it must bear full responsibility for the consequences."

The origin of Czecho-Polish hostility goes back a long time before the World War. Poles claim that Czechs approved of Tzarist Russian domination of Poland. Furthermore, the Poles claim that in 1920 when they were fighting the Soviets, the Czechs refused to permit passage of Polish munitions en route from France through Czechoslovakia. Another element of discord is their dispute over the district of Teschen, a border area that is now part of Czechoslovakia. The Poles charge that Czech soldiers dressed in French uniforms occupied Teschen before the unsuspecting Polish troops in possession of the region became aware of the ruse. The Czechs deny these allegations. Whatever the truth of these charges and counter-charges, the fact remains that bad blood exists between Warsaw and Prague.

As for the Hungarians, they have never ceased to plan and wait for the day when they could reclaim Hungaria irredenta across their northern border. In Budapest they tell you that when Czechoslovakia becomes involved in war, it will suffer from the same minority difficulties experienced by the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy. "In the World War the Czechs betrayed their government," the Hungarians proclaim bitterly. "In the next war they will learn how it feels to be betrayed." Hungarians remind you that in 1919, the Czech army fared none too well at the hands of the untrained, ill-equipped soldiers of the Hungarian Red Army under Bela Kun. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Hungarian Deputy Vegvary stated on April 7 that Czechoslovakia is in a state of decomposition, that the Hungarians must be prepared to take advantage of "eventualities." Dismemberment of the Czech State and the division of the spoils among Germany, Hungary and Poland is the eventuality these Magyars have in mind.

Germany's Position

And what about the Hungarian attitude toward Germany? Many Magyars, it is true, are uneasy about the increasing Nazi pressure against Hungary, both from within and without. Far-sighted Hungarians like Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, Peasant Party leader, realize that Nazi domination of Hungary is on the Fuehrer's foreign policy agenda. These Magyars know that the Fuehrer has made considerable headway in creating inside Hungary a Nazi "Fifth Column" composed of Swabians and Magyars. They know, furthermore, that Hitler has begun construction of a great military highway that will extend from the old Austro-German frontier by way of Linz to the border of Hungary. They recognize that the Nazis plan to make Hungary merely a small part of Hitler's vast empire of Mitteleuropa, a link to connect the province of Austria with the Rumanian territory that contains the rich oil reserves needed by Hitler. Enlightened Hungarians realize these facts. Nevertheless, the average Magyar is far more obsessed with his hatred of the Czechs than his well-founded fear of the Germans. Hence the Hungarians are playing an important part in the Nazi



From *The German Octopus*, by Henry C. Wolfe

Main battleground of the German drive to the East. The arrows indicate the three most likely routes from the Reich to the Soviet Union.

THE CZECHS

POSSIBLY one of the most effectively "sensational" stories leaking out around central Europe has been the slowly percolating news of the fact that:

> On the evening when the German Army invaded Austria the order to the troops to move was given only after the most anxious and precise German inquiries of the Czech Government as to whether the Czechs would mobilize.

There was certainly one very agitated telephone call to the Czech Foreign Ministry to that effect on that afternoon: and according to an apparently well-authenticated story there were three in all.

In any case it was only after assuring themselves absolutely that Prague was not mobilizing and would not mobilize that the Germans dared to give the order to march—a fact perfectly intelligible to those familiar with the remarkable military strength of the Czechs and their allies, but exceedingly revealing to many in central Europe and elsewhere who are apt to lapse into an hypnotic trance of defeatism the moment the German army is mentioned. —*The Week*, London

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strategy of encircling the Czech republic.

Last September an official of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said: "After all, we are a member of the League of Nations, a member of the Little Entente; we have an alliance with France and a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union." But much has happened since September. The League's fortunes have not improved; the Soviet Union has become more and more preoccupied with its internal troubles and with the Far Eastern situation; the Little Entente has continued to disintegrate; and France has been plagued with economic problems and cabinet crises. Moreover, the Germans have had an additional eight months in which to carry forward the fortifications of the Rhineland. If France ever tries to go to the aid of the Czechs, the French army must first fight its way through this system of field fortifications that the Wehrmacht has constructed parallel to the famous Maginot line.

Of their 4,125 kilometers of boundaries, the Czechs can look upon only their 201-kilometer border with Rumania as friendly. And no one can be certain how long a Rumania allied with Poland will remain friendly to the Czechs. Much water has flowed under the Rumanian bridge since Nicholas Titulescu directed the kingdom's foreign policies. Gone are the pro-French, pro-Czech, pro-League policies that were formulated by Titulescu in close collaboration with Dr. Benes. Although anything may happen in Rumania, it seems extremely unlikely that the kingdom will soon resume her close ties with Czechoslovakia. Rumania is on the political fence today. King Carol, attempting to hold his balance and not be pulled off the fence into either of the opposing political coalitions, finds his position precarious. For not only must he keep constantly in mind his country's position in the international field; he must cope with the ruthless underground Fascist organizations in the kingdom and with the opposition of the National Peasant Party and other constitutional opponents. The King's appointment in late March of Petrescu Comnen, former Minister to the Reich, to the post of Foreign Minister, did not, of course, inspire confidence in Prague or Paris. For Dr. Comnen is considered to be pro-German.

Can Germany Wait?

That the Fuehrer can exercise political patience has been proven in Danzig where he has quietly destroyed the anti-Nazi opposition groups and has set up a one-party, totalitarian state. In the so-called Free City, he has perfected the technique of the "parliamentary Putsch"—that is, the strategy of controlling a situation from the inside. Hitler has not marched his army into Danzig. It has not been necessary.

President Benes has long been aware of the Fuehrer's strategy toward Czechoslovakia. "Hitler will not need to go to war if he can win without fighting," he told the writer. If he can break up Czechoslovakia into so-called autonomous units, dictate the republic's economic and foreign policies, hamstring its army and compel it to break its international pacts and alliances, why should he assume the risk inherent in a general war? If the Nazis can create a state within the Czechoslovak State, they will have gone a long way toward winning domination over their progressive little neighbor.

As long as they receive any substantial measure of support from abroad, Dr. Benes and his followers will not surrender to Hitler. If Paris and Moscow stand squarely behind Prague, President Benes will not yield. Premier Hodza told the Czechoslovak Parliament that the Czechs would "fight, fight, fight!" But no nation wants to emulate the example of Ethiopia and wage a war against hopeless odds. Ten million Czechs and Slovaks could not hope to hold out long against seventy-four million Germans, aided perhaps by thirty-four million Poles and nine million Hungarians. What Dr. Benes will do, therefore, depends in a large measure on what happens in Paris, Moscow and London. If his allies and friends fail to support him, he will be forced to make the best terms he can with Hitler.

That the Reich intends to act as self-appointed guardian over all Germanic minorities in Central Europe is an accepted fact. On March 13, Field Marshal Goering proclaimed that anyone who "attacks Germans—and thus Germany—will face the ever-loaded German cannon." That blast was aimed at Czechoslovakia.

"The Day Will Come"

It has long been the contention of the German Government that the Czechs mistreat the Teutonic minority in Czechoslovakia. Few observers will deny that there has been injustice. It has been one of the tragedies of the post-war era that the Czechs did not reach a *modus vivendi* with the German minority during the life of the democratic Second Reich. Now, the Czechs are hurriedly making concessions in the face of Nazi threats. But there is no possibility that the Czechs can satisfy the Henleinists without destroying the unity of the Czechoslovak State. Harassed within the republic's borders by a German minority, the Magyars, Poles and dissident Slovaks, confronted with the danger of invasion from the outside, uncertain of help from their allies, the Czechs face an increasingly uphill fight to preserve their independence.

In view of this situation, it is no wonder that the Czech Nazis can boast "*Es kommt der Tag!* (The day will come!)" It is not strange that Henlein tells his followers that "victory is certain!" For Czechoslovakia occupies the unenviable position of being the next major objective in the path of the onrushing Nazified *Drang nach Osten*.

SPAIN IN PERSPECTIVE

Italy and Germany, stepping in where Franco had failed, put Spain on the chopping block

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH



Glasgow Record

Now I Can See Victory in Sight

ONE might say that like ancient Gaul, Spain is divided into three parts. The Italians and the Germans have driven their wedge down to the sea, cutting off Barcelona from its sister capital at Valencia.

Day by day German and Italian bombing planes, tanks and artillery, and a horde of Moors from various parts of Africa—100,000 are now estimated to be on Spanish soil—drive their salients where the vaunted "Flower of Spanish Youth," fighting under the banner of Franco, could not.

The great orange plantations of the Valencia *huerta* or "garden spot," have fallen into the hands of the "Saviors of Spain." The orange crop proved a golden boon to the government. Oranges have always constituted Spain's most important article of export. During these past two years they have been exported in increased and intensified measure. This, in part, enabled the government to pay for such war material as it was able to buy notwithstanding the non-intervention agreement, and also pay for food for inhabitants of loyal territory. The seizure of these plantations is serious. The division of Republican territory by driving a wedge to the sea is likewise serious. But the Republic fights on. War material has been moved into the isolated government territory of which Madrid is the apex. Valencia, vulnerable as it is, is preparing for the defense. It is doubtful how long Madrid could hold out should Valencia fall. Barcelona has its back to the wall and a sword in each hand. Its principal source of energy and power has been cut, but still it fights on. Forecasts would be rash. No doubt a new chapter will have been written before these words see the light.

The new cabinet recently formed with Dr. Juan Negrin again at the helm, but with the old National Defense Minister, Don Indalecio Prieto, "in the dog house" as it were, is a 100 per cent war cabinet. Dr. Negrin becomes National Defense Minister, as well. Within certain safeguards he has become a virtual dictator. His job is to "win the war"; the Spanish press has hailed him as "the Clemenceau of Spain." Associated with him are Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the new Foreign Minister, and Julian Zugazagoita, the general secretary to the War Minister, who had stepped out of the preceding cabinet to take this position, which was not a ministerial portfolio. These are the three strong men of the new government charged with staying the headlong push of the enemy, with saving Republican Spain if it can. All three are socialists.

The Fifth Column

One might add to the list of strong men Paulino Gomez Sainz, who has become the *Ministro de Gobernación*, or Home Secretary, charged with the maintenance of law and order. He is a burly Basque who made a reputation for himself during the previous ten months, first by establishing order in Catalonia after the Barcelona rising in May of last year, and later as a kind of sub-Minister charged with maintaining order throughout Republican Spain. He was particularly effective in handling the troublesome Anarcho-Syndicalists. His task is now an arduous and delicate one. He must not only maintain normal conditions of order, but he must ferret out and halt the activities of the members of the so-called "Fifth Column," composed of Franco sympathizers behind the lines who are ready—as was demonstrated in the cases of Madrid and Santander—to take arms in Franco's aid at the opportune moment. He must also hold in check the supporters of the government with extreme inclinations, who might decide, in a pinch, to take the law into their own hands against the "Fifth Column." In a critical moment he must prevent a reign of terror such as marred the earlier months of the Spanish revolution. That is a big and important task. An armed rising in the rearguard, a clash between the "Fifth Column" and loyal hot-heads could play directly into the hands of the enemy in a critical moment, and might well turn the scales of war.

The important note in the change from the old to the new government is the disappearance of Prieto. He was considered the strong man of the old government. Some called him a dictator although in truth he did little dictating except in the Defense Ministry. Prieto, Negrin, Zugazagoita, all Socialists—that was the triumvirate of "strong men" in the old government which took office in May, 1937. Negrin, Zugazagoita, del Vayo—that, as has been seen, is the setup in the new.

The work of the outgoing government is perhaps not well appreciated outside Spain. When it took office, conditions were chaotic. Malaga had recently fallen. It was a severe blow. Treachery on the part of military commands and a lack of proper defense measures played their parts in that fall. Organized treachery on the government side must take its place alongside of Mussolini and Hitler as one of Franco's great allies. One saw it first at Madrid, then at Malaga, then at Bilbao, and more recently on the Huesca and Aragon fronts. All too often they who consummated it, were old army officers who remained supposedly loyal to the government. In reality they were helping Franco in those numerous ways that a disloyal officer is capable of aiding the enemy. That all seemed part of the original conspiracy. The preceding government of Largo Caballero was blamed for this situation. Caballero

ITALIAN PRISONER IN SPAIN

"TELL you what, mate," he says, "Mussolini's a fine fellow. He did a lot for me. So when I heard he wanted me to help him, I came here. Fight against Bolshevism, see?"

Other Italians say the same thing. Still others, needing money, volunteered for a military expedition whose destination was unknown. One had heard that there was a revolution in Spain and that men were needed to guard ports and bridges. He was surprised to find himself flung into a modern war.

But in this man's case there was no equivocation.

"No, it was not the Spanish people we were fighting. We were fighting Communism. Communism is a world menace. It is as important to stamp it out in Spain as if we were struggling on the soil of Italy. The Spaniards on this side are Reds. They are just as much our enemies as the Russians."

"But there have never been many Communists in Spain. Democrats if you like—but that is a slightly different matter. The Spaniards are not fond of interference from abroad—whether it is Communist or Fascist. They have their own ideas, you know. That is what they are fighting for."

It is humiliating to argue with a man in prison, even though he can obviously say what he likes without fear of punishment. There is the illogical feeling that because he is shut in he is at a moral disadvantage.

—*Inside Spain*, by Geoffrey Brereton

was accused of keeping in key positions in the war office and at the front unworthy generals and other staff officers even though repeatedly warned against them. Some of these officers are now in prison, or have been executed. He was further accused of having failed to take proper defense measures at Madrid, at Malaga, and elsewhere. He retired under a great cloud.

There were other disheartening conditions confronting the then incoming war minister, Prieto. There was no unified command in the army. Political parties and labor organizations continued to have their individual columns, their own private war fronts, and were carrying on in a great variety of manners. Many of the column chiefs, Napoleon-like, felt that they had their own great plan for winning the war and covering themselves with glory. The Huesca and Aragon fronts were inactive and accused of being lukewarm.

Libertarian Communism

Behind the battle lines there was much lack of recognition of governmental authority. The Anarcho-Syndicalists were still bent upon imposing "Libertarian Communism" in towns and villages and among peasant populations, whether the victims liked it or not. As a result there was bloody fighting in many of these towns. A town where "Libertarian Communism" was established did not recognize any authority but its own. And so the government found itself confronted with anarchy. In Barcelona there had just occurred that bloody week of street fighting far more violent and cruel than the historic fighting behind the Paris barricades in the days of the Commune.

It was the business of the government named in May, 1937, to put an end to all this and re-establish the central authority. Looking back over those ten months and a little more during which it held office, it is seen to have accomplished an Herculean task phenomenally well. The army was unified, law and order were established, "Libertarian Communes" were abolished, the Anarcho-Syndicalists were made to see reason.

To Indalecio Prieto fell the task of unifying the army, putting in new and dependable officers, getting war material, creating an effective fighting machine. One might almost say that he worked at it 24 hours of the day, and late in the evening he took time off to write with his own hands the war communiques.

Prieto

Prieto is a shrewd, astute, hard-hitting Socialist militant, who knows how to be quiet and say nothing, to bide his time when the occasion requires. His feud with Largo Caballero proved that. Caballero was the extremist left leader of the party while Prieto was the leader of the center. Caballero would have given a great deal to get Prieto out of the way and constitute himself the big boss of the party. Soon after the 1936 elections Prieto almost was got out of the way when an armed mob attacked his automobile while he was on a speaking tour in Estremadura. There has been some ugly talk about that. In the war government formed shortly after the military rising, Caballero was Prime Minister and Prieto, Minister of the Navy. One heard and saw a lot of Caballero and nothing of Prieto. It was being said: "Prieto has been suppressed by Caballero." But the day came when Caballero rather ignominiously "got the gate." And Prieto was "top dog."

Prieto was a quiet, placid sort of person, more than ordinarily rotund of girth and of face. One might be tempted to say he was phlegmatic, but that would indicate one did not know Prieto. He had an ingenuous, disarming expression which masked the fighter behind it. He knew his way around. During the dictatorship, and again after the Asturian rising of 1934, he vanished from the scene like smoke while the authorities were on his trail. The next thing you knew he bobbed up in Brussels, or Paris. Caballero never could get out of the way like that. He was always getting himself caught, but could easily prove he had done nothing because that seemed to be the truth. Caballero's faculty for preaching revolution and personally doing nothing about it has been the subject of much comment within the party.

Prieto could be firm as a rock, but there was a human quality about him which prevented him from being harsh or tyrannical. And he had the instincts of a gentleman—not of the polished and traditional type of Spanish gentleman who, toward his fellow man, can be a cruel, unfeeling "tough baby"—but of a gentleman. For instance, he insisted that all his war prisoners be properly treated. One day he was requested to permit the photographing of some German and Italian aviators who had been taken prisoners. He refused. "It's not elegant," he said. "It might hurt their feelings." But in mid-March came the insurgents' eastern offensive, the break through, the flight of Republican troops abandoned by their officers, the evidence of more military treachery which not even Prieto with his rigid discipline had been able to root out. And Prieto's sun rapidly set.

One always feels that Prieto missed the high point of his career when he refused to become Prime Minister of the Popular Front government, after Azaña left that office to become President of the Republic. One senses that he would have stemmed the military uprising then brewing and that the

history of Spain might have been different. But on political grounds he declined, and the job fell to a weakling, Cazares Quiroga, who, since the rebellion, has disappeared in oblivion.

Prieto attacked his multiplex problems with a firm hand. One of his big questions was that of the war commissars who played and are playing such an important role in the Republican army. He made the commissars non-political. This was the rock on which he stumbled.

The war commissars were a combination of lay father confessors, advisers, and leaders to the soldiers. They were their big brothers and defenders who at the same time must be prepared to take military command should the chief officer for some reason or other fall out. The Spanish commissars were also political propagandists. Each one preached the ideas of his own political party. That created rivalries and made the army a conglomeration of political groups. In Russia, where there was only one political group, that might have worked—and seems to have worked. But Spain was not having any of the Russian brand of one-party regimentation.

The question which Prieto had to solve was whether the dangers of political commissars outweighed their advantages. He decided that they did. The question does not seem an absolute one. Given a more seasoned and cohesive army and more experienced and dependable officers, he would no doubt have been right. But under actual conditions he perhaps made an error. At least, after the eastern front debacle, the Communists fiercely accused him of error.

So Prieto is out, but he does not retire in disgrace. His capacity, his faithfulness, his common-sense judgment in most matters, his accomplishments are recognized. But his departure is the old story of war. When a general —and Prieto was a kind of generalissimo—doesn't fill the bill, throw him out quickly and get another one. Prieto will be heard from again. He continues to be useful, to collaborate with the government. In a quiet way, it is understood, he is giving considerable attention to the international phase of the war.

Commissar Revival

The war commissars are now being revived. The Communist Minister of Public Instruction of the late cabinet, Jesus Hernandez, has been named General Commissar and is reorganizing the forces. It would not be surprising if one were now to see new emphasis on Communism in the army. After the international fiasco the Communist star is in the ascendancy again. Only a month previously one heard talk of eliminating the Communist party from the government entirely—it had two members in the old cabinet and has one in the new. Spaniards themselves did not like the Communist party and what it stood for. Before the Popular Front elections it had never been strong enough to elect a single deputy, and the handful who won in 1936 were elected by reason of being on the Popular Front ticket and so receiving Republican and Socialist votes. It was further realized that the presence of Communists in the government made foreign countries, such as England and France, wary of the Republic and gave its opponents an excuse for referring to it as "Red" and "Marxist." The government would rather not have had to deal with Russia at all. The pre-civil war Republic had never accepted Russian ambassadors or consular officers, even though more conservative countries like England, France, and the United States, to say nothing of Germany and Italy, had done so long ago. Spain, in fact, was the last country in Europe to put Russia on the basis of diplomatic comity. But after the rebellion Russia was the only other country to which it could turn for the purchase of arms in its own defense. The doors of England and France were closed to it. Its other friend, Mexico, had little or no arms to sell and was far away. "What can we do? We must turn to Russia. It is a fatality that we must do so." So one heard. The government and its supporters have always felt that in the end England and France, consulting their own interests, would do something that might turn the scales. But they have not. Rather, Spaniards feel, they are being sacrificed to the game of international power politics. Fatality again threatens to throw Republican Spain into Russian arms.



ON THEIR WAY? *Former Premier Largo Caballero and present Premier Dr. Juan Negrin shortly after leaving an emergency session.*

In the meantime the new Negrin war cabinet fights on. Dr. Negrin, who before the present Spanish affair was no politician but a scientist concerned only with his laboratory and his patients, has set up his war laboratory and gone to work. Perhaps he brings something of his medical doctrine to his job. No one knows better than the physician that "While there is life, there is hope."

His general secretary for war, Zugazagoita, whose name even his friends find too long so that they call him just "Zuga," is a Basque and a Socialist who used to be editor of the party organ, *El Socialista.* He is the typical spare, lanky journalist who would walk about with his typewriter. When he became Home Minister, he installed his portable in his office and wrote interesting pieces in off moments. Some had a revolutionary punch, others were

literary, with even a touch of the poetic. He is the journalist turned administrator who did a good job as Home Secretary and Dr. Negrin has sufficient confidence in him to make him his chief laboratory assistant.

Julio Alvarez del Vayo is the internationalist and the globe trotter of the lot. Spanish governments have always needed a few globe-trotters but unfortunately have lacked them. All too often they were composed of men whose horizons were limited by the boundary lines of Madrid or at best of Portugal and the Pyrenees. They lacked that broad and comprehending view given by travel and by mingling with world personalities. Del Vayo has it. For years he was a reporter at Geneva. Later he was variously a foreign minister or ambassador to other lands. He has been Spain's chief representative at the League of Nations and has already served a term as Foreign Secretary. He knows the foreign ropes as no other Spaniard does. He talks excellent English. He knows how to be off-hand and open in his conversations—which is a difficult trick for a Spanish man of state to learn.

While Negrin and his chief aids remain busy in Negrin's war laboratory, the world continues to be made safe for democracies in the international chancelleries of Europe. Del Vayo has again appealed to the League of Nations to take up the case of Spain. The League was the supreme tribunal set up to guarantee democracy in Europe. All its members stand bound by a sacred promise to protect each of its members from aggression. Spain, a party to that pact, had maintained confidence therein and had stood ready to carry out its own engagement. Its Republican constitution, adopted in 1931, is one of the few European constitutions of state, if not the only one, which specifically pledges the state to cooperate with the League and carry out to the letter its ordinations. It is true that up to the present the League has not taken cognizance of the foreign invasions because, as has been seen, such invasions were not considered to exist except in the imaginations of those who alleged their existence. And there was nothing anywhere in the Covenant articles to compel the league to worry about the "Flower of Spanish Youth." The tale of the League's attitude in the face of this latest appeal will no doubt likewise have been told before this appears. Spain, beholding power politics in the raw and at their worst once more in the ferment, has scant hopes. She has learned, as the Abyssinians learned before her, as some other European countries are learning, that when a free people wish to make the world safe for themselves, they must fight for it. Each white man—and each black man—must bear his own burdens. There are no other bearers thereof.

Australia Waits

By DUDLEY JONES

THERE is no need to emphasize why Australia is following the Sino-Japanese conflict with the greatest anxiety. Moreover, there is no doubt where public sympathy lies—in spite of Japan's position as the Commonwealth's second best customer for a number of years. It is overwhelmingly in favor of China, and not only because she is the 'under dog'; it is realized that a comparatively rapid victory for Japan may be of vital consequence for the Commonwealth's seven million people.

The average Australian has long felt uneasy as far as Nippon is concerned, and has never been backward in expressing that uneasiness privately. The friendship was purely official, not national. The commencement of Japan's "self-defence" campaign provoked this latent uneasiness into open hostility.

The general uneasiness of the Australian public at Japanese imperialism was reflected in the recent Federal elections. The campaign between the United Australia Party (Conservative) and the Labor Party—the former has occupied government benches since 1931—began on matters of internal polity. Soon public demand put defense in the forefront and the result hinged on that issue. Both parties agreed that the Commonwealth should expand its defense as much as possible, but their defense policy differed in two important respects. Curtin, Labor leader, fighting his first election in that capacity, declared that the air force should be developed at the expense of the navy; this for several reasons: (a) The greater mobility of aircraft makes them more suitable for the defense of a long coastline; (b) the paucity of capital outlay and upkeep makes aircraft more economical for a country of limited financial resources. The U. A. P. declared for a navy implemented by aircraft. However, on the second point of its program the Labor Party undoubtedly lost the election. It was forced on the party by J. T. Lang, former Premier of N. S. W. and stormy petrel of the Labor Movement. It was announced as an "Isolation policy." The Labor Party would pledge that no Australian should be forced to serve overseas and that Australia's defense policy should be such as to make her independent of Great Britain in time of crisis. This policy of "cut the painter" did not appeal to the Australian people, which is convinced that we would have to look to Britain in time of war. The U. A. P. promised to stick to Britain at all costs and was returned with a good majority. It has kept its word by religiously following every step taken by Downing Street. It has thus refused to consider any boycott of Japanese goods. An unofficial boycott has been demanded by all sections of the community, but, strangely, it does not seem to have been nearly as successful as reports from Canada and the U. S. A. indicate it has been in those countries. In recent weeks wharf-laborers have refused to handle metal cargoes consigned to Japan. Apart from this it seems that the unfortunate Chinese have every sympathy but no help.

There is one development which is eagerly looked forward to here—an Anglo-U. S. accord. But the American government's attitude to the situation has dashed cold water on Australian hopes. Not that America is blamed when Britain's attitude to Manchukuo is taken into account. Still, it is hoped that the imminent trade treaties may be a step in the right direction and Australia feels that it has a Big Friend with mutual interests across the Pacific, a feeling which many of our citizens gave vocal utterance when several warships steamed into Sydney Harbor last week to represent the U. S. A. at Australia's Sesquicentenary celebrations.

CANADA: OUR MILITARY WARD

Canada is sentimentally attached to Britain and bound to the American military machine

By DAVID MARTIN

This article answers the following questions:

1. Is Canada constructing a highway to connect the United States with Alaska?
2. Did Admiral Jellicoe advocate an alliance with the United States?
3. Has there been a large influx of Japanese to Canada?
4. Who described the Canadian forces as a "bow and arrow army running out of arrows"?
5. Has Canada repudiated her empire commitments?

IN THE same measure that Canada's bonds with the Empire have become weaker, her bonds with the United States have become stronger—or perhaps it would be more correct if this were stated in inverse order. Her geographical proximity to the United States, the nature of her economy, the common interests of the two nations, predestined her collaboration with her "good neighbour" to the South. The two nations commonly share the greatest internal waterway system in the world. Canada utilizes two transportation corridors through American territory, one through Maine to the Maritimes, the other through the Alaskan fringe to Skagway. The United States has two corridors through Canadian territory, one through Ontario and the other through British Columbia to Alaska. While it has been pointed out by quite logical cynics that Canada could not hope to defend herself against an invasion from the United States, the 4,000 miles of unfortified border still stands as a testimony to the collaboration between the two nations.

As shocking as it may be to idealists, political alignments seem to have a quite tangible connection with trade and investment statistics. American capital has invested in Canada some $3,990,000,000 out of a total foreign investment (in Canada) of $6,889,000,000 and Canadian capital has invested in the United States $1,311,000,000 out of a total investment abroad of $2,083,000,000. Trade between the two countries has reached a peak of $523,000,000 exported to the United States and $894,000,000 imported. Almost half of Canada's total trade within recent years has been with the United States while scarcely one-third of her total trade has been with the United Kingdom.

It would be wrong, however, to explain the friendship that exists between the two peoples entirely on the basis of the above-quoted figure. The flow of commerce has been accompanied by a flow of immigrants and tourists and ideas and culture. At the present time there are 1,278,000 Canadians in the United States and roughly 350,000 Americans in Canada. It has been estimated that one out of every seven or eight native Canadians migrates to the United States. Each year some 20,000,000 American tourists and visitors cross into Canada, while several million Canadians cross into the States. The overwhelming majority of the Canadian people (not many can go to Oxford!) receive their *Weltanschauung* from American movies and American radio programs and American books and magazines. Consequently it is only natural that Canadians and Americans should regard each other more as fellow countrymen than aliens.

In her policy in the Pacific, Canada is influenced by an Oriental immigration problem similar to that which confronts the United States. The poor orientals who were brought across to Canada in the first place because the artificers of the Canadian Pacific Railway required cheap labor, today find themselves pariahs, deprived of the franchise, because they happen to have a relatively low standard of living, and because they look different and do not assimilate easily. There were in Canada, at the time of the last census, 46,519 Chinese and 23,342 Japanese concentrated chiefly on the Pacific Coast. Immigration has been curtailed to the near zero point in the post-war years—in the case of China, by an act of Parliament, in the case of Japan, by a gentleman's agreement as a result of which Japan has voluntarily restricted her quota of immigrants to Canada to eighty per year (actually the agreement allows for 150). Even this has not been sufficient to satisfy the rabid anti-Japanese sentiment prevalent on the Pacific Coast, a sentiment that has only been too ready to exploit the Pacific war scare for all it is worth. Members of Parliament from British Columbia charge that Japanese fishermen in the Fraser River fire on their Anglo-Saxon competitors, and, in view of this atrocity, demand the complete stoppage of all Japanese immigration to Canada. Archdeacon Scott charges publicly that Japanese fishing boats on the British Columbia coast carry concealed guns capable of firing 25 to 50 miles. Government experts laughingly point out that the concussion caused by a gun of this range would probably throw any fishing boat on the Pacific Coast clear across the Rocky Mountains. The British Columbia Trollers' Association demands the deportation of all Japanese on the Pacific Coast.

Canada Snubs the Empire

Had British policy vis-a-vis the United States been consistently friendly, then perhaps the conflict between Canada and Great Britain would not have assumed such marked forms. Despite the oceans of sentiment about the need for unity between the English speaking democracies, the cruel facts are that British interests are far from being entirely harmonious with American interests. There has been a continuous conflict between Canada and Britain over the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It is common knowledge that long after the Washington Conference, the British Admiralty still continued to favor the renewal of this alliance. When Mathew Halton, London correspondent of the Toronto *Star*, interviewed Admiral Jellicoe shortly before his death, Admiral Jellicoe told him that he was opposed to an alliance with the United States and favored an alliance with Japan instead.

In the early days of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis, Britain's attitude was, at best, one of friendly neutrality. While Britain has managed to conclude a dubious truce with the Berlin-Rome sector of the axis, the Japanese end

seems to have gone entirely awry. The exhausting war in China could hardly be calculated to pacify Britain, or to aid Hitler in his future war against the Soviet Union. However a German-Japanese war against the Soviet Union, Britain was prepared to countenance and even to encourage. But when Japan undertook the military invasion of China, she threatened Britain's entire interests in the Far East. As a result, there has been an unquestionable rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States, publicized by the fact that Britain has granted docking facilities at Singapore and Hong Kong to the United States Navy. Collaboration between Britain and the United States in the Pacific has naturally done much to improve the relations between Canada and Britain. Nevertheless the sponsors of an Anglo-American fraternity should not be over-optimistic. What has changed before, may quite conceivably change again. British diplomacy is carrying on a parallel policy in Europe and the Far East. In Europe she has bent herself to the task of creating a four-power pact which would align the democracies and the fascist powers; in the Far East the indications are that she is working towards a compromise with Japan.

It is against this background that we must consider Canada's defense preparations.

Canada's Defense

There are people who derive a peculiar psychological satisfaction out of imagining themselves to be in constant danger of attack. There are those who see in every diplomatic move in Europe some design on the integrity of Canadian territory. Professor A. R. M. Lower, well-known Canadian historian, even suggests that Canada should purchase Greenland from Denmark in order to prevent some hostile European power from occupying it as a base of operations against Canada. Then again, there are British Imperialists who like to imagine that Canada has differences with the United States and still looks to the Motherland for assistance. Accordingly, they even go to the trouble of elaborating plans of defense against a theoretical American invasion of Canada. Part of the strategy suggested is the development of the Hudson Bay Railway and its terminus at Port Nelson, so that Britain would be able to employ the far northern route to Canada in case the approaches to Halifax and Montreal were blocked. Nothing could be more ludicrous. Entirely apart from the overwhelming disparity in population and resources, Canada is extremely vulnerable to attack from the South. While Canada has breadth, she has little depth—her size would not give her the advantage that size gives to Russia. From this standpoint, Canada has been compared to a narrow sheaf of wheat converging at Winnipeg. If you were to draw a line within two hundred miles of the American border on the Canadian side (one hundred miles would almost suffice), it would include within it almost everything that is of economic importance in Canada—cities, railways, farmlands and mines. One suggestion for defense against the United States, however, must not be ignored—the Canadian Army could retreat to Kapuskasing in northern Ontario and cut off the newsprint supply of the New York *Times*.

If nature failed to provide Canada with defenses to the South, she has more than compensated for this on the East and the West. On the East, more than 3,000 miles separate her from the European mainland. In order to approach Canada's vital areas, an invading fleet would have to sail up the St. Lawrence River which, incidentally, is closed to navigation for five months of the year. But even before arriving in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the fleet would run up against formidable barriers. The Strait of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and the tip of Labrador, could be effectively closed—for the small part of the year that it is open to navigation—by mines, coast artillery and perhaps a few submarines. From Newfoundland to the tip of Cape Breton Island is a scant sixty miles, in which space there are a number of easily fortified small islands. These islands, plus mines and submarines again, should be able to close this avenue also to a hostile fleet. But even if a hostile fleet were to penetrate this first line of defense, it would be nothing short of suicide for it to attempt to sail up the narrow St. Lawrence River. It would be possible to stage a landing on the coast of Nova Scotia, but this would not cut off anything vital to Canada and there would still be a long and difficult terrain before the invaders. As for a landing on the coast of Labrador: it would be a slight improvement on a landing at the North Pole, but not much.

The Pacific coast presents an equally inhospitable picture to the would-be invader. Vancouver and Victoria, and the most vital districts, can be approached only through the narrow Strait of Juan de Fuca or through the much narrower Johnston Straits at the northeast of Vancouver Island. The Dixon Entrance, gateway to Prince Rupert, could also be effectively fortified against a hostile fleet. Elsewhere, the coast is wild and rugged. Yet it is the Pacific Coast that is today occupying Canada's attention—not because she herself fears invasion, but because there is a very real danger of war between Japan and the United States.

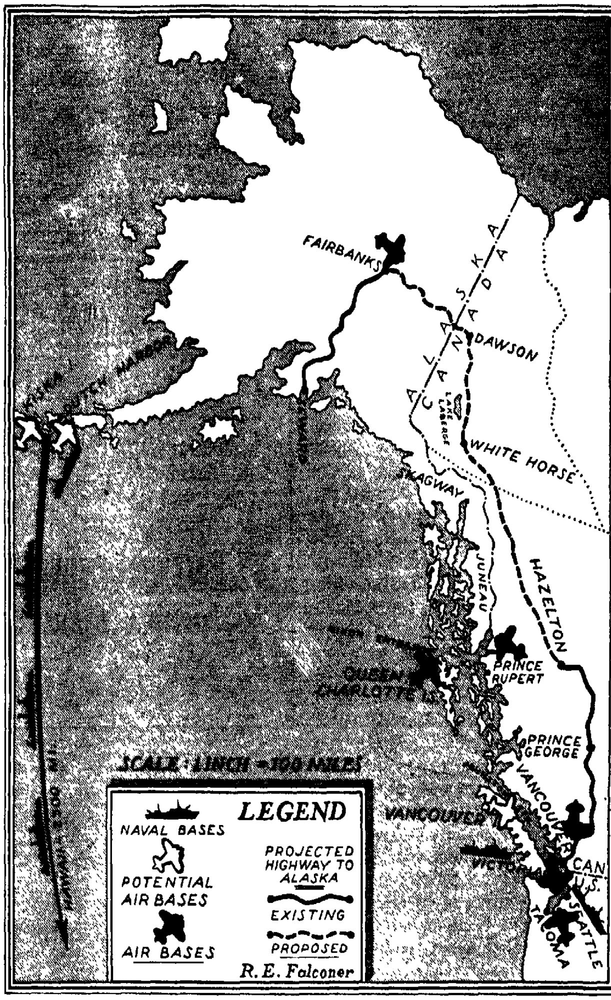
It is generally agreed that a Pacific war between Japan and the United States would follow the course of the semi-circle formed by the North American coasts, the Aleutian Islands and the Japanese achipelago. With the virtual abandonment of the Philippines, America's main line of naval defense may be said to cut across this semi-circle from the Aleutians to Hawaii to Panama. The United States is in fact today developing the Aleutians as a base for defensive and offensive action against Japan; and for offensive and defensive reasons as well, Japan would have to attack along the same route. Canada's position in such a war has already been likened to that of Belgium during the World War.

Joint Action

In the event of hostilities, Canadian collaboration would be imperative to the United States. If the Japanese were able to occupy some inlet along the British Columbia coast and use it as a base for raiding operations, they would be in a position to threaten seriously American shipping and American coastal cities. And should sea communication with Alaska at any time become hazardous, it would be necessary for the United States to have at its disposal a back door route through British Columbia. That is why America is so concerned over Canadian Pacific defenses and why, in addition, she has been sponsoring the project of a military highway extending from the American border to Alaska. Canada is beginning to wake up to the concern that their southern neighbour feels. If Canada does not hasten to fortify her Pacific coast, says the Toronto *Star*, the United States will be compelled to intervene and "her 4,000 miles of unfortified boundaries may become a thing of the past."

Within the past two years Canadian defense estimates have been considerably increased. Expenditures, which stood at $25,000,000 in 1936, were increased to $36,000,000 in 1937, and this year, according to budget estimates, will total $34,022,000. Special attention has been paid to the Pacific

Coast. The Canadian Navy, which consisted of two destroyers in 1936, was increased to four destroyers in 1937 and to six this year. Mine sweepers have also been purchased. The air force was increased by 102 planes in 1937 and will be increased by 75 planes this year—to give Canada a total air force of over 300 planes. Some $600,000 has been earmarked for air bases that are being built at Jericho Beach, adjoining Vancouver; at Patricia Bay, near Victoria; at Prince Rupert and on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Auxiliary facilities are being established at Kamloops, Ailford Bay, etc. A $250,000 magazine is being installed at the Esquimalt naval base. Large stores of ammunition are being laid by. The approaches to Victoria and Vancouver are being studded with shore-batteries —at Sidney Island, Ailford Bay, English Bay, William's Head, on the narrow Johnston Straits, etc. Guns are being set up in beautiful Stanley Park in Vancouver; and Yorke Island, at the north of Vancouver Island, is in process of being converted into a "miniature Gibraltar." The status of the military highway through British Columbia is still indefinite, but it has been estimated that it would cost $14,000,000 to extend this highway from Hazelton to Dawson, and to improve the stretch from Vancouver to Hazelton. The matter was discussed by Premier Patullo of British Columbia and President Roosevelt at their meeting in November of last year.



Even with the recent increases, however, Canada almost tailends the world in per capita expenditures on arms. While the lavish British expenditures run at least $25 per capita and while the United States is spending at the rate of approximately $12, the Canadian Government feels that an expenditure of $3 per person is entirely adequate. There are critics of this policy, staunchest among them the imperialists who believe that Canada should prepare to send another army overseas in case Britain becomes involved in another European war. "A bow and arrow army running out of arrows," is how Col. George Drew, prominent conservative, describes the Canadian Army. And the truth is that very little, apart from the cost of maintenance, is being spent on the land forces. The only war that Canada today contemplates seriously is a war involving her Pacific Coast, and in such a war large forces of infantry would not be required. Canada is nevertheless maintaining a small standing army of more than 4,000 men, backed by a Non-Permanent Militia of 100,000 men, which could easily act as a nucleus for a greatly expanded army if the occasion should arise. Government munition works are being prepared for full time production, and 700 additional plants have been inspected with a view to conversion to the manufacture of arms upon short notice.

Still, Canada's frugality in her armament outlay can only be explained by the assumption that she has definitely broken with European and Empire commitments and is, instead, following a policy of reliance on the United States. Imperialists may lament this trend, but history goes its way despite their laments. Prominent among the lamenters is Senator Arthur Meighen who, ironically enough, was himself accused of being a "tool of Washington" when, as Canada's Prime Minister, he opposed the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance at the Imperial Conference of 1921. In a debate in the Senate in January of last year, Meighen said: ". . . The first line of defense of the whole of this continent is the British Empire itself—reliance upon the Monroe Doctrine would render Canada a humiliated adjunct of the American Republic from that moment on." A semi-official answer to this argument was given in the *Canadian Defense Quarterly* for October, 1935:

"It has been advanced that Canada's dignity must suffer through her reliance for protection on the armed forces of a foreign power. There is a two-fold reply to this stricture. In the first place, the United States is hardly regarded as a foreign power by Canada and, it might be added, this feeling is reciprocated by the United States."

REVOLT IN THE A.M.A.

The dispute over socialized medicine in the U. S. has finally broken out into the open

By HOWARD STEPHENSON

THE present controversy over medical care is not a family quarrel among physicians. It affects all of us personally and deeply. For a peculiar characteristic of this contest is that all the combatants are primarily after the same thing—better means of keeping us well and treating us when we are ill. Scratch a physician and you will find an idealist.

The argument revolves around the question whether better medical care for the American public is to be obtained by State-controlled (socialized) medicine or by the traditional relationship between the patient and the individual physician.

We already have some socialized medical care, which nobody is disposed at present to discard. Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of *The Journal of the American Medical Association* and spearhead of the forces opposed to extension of socialized medicine, thus described what we now have:

"Of the two million beds available in our hospitals, almost one million are in government-controlled institutions. In almost every Federal department, certain health functions are incorporated, including, for example:

"The Bureau of Animal Husbandry, the Bureau of Home Economics and the Food & Drugs Administration in the Department of Agriculture.

"The Employes' Compensation Commission and the Veterans' Administration as independent bodies.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Howard University and the Freedman's Hospital in the Department of the Interior.

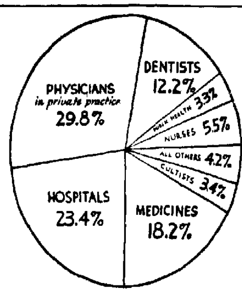
"The penal and correctional institutions in the Department of Justice.

"The Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

"The Bureau of Narcotics and the United States Public Health Service in the Treasury Department.

"Some medical functions in the Department of Commerce.

"It is estimated that our government expends today between $150,000,000 and $200,000,000 annually on health functions alone. Moreover, the individual States have entered into the field of medical care to such an extent that in some of them, for example, New York and Massachusetts, from 25 to 35 per cent of all medical care is administered as State functions."



3½ BILLION DOLLARS for MEDICAL CARE

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Where it goes annually—

If we include all local, State, and national tax funds spent for medical care, the total reaches $500,000,000 a year, according to Dr. Michael M. Davis, chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics. This, he estimates, is about one-sixth of the total of all annual expenditures for medical care.

Thus five-sixths of medical bills must come from the pockets of patients.

This is as it should be, insists Dr. Fishbein.

This should be subject to major change, urges Dr. Davis.

This needs modification only as regards special groups, declares Dr. Chas. Gordon Heyd, former president (1936–1937) of the American Medical Association.

We face an immediate problem, we need a national plan and here is one, announces the Committee of 430 Physicians, a forthright and vigorous group within the American Medical Association which numbers many of the "big names" in medicine among its membership. The roster, incidentally, now contains 711 names.

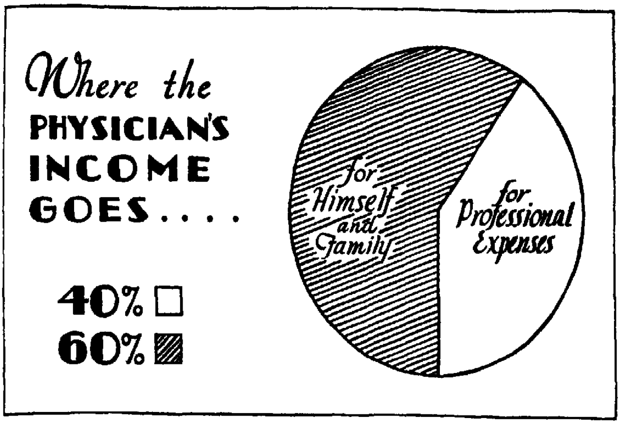
Europe's Experience

What of State-controlled medicine in other countries? In Germany, about 20,000,000 citizens now pay compulsory sickness insurance taxes and receive the benefits of medical care by law. Their 20,000,000 dependents also are covered by this insurance. The State, however, does not support this system financially. The insurance societies are organized in local community units. The employer pays one-half as much as the worker. As to benefits, the insured receives not only medical care for himself and his family, but also a cash payment, over a period of twenty-six weeks, approximating one-half his wages. In addition, 2,000,000 German public officials are automatically insured by the government and another 2,000,000 middle-class people belong to voluntary sickness insurance societies.

The rest of Europe, by and large, has followed the German model in setting up socialized medicine plans, but there are some interesting exceptions.

Italy's compulsory health insurance is limited to tuberculosis. The individual community, however, usually has its communal physician, tax-paid, whose services are on call by the patient unable to pay a fee. In Switzerland, a permissive national law throws the administrative burden on the cantons, some of which have elaborate systems and some practically none. The rest of Europe, with the notable exceptions of Russia, France, and Great Britain, has followed the German model.

True State medicine exists in Russia. There physicians and others who serve the sick are government officials. Hospitals are government institutions. The nation's entire medical bill is paid out of a special tax levied on industry. But physicians are not forbidden to carry on private practice. Private medical practice has been aptly compared to the existence of private schools in America, where public instruction, tax-paid, is provided for all children.



France has had a system of State medical care only since 1930. It is estimated that half the cost of medical care for the average wage-earner and his family is covered by State insurance. The insurance fund pays part of the physician's bill, the patient the rest. In hospital cases, the larger share is borne by the patient.

The British system applies only to wage-earners whose income does not exceed £250 a year. This group makes up approximately one-third of the population. Under various voluntary schemes, an additional 12,000,000 persons receive sick benefits of one sort or another. The State pays one-seventh of the cost of compulsory sickness insurance. The balance is divided evenly between employer and worker. Benefits do not extend to dependents of the insured. Hospital care is a separate matter. Two-thirds of the hospital beds are tax-supported. The voluntary hospitals limit their activities largely to acute cases; the tax-supported hospitals take some acute and many chronic cases. In the government hospitals, the patient must pay, if financially able, up to the actual cost of the care received.

Denmark is worthy of mention, because it is the best example of adequate medical care for the entire population. Under State operation, practically everybody is included. Employers in Denmark are not directly taxed for medical care. The Danish hospital system, a world model, is almost entirely supported by general taxation.

But practical workings of the various European systems are far from Utopian, in the view of Dr. Heyd:

"This is not an insurance proposition that can be calculated or estimated on an actuarial basis," he says. "Human nature being what it is, the adoption of the insurance principle for medical services puts a premium on malingering and extension of days of illness. The average loss of time to a workman in the United States by illness is six and one-half days. In Germany, under the Krankenkasse, it is thirteen days and in England, under the Panel system, eleven and one-half days."

Medicine in America

To return to the American scene, the following resumé of our medical problem is provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, not as argument, but as a factual basis:

"There are about 100,000,000 cases of sickness among the people of the United States every year. Some cases are serious; some are trivial. Altogether, they cause not only suffering, but also a billion-dollar loss of wages, and require about three and a half billion dollars for the costs of care.

"Concerned with furnishing medical care and medicines are 150,000 physicians, 70,000 dentists, 200,000 nurses, 7,500 hospitals, 6,000 clinics and 60,000 drug stores. Five billion dollars are invested in hospitals, clinics, laboratories and in the private offices of physicians and dentists."

To this statement, officials of the Fund append the following argument in favor of medical reform:

"Physicians today are given thorough and expensive training in medical schools. The tradition and the ethics of the medical profession place service to the sick above financial return. Physicians are generally ready and anxious to serve patients who need medical care.

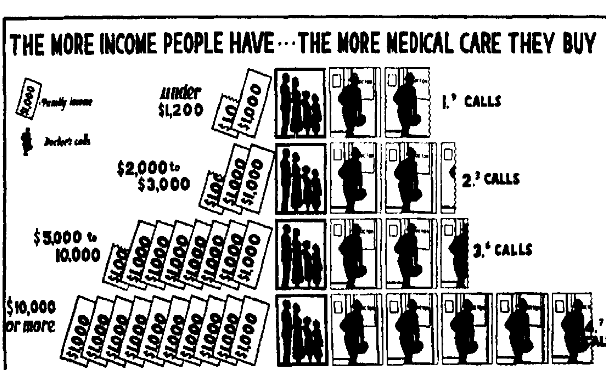
"Yet the average physician spends one-third of his time idle, waiting for patients.

"On the other hand, many people go through serious illness without *any* professional care. Before the depression, studies covering 24,000 persons of moderate or small incomes showed that 25 to 35 per cent of these people had gone through a disabling illness—not a minor one—without any care from a physician.

The background for the present heated controversy over medical reform is a matter almost entirely of this generation. Though there had been agitation now and again before the World War, it was in the War period and since that national attention was focused on public health as a governmental concern.

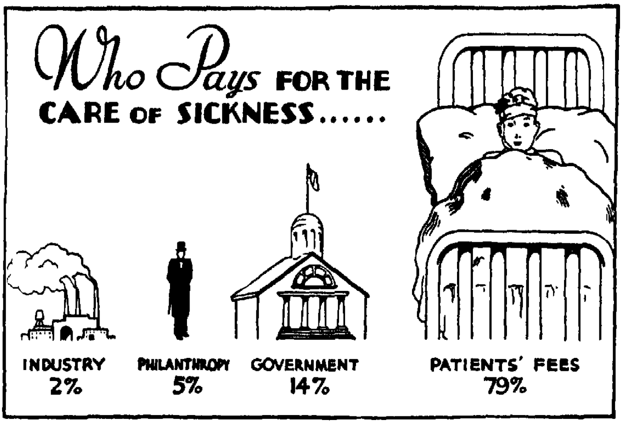
"Since 1915," said Dr. Fishbein, "a ferment has been agitating the medical scene. It is the new concept of social service and social security. Few people realize that the advancement of medical science is largely responsible for raising these problems which social security proposes to answer.

"There has been a tendency to place on illness the responsibility for economic insufficiency, when the reverse may well be true. It is certain that the provision of adequate food, fuel, shelter and clothing and an occupation with a sufficient wage would largely solve



many of our problems of medical care."

The ferment boiled over in 1927 when, at the instance of social workers and medical men, a distinguished Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was formed, supported by grants from eight large foundations. Ray Lyman Wilbur, later to become Secretary of the Interior in the Hoover cabinet, was chairman. This Committee brought forth a large body of factual data—and a number of conflicting reports. The majority report advocated a fuller planning and organization of medical practice and an extensive use of the principle of insurance against sickness. The minority reports differed in degree rather than in principle.



Revolution

Dr. Fishbein, as spokesman for the American Medical Association, warned that the majority report was "socialism and communism—inciting to revolution." The Association, at its 1934 convention adopted the principal minority report as its platform.

How deeply emotions had been stirred was indicated in this editorial in the *Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association,* which swung from the heels at political candidates suspected of leanings toward socialized medicine:

"Let us inquiringly search out the legislative mesquite and the administrative underbrush and unmistakably brand with blackball votes this coming fall those mavericks whom we have reason to suspect of long-haired theories and pop-eyed reforms as regards goose-stepping the medical profession. . . . Otherwise, in their guinea-pig-o-mania, they will march our ideals and idealisms, one by one, up that long, last hill for crucifixion. Once these have been nailed to the cross, then, indeed, it will be too late for us to seek the wailing-wall of remorse. . . . The merely gold-washed chains of ward-healer serfdom await the medical profession if organized medicine slumbers."

Dr. Davis, spokesman for the medical economists, set forth the five essentials which in his opinion "the intelligent American consumer demands in the care and protection of his health:

"1. Medical service, not as a charity, but paid for on a basis consistent with the self-respect of American citizens.

"2. Medical service so organized as to furnish him with continuous contact with a personally interested physician and which does not confuse and subdivide him among a number of independent, competing specialists.

"3. A system of paying for medical service which will develop the maximum paying power from his income, and remove the hazard of unexpected sickness bills occurring at the time when his paying power is usually least.

"4. A system of payment which will stimulate the prevention rather than the care of sickness.

"5. Good hospitals which are available to him geographically and financially."

At the annual convention of the American Medical Association in 1937, the issue of socialized medicine reached the open for the first time in organized medical circles. It was precipitated by publication of "American Medicine," a two volume resume of the opinions of some 2,200 physicians on all phases of medical reform. Though the Association took no action, a dynamic group of which Dr. Hugh Cabot, chief consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic, was an aggressive leader, began an active campaign within the ranks of organized medicine for a reform program.

A Committee of 430 Physicians was formed. Chairman is Dr. Russell L. Cecil, Professor of Clinical Medicine at Cornell. Dr. Cabot is a vice chairman together with Dr. Milton C. Winternitz, Professor of Pathology at the Yale School of Medicine. Dr. John P. Peters, Professor of Medicine at Yale is secretary.

The "Principles and Proposals"

When the Committee issued a list of Principles and Proposals, which was circulated throughout the medical profession, what had looked like a family squabble developed overnight into a national controversy. The general attitude of the newspapers was that rebellion was flaring within the American Medical Association. Both the reformers and the stand-patters strove to maintain calm demeanors in the face of the public. But the leaders were too earnest to keep quiet for long.

"These Principles and Proposals," commented Dr. Fishbein, "heralded as a 'revolt' in the American Medical Association, were designed to impress the Government with the view that the American Medical Association is disorganized, not representative of medical thought throughout the nation and opposed to the best interests of the people. What is needed to answer the problem of medical care for the American people is not a Plan, but scientific Planning."

"The Principles and Proposals have been damned as socialistic propaganda," beamed Professor Peters. "They have been dismissed as platitudinous nonsense. This is inherent in the fact that they are generalizations. Their very obviousness has aroused both suspicion and enthusiasm. It seems inconceivable to some that their simplicity does not conceal ulterior motives."

But whether the Principles and Proposals prove a mere hindrance to an orderly program, or whether they are a new bill of rights to implement the American pursuit of health and happiness, there seems little doubt of their significance. They will undoubtedly be the center of the controversy from this time on. The argument may be resolved within the medical profession. But it is certain to burst forth again in public. Better and cheaper medical care for the average American family looms as one of the liveliest political topics of the immediate future.

BEHIND THE MIKADO'S THRONE

Japan's "concealed" dictatorship is headed by Governor-General Jiro Minami, of Korea

By JAMES A. B. SCHERER

This article answers the following questions:

1. Who is K. Ugaki?
2. What is meant by the Bakufu?
3. Have the Japanese people voted in favor of Japan's militaristic program?
4. Are Japan's military forces responsible to the Emperor?
5. How do the militarists control the formation of the Premier's Cabinet?

THE JAPANESE people were dragooned into this "undeclared war."

"Dragoon" is an old word for cavalryman, and the particular cavalryman under whom they were forced into a ruinous war against their expressed will, and who for nearly a year has been their *de facto* ruler, is the Governor-General of Korea, Gen. Jiro Minami.

His very name means "south," and he typifies that famed southern spirit that has inspired so many generals and admirals. Born sixty-three years ago in the southern island of Shikoku, and endowed with extraordinary powers, he graduated from the Military Staff College when only eighteen, and eventually became one of its most brilliant instructors, after gaining practical experience in the Russo-Japanese war. Facially, he suggests the famous portrait of the first of all the Shoguns—Yoritomo. For he has the same heavy jaw and bull neck, thick lips and broad ears, a round nose, and heavy-lidded eyes. His physique is powerful, and while his horsemanship is undistinguished, it keeps him fit. Indoors, he studies military science incessantly, a jar of warm rice wine at his elbow, for he is a *saké* connoisseur. To his familiars, he is known sometimes as "the Go-getter," sometimes as "the Diplomat," depending on which phase of him is functioning. When Sterling Fisher of the *New York Times* interviewed him on the Manchurian border, he even had kind words for the alert Russian soldiers. "Put yourself in their place," he suggested. "Is it any wonder they're on their toes with our troops lined up opposite?" But Manchuria had already become Manchoukuo, and in effecting that change Minami had not only played the major role, but had played it ruthlessly.

Minami's career, during the last seven critical years, can hardly be understood without reference to his crony, Gen. K. Ugaki. Ugaki was the central figure in the first of the Army plots to seize control of the Japanese government, in March, 1931. Cooperating with two other officers, Ugaki plotted to compel Parliament to name him Premier, with dictatorial powers. His plot failed only because Gen. Masaki, guarding Tokyo, got wind of it. It seems hardly conceivable, in view of the well known intimacy, that Minami was unaware of the plot, or unsympathetic with it. But he played his cards so well that his name was not tarred by the brush that disgraced Ugaki, nor the friendship marred. Through his influence, Ugaki's face was saved by sending him to Korea as Governor-General, while he himself, at Ugaki's suggestion, succeeded to the Ministry of War.

Suspecting that, among the three hundred ranking officers, were many critics of his inexperience in military administration, Minami swept aside the stiff conventionality that had always characterized the assumption of office. When the three hundred were assembled, he strode before them and called out, "At ease!" Before they could recover from their astonishment at this rough smashing of ceremonial precedent, he bellowed, "I'm nothing but a novice in matters of military administration, and depend on your cooperation! That's all!" He turned around abruptly and left the hall.

He also left them gasping. He had "put it up to them." He had done it by a stage play as crafty as it was bold, and at the same time had made the front page. But Minami is also a master of concealment, and deserves first prize for keeping off the front page since succeeding Ugaki two years ago as Governor-General of Korea, a job for which he was thoroughly prepared by his success in Manchoukuo. Meanwhile, Ugaki returned to Tokyo to make another attempt—with Minami's aid—to realize his ambition to be Premier.

Minami is the creator of Manchoukuo. When Ugaki's plot of March, 1931 failed to hoist militarism into the ruling saddle, Minami planned "the Manchurian incident" as a means to that end in the following August. Assembling his divisional commanders in Tokyo, he delivered a philippic which, as Takeuchi says in his important work, *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire*, was accepted by the nation as "open notice that the military were united in demanding a more vigorous policy toward Manchuria, failing which, they were ready to take the situation into their own hands and seek a solution in their own way."

Minami's philippic went even further. He scored the Wakatsuki-Shidehara cabinet, to which he belonged, for its weakness toward China. He denounced the people's demand for reduction of armament. He rallied all soldiers to their "duty." "Some folk," he said, "hastily advocate limitation of armaments, and engage in propaganda harmful to the nation and its Army. I expect you officers to cooperate with the War Ministry in correcting such mistakes!"

Takeuchi, after pointing out that under Minami's ministry the actual center of authority for directing Japan's continental policy was already shifting from Tokyo to Manchuria, says that one effect of this pronouncement was to transfer "the whole direction of Japan's foreign policy from the Foreign Office to the War Department." Troops poured across the Yalu River from Korea to augment the Kwantung army. War preparations became so feverish that on September 17 the Osaka *Asahi* mentioned the general mobilization of troops. The very next day a rigid censorship was clamped down, and the following night Japanese troops claimed that "the Young Marshal's" soldiers had damaged a fishplate on the South Manchuria Railway just north of Mukden, and proceeded to "retaliate." Japan's huge war machine, all

MILITARY TRAINING IN JAPAN

BETWEEN the ages of 17 and 40, service in the Japanese army is compulsory, actual service beginning at 20. There are two classes into which the physically capable are divided: the "fit" and the "absolutely fit." The active army consists almost entirely of the latter category.

The supplementary reserve is made up of the "absolutely fit" recruits not required for the first line, and enough of the "fit" to maintain units at full strength. Service in the supplementary reserve is for twelve years and four months. After this period, soldiers are transferred to the home defense units until the age of 40.

The home defense force is divided into two sections, one consisting of men who have passed through the supplementary reserve, and the other of those who have not served in any of the preliminary service units but who are not exempted from military service. These latter receive no military training, and are called out only in extreme emergencies.

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geared up and ready to go, steam-rollered across the plains, while an impotent Foreign Office kept assuring foreign governments that there was nothing to worry about. Three days after the fishplate fiasco, Minami coolly reported to a jittery cabinet, "just as a matter of form." He added that "the troops had crossed the river into Manchuria, and there was nothing for the Premier to do but accept the *fait accompli.*" On October 9, he presented the Premier with the text of the Fundamental Policy for the Settlement of the Manchurian Problem, including a purge of all "unreliable" soldiers and bandits. There could be absolutely no withdrawal of military forces. He also advised negotiation thereafter, not with China, but with "the new political entity of Manchoukuo"; and he added a straight warning to the League of Nations that "Japan possesses special rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, and rejects absolutely any intervention on the part of any third nation." As a writer in the current issue of the Tokyo *Kaizo* says, "the settlement of the Manchurian affair was fundamentally based on this text."

In December of that year, Minami's reward for doubling the area and mineral wealth of his Empire through giving it control of a vast puppet state was a full generalship and promotion to the Supreme Military Council. He saw to it that his friend Araki succeeded him as Minister of War.

Araki is as noisy as Minami is reserved, but there can be little doubt that he expressed Minami's ambitions for Japan, as well as his own, in the flamboyant boast that "the imperial principle of the Japanese nation must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents; anything that may hinder its progress must be done away by force."

Minami Moves Up

When Minami went over to the mainland in 1934 tq command the now huge Kwantung army, he established the three essential features of the ancient *Baku-fu,* as the Japanese call the Shogunate, or military dictatorship, that oppressed them for centuries before the "Restoration" of the Emperor in 1868: (1) Two capitals virtually existed, one at Tokyo, where the Emperor sits enthroned, and the other, the Camp Government, *Baku-fu* in the field, with the first ranking officer of the Army at its head; this resulting in (2) the substance of power in the Commander's hands; with (3) a careful concealment of the real truth, the old Shogun's primary axiom having been to "wield power in fact, never in name."

Accordingly, a penetrating study of contemporary politics, *Japan in Crisis,* says that by 1934, Japan had virtually become a military dictatorship again, for, while "the Emperor continued to be reverenced, and all things were done in the imperial name, in point of fact, there was no real difference, in essential matters, between the way the old *Baku-fu* had ruled Japan and the way Japan was governed now." Dr. Wildes hazards no guess as to who the concealed dictator is, but unimpeachable Japanese authority informs the writer that "the Army dominates Japan, and Minami dominates the Army," and every test I have been able to apply to this statement proves it true.

Two years ago, at Ugaki's request, Minami succeeded him as Governor-General of Korea. Since then he has attempted to manipulate an undeclared war on China along the same lines as the Manchurian exploit.

However, before launching on this new adventure, Ugaki was to have been made Premier, so that the cronies could work together. Through Minami's influence, the Emperor named him for that office, when the Hirota cabinet fell at the beginning of 1937, because the Japanese people could no longer stomach its militarism. But the arm chair generals in Tokyo blocked Ugaki's ambition, probably because they remembered his connection with the original Army plot. They blocked it by refusing to have any one of their number serve as War Minister, so that Ugaki, humiliated, had to confess to His Majesty his inability to form a government. In his humiliation he severed all connection with the Army, and surrendered his military titles. As a last resort, Gen. Senjuro Hayashi was appointed, but his term was short-lived Hayashi's downfall dramatically demonstrated the people's attitude toward any further military adventures on the mainland.

With a display of poor strategy, Hayashi dissolved a recalcitrant Parliament, precipitating a general election, which he fatuously hoped would seat his own hand-picked deputies, and thus regularizing the militarist program in China, as Minami wished. But the Japanese people, when summoned to a plebiscite, are not like Hitler's. They prize the Constitution promulgated half a century ago, and their liberties under it. Instead of flocking to the polls with Army rubber stamps in their hands, they turned down the militaristic program thirty to one.

Hayashi tumbled from his perch, to be succeeded by Prince Konoye. And Minami, warned by the terrific popular rebuke, decided to shoot his last bolt Seizing on the Bismarckian device in the Japanese Constitution which makes the fighting services responsible only to the Emperor, he decided that "an incident" had occurred at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, deserving a chastisement, similar to that given the Chinese following the demolition of the Manchurian fishplate. He also exploited Emperor-worship to implement his program without further delay. Prince Konoye was persuaded to visit His Majesty at the Imperial seaside resort last summer, and when he returned with the privy seal affixed to an order authorizing the Chinese incursion, he wielded as much power with the populace as Moses when he came down from Mt. Sinai. This is no exaggerated analogy, for, although Prince Ito wrote of Japan shortly before his death as "a once theocratic state," Emperor-worship was later resuscitated as a tool of statecraft, and the present generation

of Japanese has been taught from infancy in the government schools that their Mikado is "the incarnate God who governs the universe." So when the first puppet Parliament met in Tokyo last summer, it was blandly informed that it had been called "to approve the Army's occupation of the Peking-Tientsin area of North China, and a totalitarian program of economic and financial reform." "Such criticism of the Army's adventures as caused the fall of Hirota's government," said the press dispatches, "has been ruled out, for any thought that the positive policy adopted in China might be challenged was abandoned when the Imperial approval was given." As the hymn-book has it, "To doubt would be disloyalty, to falter would be sin."

A Super Council

Like other dictators, Minami rules by personal power. His power is the power of intelligence backed by a ruthless will and served by diplomacy as needed. He knows his history thoroughly, and he is also a student of the national psychology. He knows how other Shoguns succeeded, and how still other Shoguns, such as the Ashikaga, failed. Like such great Shoguns as Yoritomo and Iyeyasu, he envelopes himself in a shadow of profound reverence to the Throne, while the Army, far removed from Tokyo, gives him the substance of power.

Unlike Ugaki, however, he discloses no personal ambition, a trait the Japanese will not tolerate in a minister. They remember what the greatest of all their princes said thirteen hundred years ago: "To turn away from that which is private, and to set one's face toward that which is public—this is the path of a minister." Yet, like Hitler, Minami believes himself inspired to lead his Japanese Reich toward its manifest destiny—world power.

Diplomacy has led him to cultivate the steadfast attachment of men of his ilk, and many of these men now hold key positions in Tokyo and on the mainland. He returned to Japan from Korea last January to initiate a Super Council, a brain trust. On it now sits Ugaki, with Araki beside him. Between them, they could almost dictate the government, such is their intelligence and will power. This Super Council takes precedence over all the regular military organs of government, such as the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals, the Military Advisory Council, the General Staff, and the War Ministry itself. But the titular Minister of War, Sugiyama, received his training as Minami's vice-minister, during



CONCEALED DICTATOR: *Governor-General Jiro Minami, of Korea, holds the key to Japan's present military dictatorship*

the manipulation of the Manchurian exploit. And without doubt, when he declared last summer that "China must be reduced to absolute military and economic helplessness," he was repeating Minami's instructions, usually transmitted by long-distance telephone from Korea. Likewise, Doihara, who was blamed by the foreign correspondents for his high hand in Manchuria, is but Minami's messenger. So with Hirota, who, through the secret Black Sea Society, has from his youth been pledged to the militarist will.

But it is not all beer and skittles. The Army and Navy have a longstanding political jealousy, and Admiral Suetsugu, now Home Minister, cherishes ambitions of his own. Prince Konoye, too, in spite of his earlier pliancy, seems no longer supine. At the military behest he assisted Hirota in driving the National Mobilization measure through the recent Parliament, succeeding only on his personal promise that it would not be invoked during the present "incident." Now that military pressure seeks to force him to invoke it, he balks. At the moment it seems almost as if he were holding on to the premiership to keep it from becoming a dictatorship. During the last half of April, as the plans of Suetsugu and Minami began to emerge from concealment, this ugly word made its first appearance on the cables. Perhaps the Prince sees how badly he was duped, and rallies to the call of the people.

In spite of the rigid censorship, the people are making themselves heard. The current *Kaizo* declares boldly that "what they desire is the day of peace," and even mentions "spiritual strangulation." It foresees the Prince's downfall, and speculates on his successor. Minami is its "man of the future," on account of his "talented social technique" and "keen perception." "The broad and unhurrying manner of his personal temperament and appearance" is also listed as an asset, since it "makes him look as though he had a tinge of democracy. He looks as though he has no interest whatsoever in politics, and seems to avoid the topic."

These are faithful translations of striking phrases in the *Kaizo* article, which concludes its treatment of Minami by confessing that "no one knows just exactly whether he is interested in politics or not. But this is the point on which he is ingeniously wise. There are many campaigners from Korea in Tokyo, actively engaged in supporting him. Of course, he most probably is unaware of such facts, but they tend to harm him ultimately, and are rather dangerous. Against hasty actions he should be on guard."

One thing clear from these cryptic remarks is that Jiro Minami's concealment is no longer one hundred per cent. The old Shoguns, too, had to emerge now and then from seclusion, but held on to their power. However, they had only serfs to deal with, who had not tasted liberty.

THE PRESS LOOKS AT PUMP-PRIMING

By BURT M. McCONNELL

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to Congress last month was divided into three parts: The continuation of relief and relief work on an expanding scale; the expansion of credit for the improvement of business in general; and a program of new work to increase the immediate purchasing power of the nation—to "prime the pump." It is the most ambitious spending program the New Deal has advocated since 1933, estimates of the amount that will be available varying all the way from three billion dollars to more than five billions.

With respect to the direct expenditures recommended by the President, a survey of the country's newspapers should be more helpful and enlightening than the opinion of one person. For newspaper editorial writers are keen observers, and they keep their finger on the pulse of their particular community.

There are some who feel that pump-priming, such as the President proposes, is necessary to set the wheels of business recovery in motion once more. There are others who believe a vast new program of government spending is unwise; that the harm done to business recovery by increasing the public debt can not possibly be offset by the stimulus of spending. There are some who would reject the whole program, and others who would accept it in its entirety; in between are those who would accept some parts and reject others.

In making his recommendations to Congress, the President said, in part:

> When this Administration took office it found business, credit, and agriculture in collapse. Starting in March, 1933, the Congress and the Administration devoted themselves unceasingly, not only to re-establishing reservoirs of credit, but to putting purchasing power in the hands of the consuming public and actually securing a more equitable distribution of the national income.
>
> In 1928 the national income was eighty billion dollars; in 1932 it had fallen to less than forty billion dollars. Since the low point of 1932, each year, including 1937, has shown a steady increase in the income which the nation produced, reflected in increased wages and salaries, in increased dividends, interest, and individual's income. In 1937 the total of our citizens' income had risen to sixty-eight billion dollars.
>
> But the very vigor of the recovery in both durable goods and consumers' goods brought into the picture early in 1937 certain highly undesirable practices, which were in large part responsible for the economic decline which began in the later months of that year. Again production outran the ability to buy.
>
> Thus by the autumn of 1937 the nation again had stocks on hand which the consuming public could not buy because the purchasing power of the consuming public had not kept pace with the production.
>
> The simple fact is that the laying off of workers came upon us last autumn, and has been continuing at such a pace ever since that all of us—government and banking and business and workers and those faced with destitution—recognize the need for action.
>
> The national income, which was thirty-eight billions in 1932, and sixty-eight billions in 1937, is now running at about fifty-six billions. If it can be increased to eighty billion dollars in the course of the next year or two, the whole economic picture will be different. Hundreds of thousands more people will be employed in private industry, hundreds of thousands fewer will be in need of relief, and consumer demand for goods will be greatly stimulated.
>
> We do not believe that we can get an adequate rise in national income merely by investing, lending, or spending public funds. It is essential in our economy that private funds be put to work. All of us recognize that such funds are entitled to a fair profit.
>
> As citizen income rises, government expenditures will go down and government tax receipts will go up. The higher the national income goes, the faster will we be able to reduce the total of Federal and State and local debts. In all of this, government can not and should not act alone. Business must help. I am sure business will help.
>
> We need more than the materials of recovery. We need a united national will.
>
> We have at our disposal the national resources, the money, the skill of hand and head to raise our economic level—our citizens' income. Our capacity is limited only by our ability to work together."

Erwin D. Canham, Washington correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*, thus interprets the three main elements of the President's spending program:

> 1 Spending to maintain present levels of expenditure and employment: In this category are four items—$1,250,000,000 for WPA or direct relief; $75,000,000 for the National Youth Administration; $50,000,000 for the CCC, and $175,000,000 for the Farm Security Administration, which aims to help the hardest pressed farmers, such as share-croppers and drought refugees. Total, $1,550,000,000. This direct relief does not go beyond the present rate of spending.
>
> 2 Spending beyond present levels. In this category comes the simple part of the new program—$1,000,000,000 for local PWA projects; $100,000,000 for Federal highways; $37,000,000 for flood control; $25,000,000 for public buildings; $300,000,000 for housing. These items are, more or less, all of the pork-barrel variety. Total, $1,462,000,000
>
> 3. Methods of payment: Here comes the new rabbit out of the White House hat. The President proposed—and instantly carried into effect—the desterilization of the inactive gold hoard. That was a nest-egg. Since December, 1936, the Government has been buying all gold that was offered it, paying for it with notes issued against new borrowings, and salting the gold away. This inactive fund contributed to the deficits of the last and the cur-



Detroit News

YOO HOO! MONEY CHANGERS!

rent fiscal year; it was part of the money that was being taken in by the Treasury in taxes or borrowings, and not being redistributed as purchasing power.

Now, however, the gold is transferred from the inactive fund to the Treasury reserves. The Treasury can begin issuing notes against it, and spending the notes. The hoard totals just under $1,400,000,000.

The new spending, therefore, may be interpreted as being balanced by the "windfall" of money that has been paid for and added to the Federal deficit in months gone by. So the total to be added to the national debt by the President's plan is not the total Congress is being asked to appropriate, which is around $3,000,000,000, but something like $1,500,000,000. Of course, later in the fiscal year, when relief expands from $1,250,000,000 listed above—which is only supposed to be good for seven months—the national debt may take another jump upward.

Another feature of the Roosevelt spending-lending program went into effect with the authorization to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to relax its restrictions on the lending of its $1,500,000,000 of available funds, $750,000,000 of which would be used to reduce requirements of the Federal Reserve Bank. This last and the desterilization of gold are credit-expansion measures.

There we have the President's program. Now, let's see what the leading newspapers of the United States think of it. For their editorial pages not only reflect public opinion; they mould it.

In his noon message to Congress, the President analyzed the economic emergency, and outlined his program for restoring vitality to industry and commerce. In his radio talk to the American people late that night, he sought to stimulate business executives and manufacturers, and to bolster the morale of the rank and file. Both meet with the entire approval of the *Philadelphia Record*. According to this paper, "Uncle Sam is going to fight the business depression as he fought the World War—by spending enough to win." "The program is inflationary," admits the *Atlanta Constitution*, "but this may be helpful—if not carried too far." The *Houston Chronicle* notes the "vigor and enthusiasm of the President; the same confident leadership that his message in the dark days of 1933 contained." Says the *Birmingham Age-Herald:*

> In our judgment, this message to Congress, if considered with a fair and open mind, is a moderate, sane, and constructive message, even though one may not agree with all the specific proposals it advances. It is healing, rather than provocative. It is conservative at the same time that it is positive. And it proposes courageous action.
>
> The majority of Americans rejoice that the President, whatever have been his errors, seems ready to try again in the same high spirit in which he first fought depression. And more. We believe that if they have a will to do so, the American people can find in the message evidence that the President has learned by experience; that he has profited by his mistakes.
>
> In this paper's opinion, the spirit of the President's message is even more important at this hour than is the specific program for recovery he recommends. No vastly increased and irresponsible spending is here contemplated. On the contrary, wisely administered, this program on the whole might contribute enormously to the reversal of the recession.



St Louis Post-Dispatch

REMEMBER WE BOTH HAVE TO WORK!

"For the cross-purposes which hitherto have handicapped the struggle against the depression, government is by no means solely to blame," declares the *Hartford Times*. If business leadership had exhibited a greater amount of initiative and energy, the depression would have been cut short, maintains this Connecticut paper. The *New York World-Telegram* finds in the President's message to Congress—and his fireside chat—"a new and happier note; a new spirit of tolerance." The President, it believes, realizes that "the public is tiring of the tendency to make Washington a political and economic arena for gladiatorial combat, while the back country goes to hell." The *Des Moines Register* also charges private industry with having failed, in the earlier pump-priming era, to "take up the burden of employing the millions of jobless when the Government tried to taper off its spending program." This time we must not fail, says the *Register*; "no sane man dares contemplate a second fiasco."

The policy of Federal relief to the unemployed, believes the *Birmingham News*, "is so well established that few will question the necessity of including the relief item." As for the President's recommendations for expanding the supply of funds for business, industry, and agriculture, "this," says the Birmingham *News*, "is inflation, but of so mild a character as to be easily controlled."

Jay Franklin, in a syndicated Washington dispatch to the *Des Moines Register*, says the situation in this country, as a result of the depression, "is like what it was in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1932—so alike as to be alarming." Continues Mr. Franklin:

> I lived in Italy just before and just after Mussolini's March on Rome. The thing which made Fascism succeed in Italy was the same thing our big bankers and manufacturers are trying to do here—a complete deadlock of parliamentary democracy, a refusal to permit the political government to deal directly with the urgent social and economic problems of the Italian people
>
> I was in Germany in 1932, just before Hitler won supreme power, and I was shown the works by the Nazi party
>
> It happened in Germany as it happened in Italy ten years earlier The big bankers and manufacturers had tied up parliamentary democracy in Germany so that the political government could not deal with the urgent social and economic problems of the German people. Rather than give up a little of their power and their money for the general welfare, they risked all of it, and junked German democracy for totalitarianism.
>
> Now it is happening here Every one knows the origin of the well-heeled, stream-lined, high-pressure opposition to President Roosevelt's effort to enact necessary social and economic reforms. Every one knows that it is the big bankers and manufacturers who have prevented any legislation on wages and hours of labor; who blocked ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.
>
> The problems which beset the American people will not wait There is a limit to the time for which a man can go without food, a limit to the time for which he will patiently watch his wife and children sicken or starve. If the Democratic party shows that it can not be trusted to keep its word to the people who voted for its program, there can be no hope of responsible party government in this country So the people will be forced in the direction of one-man government, as the lesser of the two evils—dictatorship or anarchy.

For every editorial and dispatch in favor of the President's lending and spending program, however, we find six against it. This checks with the latest poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion, conducted by Mr. George Gallup, which puts questions to a scientifically selected cross-section of voters in all sections of the country. Specifically, an April poll revealed 37 per cent in favor of increased govern-

ment spending, and 63 per cent against it. The *Portland Oregonian* even goes so far as to predict that, in sending his message to Congress, "Franklin D. Roosevelt signed his own death warrant as a statesman and a leader." On the opposite side of the nation, the *New York Herald Tribune* notices that "this great outpouring of taxpayers' money is timed nicely to coincide with the political needs of the New Deal in the Spring primaries and the November elections." Certainly, agrees Edwin W. Gableman, Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, "the overwhelming Democratic majorities in 1934 and 1936 were due, in large part, to the bounties passed out by the Government in the form of direct and indirect relief. The new program, with its greater outlay of money, will influence not only the Congressional elections of this year, but the Presidential election in 1940."

So much for politics. What of the economic aspects?

The idea behind the President's program, explains the *Burlington Free Press*, is that it will serve to speed up private capital in the money market, through the combined influence of fear of inflation and the consumer demand created with government money. The proposal, as the *Washington Post* sees it, "is to counter the present depression by the methods that were instrumental in creating it." This, to the *Post*, "is bankrupt statesmanship." Moreover, declares the *Macon Telegraph*, the Government "would thus weave a net around the cities and States; these will be lured into a morass of debt from which they will not recover in fifty years." Experience, we are reminded by the *Hartford Courant*, "has proved, both at home and abroad, that we can not spend our way back to prosperity. For five years we have been spending and spending in prodigal fashion, with little or no gain in reducing unemployment."

"How can the national income be increased by spending borrowed billions —which must ultimately be repaid through taxation?" asks the *Minneapolis Tribune*. "This isn't priming the business pump," maintains the *Tribune*; "it is filling a reservoir—and draining it off again to maintain a false semblance of prosperity." In the opinion of the *Chattanooga Times*, "it's throwing good money after bad." Early in 1933, recalls the *Boston Transcript*, President Roosevelt said: "For three long years the Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy." Well, continues the Boston paper, "today we are $18,000,000,000 nearer bankruptcy than we were then. Yet the same President Roosevelt now asks the nation to let him scatter more billions to the winds." To quote the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

> Both in his message to Congress and in his fireside chat, President Roosevelt emphasized the increased buying



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GREAT GUNS!

> power to be created by the pump priming which he advocates The implication is that we can spend our way back to prosperity. Common sense tells us this is impossible; but in addition we have witnessed the tragic failure of the first Roosevelt attempt to do that very thing
>
> The mere fact that the depression has returned—or more accurately, perhaps, has never been broken—should be ample evidence of the futility of spending public funds as a sure high road to good times.

Furthermore, maintains the *Dallas News*, "it is unfair to the next generation, as well as dangerous to Federal finances, to continue spending borrowed money so freely; there must be greater shifting of the tax burden to State and local shoulders. Under a local relief setup, each city would pay only its own relief bills; under the present system, some of the cities must help to pay the bills of distant, but poorer, communities as well." In any case, avers the *Baltimore Sun*, "public spending never has been adequate, and never will be adequate, to provide the economic force this country needs." "The great defect in the President's theory for dealing with the depression," believes the *Indianapolis Star*, "is that it ignores inexorable natural laws." To continue spending, the *Mobile Register* is convinced, "will cause grave doubts as to the future value of American property and American money, and lead to profound fear of the permanent collapse of private capital." Another danger is seen by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, which raises the serious question "whether the Government, once embarked on the pump-priming course again, will ever be able to stop." Meanwhile, points out Dr. Glenn Frank, in the *Los Angeles Times*, "the unprecedented spending of the Government in recent years involves more than an economic problem; a moral issue is involved. Spending has resulted in a vast moral decline in millions of Americans. The habit of leaning on government grows. More and more people talk of security, rather than opportunity."

What, then, have the President's critics to suggest? The *Syracuse Post-Standard*, first of all, maintains that "business activity in recent years has been definitely stifled by additional taxes and artificial limitations and extra costs. Industries report tax advances of 30, 40, and 50 per cent. These levies make it impossible to hire more men or reduce charges to the consumer." The best thing the Government can do, therefore, believes the *Milwaukee Journal*, is to "reduce taxes, rather than to increase expenditures."

"The business of this country," asserts the *Indianapolis News*, "can be recovered only by business leadership, and until the Government works with this leadership, instead of against it, there will be little real recovery." According to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*:

> President Roosevelt will not see that his own mistakes are the cause of our economic trouble. He can not understand that national income and purchasing power and employment are all absolutely dependent upon an active, energetic, and confident business enterprise. It does no real good to increase the volume of credit. There are billions of dollars available now in the banks of the country that are practically unused because business has no desire to borrow.
>
> Why? Because the full application of the driving force of capital has been made impossible for several years by the obstacles, restrictions, and punitive regulations laid upon it by the Roosevelt Administration and heavily burdened by the excessive taxes it has laid upon the use of capital.
>
> The driving force of private capital is, in fact, the basic need of the country today. It is not possible to put recovery on a sound foundation; it is not possible to restore employment to normal occupation at fair wages; it is not possible for business and industry to regain the confidence so essential to economic stability and progress; it is not possible for the Government itself to recover its financial balance and put its credit on a secure basis, unless the political obstacles that have so completely dammed up the flow of private capital are removed.

RUSSIA'S TRADE WITH GERMANY

By KARL VAN GELDERLAND

DESPITE a bitter struggle for future domination of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia are engaged today in extensive trade relations. The two systems of government which appear to be unable to live in peace with each other politically enjoy the most cordial economic relationship.

Russia has not joined in the economic boycott against Germany, even though many advocates of the boycott are among those who can be counted upon as the Soviet's strongest supporters. Far from shutting out Nazi products, Russia is today Germany's second best customer. Likewise, Mr. Hitler has not hesitated to deal commercially with Mr. Stalin, despite the former's declarations against communism and his plea for a Nazified, as opposed to Communized, world. Germany ranks fifth among buyers of Russian goods. The Soviet has left to the host of anti-Nazis outside of Germany the task of punishing the Reich by barring its goods. But for itself, it has opened the trade doors as far as they will go.

Is it possible to reconcile this curious disparity between clashing political concepts and a trade relationship which encourages trade and commerce and so strengthens the very sources which it seeks to destroy?

This interesting phenomena has its roots in the World War aftermath, although Germany's interest in the Ukraine as a food base dates back to pre-War days. During the World War, the German army's first goal in the East was the domination of that territory which finally was occupied by the Central Powers. A great part of Germany's food supply during the War came from this part of South Russia. (Only recently, Hitler turned eyes east to the Ukraine, expressing openly what the German Army command had long envied.)

When Lenin first inaugurated his NEP policy, granting concessions to foreign capitalists, Walther Rathenau, German Foreign Minister and former head of the Imperial Board to control raw materials during the War met with the Russian Commissar Tschitscherin in Rapallo in April, 1922 and concluded the first trade negotiations any capitalist country had undertaken with the Communist government. (Three months later Rathenau, who was Jewish, was shot down in Berlin for this "treason" by some Hitler sympathizers.) A little more than a decade later, Hitler himself was to prolong and thereby approve this treaty.

This article answers the following questions:

1. Has Russia joined the economic boycott against Germany?
2. Is there a trade pact today between Russia and Germany?
3. Are any raw materials which might be used in the armament industries included in the goods shipped by Russia to Germany?
4. Does Germany favor a smaller trade with Russia?
5. Has there been any "sabotaging" of German or Russian goods by either country against the other?

Rathenau, himself a representative of big industry in Germany, cleared the ground for the magnates of Rhine and Ruhr who were looking towards Russia as a potential market for their products. Krupp, the munitions manufacturer; Otto Wolff, dealer in iron and steel products; Thyssen, dominating coal and mines; these were the first foreign capitalists to overcome the popular aversion against dealings with the Communists, taking advantage of the splendid economic possibilities which the development of the Soviet offered. These same German capitalists who were to finance Hitler a few years later and who were to fight "Communism at home" immediately opened concessions in Russia. Krupp, for example, owned three tremendous agricultural estates in Russia in the early years of the '20s. One German concession employed 19,000 workers in Russia in 1924.

In 1925, a specific German-Russo trade agreement was concluded wherein Germany granted extensive credits for Russian purchases of machinery, with most of the transactions handled through the Russian Trade Delegation in Berlin enjoying extra-territorial status. In the following years, especially during the depression following the great German crisis in 1931, large parts of German industry at the Ruhr worked almost exclusively on Russian orders. Russia obtained credit in Germany at a time when no other country was willing to invest in the Soviet. The Reich guaranteed up to 70 per cent of manufacturers' credits given to Russia (as she does also at present). In 1931, a German banking consortium granted a new 300-million-mark credit for orders placed with German industry. Russia had to pay high interest rates but got conditions which are almost unusual: credits to run as long as 29 months.

It must be admitted that Republican Germany and her anti-Communist economic royalists contributed in no small way to the steadily progressing industrialization of Soviet Russia. During that period all German plans were based on the assumption of a Russian-German alliance, to beat off (for Germany) the yoke of France and England represented by the Treaty of Versailles and (for Russia) a possible intervention of capitalist countries. It was no secret that the Reichswehr and the Red Army had "working agreements" which amounted to something like a military alliance between the two countries. Germany was about to reconquer a market in Soviet Russia which she had lost in Imperial Russia.

How Hitler "Saved" Stalin

When the Weimar Republic passed out of existence in January, 1933, Adolf Hitler was left with an unpaid Russian debt of approximately $155,000,000 (gold) due in 1933. Russia, in the early months of that year, was in an extremely difficult situation, on the verge of defaulting for the first time since the Bolsheviks came to power. The world economic crises had slowed down Russian sales abroad, the proceeds from which were to have paid off debts.

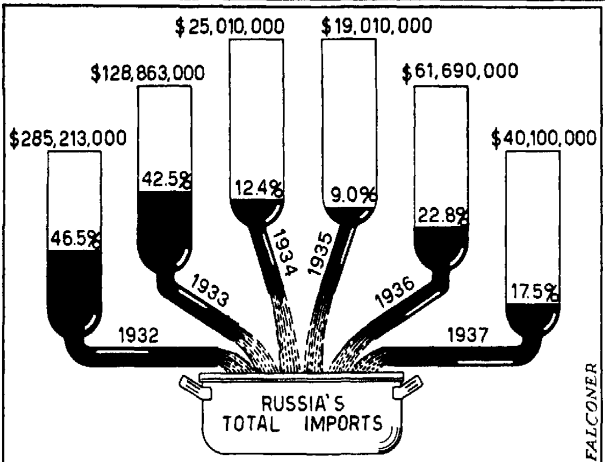
Hitler's government, only four weeks

in power, "saved" the Soviet's credit. Nazi Germany, internally "liquidating" Communism and blaming the Reichstag fire upon Communists, came to the "aid" of a hard-pressed Communist regime. Russia received a new bank credit of $33,000,000 (gold) for 12 months, part of which was later extended for another 14 months.

The clash between Dimitrov, charged with high treason, and Herman Goering, as a state witness at the Reichstag fire trial in fall of 1933, illustrates the political and economic discrepancy between the two countries' relationship. Goering declared there that he had serious doubts about Russia's ability and willingness to pay off her debts to Germany. Goering's adversary, Dimitrov, expressed his utmost confidence in Russia. This attack of a high Nazi official on Soviet Russia's credit was never repeated. Russia wanted to pay.

And Russia did. She paid with gold, silver, timber, oil, manganese, ore, furs. She paid with materials which Germany needed to build up her war machine. When foreign currency and gold were as rare in Germany as they are today—in the years 1933–1935—the dwindling reserves of the German Reichsbank were filled and replenished with Russian gold imports, the only gold imports of importance that the Nazi regime ever received (aside from the gold confiscated in recent weeks in Austria). The late A. P. Rozengolz, former Russian Commissar of Foreign Trade, stated in 1934: ". . . in 1932 the USSR purchased 70 per cent of Germany's total export of lathes and machine tools, 85 per cent of her export of cranes and 70 per cent of her excavator exports. . . . Our commercial relations had been most strongly developed with Germany. . . . We trust therefore that German circles will take the steps necessary to enable the USSR to meet its commitments with exports."

This bid for a further increase of trade, of exports, to Nazi Germany "to meet Russia's commitments" was made during the second year of the Hitler regime. (At that time Hitler's aggressive intentions had already become evident to the outside world, and liberals, socialists and Communists had long ago joined the world-wide boycott movement of Nazi Germany's goods.) German industry had executed orders for Soviet Russia during 1925–35 amounting to several billions of marks, and the Rhine and Ruhr industrial barons had no intention of losing Soviet business just because Hitler disliked the Soviet Union. When in 1934 Dr. Schacht's "New Plan" was initiated ("We buy as much from a country as it buys from us"), trade with Russia was, paradoxically enough, the only commerce which was comparatively "free" from the burdensome bureaucratic regulations of the Third Reich. Export and import trade with all other countries in the world was most strictly regulated.



GERMANY'S SHARE IN RUSSIA'S TOTAL IMPORTS.
Figures from League of Nations and American-Russian Chbr. Com.

Credits for Russia

On April 9,* 1935, in the third year of Hitler's anti-Soviet crusade, with Germany's credit abroad reduced to a minimum and Russia's foreign credit still on a humble basis, Hitler Germany was the first country to grant the Soviet a cash bank credit. Two hundred million marks were supplied for new Russian purchases under special terms, government guaranteed, and the "Russian Committee of the German Industry," a subdivision of the "German NMA," made arrangements with a banking consortium. By this action, Hitler Germany confirmed its confidence in the Soviet's stability, granting the money for a five-year term! The only other country ever to give Russia a cash bank credit was Czechoslovakia, following shortly after Germany.

On December 24, 1936, Germany and Russia agreed to prolong the trade-and-payments agreement unchanged for 1937. Incidentally, this was three months after Hitler had declared at the Nuremberg Party Convention: "We have fought Bolshevism because its leaders had planned a slaughter house on Russian and Spanish lines (in Germany). . . . If Europe does not awaken to the danger of Bolshevist infection, then I fear that international commerce will not increase but decrease, despite all the good intentions of individual statesmen." Meanwhile Goebbels crowned the 1937 Party Convention with an explosive speech against the "red rulers of Moscow." Nor is the Soviet's contempt for Nazi Germany any secret.

How has Russian-German trade developed under these extraordinary circumstances?

In 1929, Weimar Germany purchased 3.2 per cent of all her imports from Russia. By 1932 this figure had risen to an all time high of 5.8 per cent. Then a decline to 4.7 per cent took place in 1934 but a year later Germany again bought 5.2 per cent of her purchases abroad from the Soviet. In 1936 the figure fell off to 2.2 per cent. (This last figure does not give a completely accurate picture since Germany's absolute imports were subjected to severe changes during that period.)

Germany plays an extremely greater role in Russia's foreign trade than the Soviet does in Germany's. In 1929 Germany supplied 22 per cent of all Russian imports. In 1932 Russia bought almost half of her total purchases abroad from Germany ($285,-213,000)* at a time when France shipped only about ½ per cent of Russian imports and the United States 4.5 per cent. In Hitler's first year of rule, 42.5 per cent of Russian imports

*All calculations in depreciated American dollars.

came from the Third Reich ($128,863,000). A year later Germany still held 12.4 per cent of the Russian import trade. In 1935, due to the exhaustion of German credits to Russia, Germany's share in Russian imports dropped to a low of 9 per cent ($19,010,000). The same year, Soviet Russia got its first cash bank credit for new purchases—from Nazi Germany.

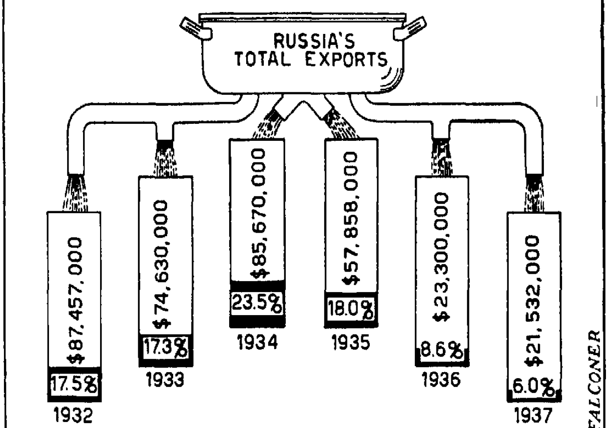
Germany's share in Russian imports again reached a new high in 1936 of 23 per cent ($61,690,000), the year when Hitler was launching his most violent anti-Soviet campaign. The United States trailed behind with 15.5 per cent while Russia's ally, France, did not share in more than 3 per cent of Russia's imports.

One might have expected that in 1937 the German-Russian trade relations would cool off because that year saw the political conflict between Hitler and Stalin intensified. The Spanish issue found both countries opposing each other more bitterly than ever before. And yet Germany last year supplied 17.5 per cent ($40,000,000) of all Russian purchases abroad, only second to the United States which supplied 21.5 per cent. On the Soviet's export list, Nazi Germany was its fifth best customer although far behind England which was the leading buyer. Germany's purchases from Russia amounted to about 6 per cent ($21,500,000). (Russian exports to Spain must be considered as "abnormal" due to the civil war.)

If we compare these figures with the amounts Germany spent to purchase important materials abroad, we find that German sales to Russia in 1936 paid for all of Germany's imports of iron ore during that same year. Or we find that German sales to Russia in 1937 might have paid for almost half of Germany's wool imports.

The total amounts involved in the Russo-German trade are not exorbitant compared with figures which count in world trade. They are important, however, for Russia, which has a comparatively small foreign trade, and to a lesser degree for Germany, one of the world's largest export countries. Russia's economy still today rests greatly on *Binnen-Handel.*

The Russian total exports in the years of 1932 to 1936 fell off from 296 million gold dollars to 160 million gold dollars. Russian exports to Germany which amounted to 87.5 million dollars in 1932 dropped to 74.5 million dollars in 1933, the year of Hitler's rise to power. However, in 1934 Russia exported as much to Germany as it did in the last year of the Weimar Republic. Almost one-fourth of all Russian exports went to Germany in that year. Even in 1935 Russia sold 18 per cent of her exports to Nazi Germany, a figure which is large in trade relations even between major nations. In 1936, exports to Germany fell off to 8.6 per cent, still a large share. That year's exports to Germany amounted to 23.5 million dollars, or enough almost to pay for Russia's total purchases abroad of iron and steel.



GERMANY'S SHARE IN RUSSIA'S TOTAL EXPORT TRADE.
Figures from U.S. Dept. of Commerce and American-Russian Chbr. Com.

Arming a "bad" neighbor

Paradoxically, the German rearmament industry is one of the beneficiaries of the Russo-German trade. Manganese ore, used in the production of hard steel, constitutes one of the biggest items on Russia's export list to Germany. In 1935, more than half of Germany's imports of manganese ore came from Soviet Russia, which also supplied 51 per cent of Germany's imported paper pulp, 54 per cent of her asbestos, 75 per cent of her flax, 90 per cent of her oil cake imports.

In 1936, Russia, on the other hand, bought 30 per cent of Germany's export of tool machinery and rolling mill equipment—for the Five Year Plan. Three-fourths of Germany's exports to Russia consisted of machinery and finished products. Germany even lists the sale in 1936 of a small share of airplanes and motor cars exported to Russia.

Occasionally, even these smooth trade relations between the Socialist and Nazi countries are disturbed by "sabotage" from either side. The Nazis, for instance, accused the Soviet in 1936 of blocking exports of much needed raw materials in order to slow down German rearmament at a time when Russia was increasing its purchases of German-made machinery. This was adjusted.

There are a number of other indications and facts which show that German-Russian trade relations as a whole, even today, have hardly been affected by the political controversy between the Communists and the Nazis. The industrial group around Schacht in Germany, still a powerful influence, would favor an even bigger export trade with the Soviets. Germany needs markets, even if she has to sell to Russia. Russia, on the other hand, has no other choice, in some instances, than to buy in the Third Reich, although it is difficult to decide if such purchases which strengthen the Soviet enemy could not have been gradually shifted to other less hostile countries. The sale of raw materials which Germany, on account of her shortage of foreign currency, could not have executed elsewhere, served also to support a "deadly adversary." Under "normal" conditions, an economic alliance between the two countries must be considered as ideal, the respective needs supplementing each other. If economic reasoning would have its way, Russia and Germany would be engaged in a far more extensive trade relationship than they are today.

LABOR'S CYCLE IN SEATTLE

Two years ago, labor ran Seattle
Today, Seattle is running labor

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

SEATTLE was once labor's mightiest fortress. It seemed impregnable. Against its bastions the forces of business and conservatism battered in vain—and finally surrendered. To the nation at large, Seattle symbolized labor strength and dominance. Economically as well as politically, labor ran the town.

A strike shut down the largest newspaper in the Pacific Northwest for three months. The boss of the Teamsters' Union dictated what beer could be sold and what could not. He also decided when the city had enough gasoline stations or bakeries. A member of his union was elected to Congress. An attorney for the teamsters was sent to the United States Senate. A complete labor ticket swept into the City Council. Roosevelt carried the county more than 2 to 1. The mayor said, "Union labor dominates this town."

That was less than two years ago.

Now, this stronghold of labor has fallen. A new garrison mans the battlements. It is a garrison composed of public officials pledged to end violence, racketeering and intimidation in labor's ranks. The late Mayor John F. Dore, who said, "Labor is running the community," has been superseded by 38-year-old Arthur B. Langlie, who says, "Labor in its activities will not be permitted to step on the toes of innocent persons." Where a labor slate was elected to the City Council last year, an entire lineup of conservatives holds sway now.

What has happened to cause this startling change? The answer is simple. Labor was united in its 1936 and 1937 forays at the polls. Today, it is split by a chasm deep and wide. The recent developments in Seattle are of significance to the whole nation. What effect will labor's internecine strife have on the Congressional elections later this year? On the Presidential contest in 1940? Will the conservatives be returned to power in the country?

The trend in Seattle has proved several facts very conclusively. One is that even in its sturdiest citadel, labor cannot survive a bitter division. Another is that the internal conflict in labor has alienated many potential middle class



Oregonian Photo

TOUGH GUY: *Governor Charles H. Martin, of Oregon, told his sheriffs to get the labor gangs and "beat hell out of 'em!"*

adherents of labor's aims. Still, a third is the unprecedentedly grim labor warfare along the Pacific seaboard which may cost the New Deal that region, heretofore Roosevelt's strongest sector outside the Democratic South.

The mayoralty finals in Seattle were between Langlie, a youthful councilman who entered politics sponsored by the conservative Order of Cincinnatus, and Victor Aloysius (Just Call Me "Vic") Meyers, State of Washington's famous clowning lieutenant-governor. Meyers accused Langlie of being a Republican enemy of the New Deal. He said he was supported by Liberty Leaguers, power companies and banks. Less than eighteen months earlier, similar speeches had enabled Meyers to carry Seattle better than 2 to 1 when seeking reelection as lieutenant-governor. This time they proved duds. Langlie won decisively.

There seems little doubt that the split in labor has caused this sudden shift in public opinion. The day after the Seattle election, Meyers' campaign manager, a liberal King's County commissioner, said, "If the fight continues here between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. all progressive labor candidates are certain to be defeated in the future."

Tide of Unionism

Throughout the Far West, from the swift reaches of the Columbia to the jagged crags of the Rockies, the Republicans are preparing to take advantage of the present political situation. The labor warfare on the sundown side of the Continental divide has been far more savage than that in the rest of the country. Dave Beck of the A. F. of L. and Harry Bridges of the C. I. O. are two union leaders who advocate direct action as readily as they endorse peaceful methods. In the lumber industry in the Northwest, their followers are struggling in what is virtually open combat. Mills have been boycotted, closed and barricaded.

In addition, both men have incurred deep-rooted antagonisms among the general public. Bridges has been in continual trouble with the immigration authorities; he is not an American citizen, although he came to this country from Australia nearly a generation ago. He also has made several speeches urging the ultimate abolition of the employer class. Beck is of another sort. Although decidedly conservative he is an outright partisan of his local Chamber of Commerce—he rules tyrannously through "goon squads" that epitomize labor coercion to the region. As these words are written, approximately fifty of Beck's teamster members are in jail in Oregon after a roundup of alleged union racketeers. Highly odious to most of Seattle's housewives and consumers is a series of price-fixing business arrangements known facetiously as "Dave Beck's voluntary NRA."

With both these unique labor leaders anathema to the general public, the Republicans are alert to their chance. They see an opportunity to win back the Far Western states. The majority of the people along the Pacific seaboard are liberal. They are sympathetic to trade unionism—but not to Beck and Bridges. The former is regarded in the public mind as a ruthless despot, the

latter as a dangerous radical. The Republicans think this may swing the voters back toward conservatism. Langlie's victory is an indication.

Open Warfare

The warfare in lumber is the pedestal of the present labor feudalism on the Pacific Coast. A few years ago the timber industry was rocked by a series of strikes. Out of those strikes the workers brought a withering contempt for the A. F. of L. The organizers, provided by the Brotherhood of Carpenters, had wilted in almost every crisis. Last year this sentiment was translated into an overwhelming decision to affiliate with the C. I. O. The leaders of the A. F. of L. in the West got panicky. Lumber is the region's principal industry. The abdication of the lumberjacks would leave the A. F. of L. along the Coast with only a shell-like organization. The predicament of the old-line labor outfit was desperate. At this juncture Beck's resourcefulness became apparent.

"Just let the C. I. O. try to move or market that lumber," he challenged, as he pounded a pudgy fist on his new mahogany desk.

A boycott was clamped on; Beck's teamsters would not truck C. I. O. lumber, and A. F. of L. carpenters would not drive nails into it. Mills and lumber camps were forced to close. Thousands of men were thrown out of work. Most of them are still idle. They have been told they can get on a payroll again when they forsake the C. I. O. for the A. F. of L. "In Portland," says the *Oregon Voter*, a conservative weekly representing the business viewpoint, "the C. I. O. lumber workers are being starved into submission; the plight of their families is tragic. They feel very bitter over being compelled by A. F. of L. ruthlessness to give up the union of their own choice."

The struggle has been both verbal and direct. There have been fights with fist and blackjacks and ax-handles. Each side has had a long hospital list. Prizefighters and thugs have been hired to take care of some of the teamsters' interests in the quarrel, and the A. F. of L. unions have kept up a constant demand that the aggressive, young president of the C. I. O. lumberjacks, Harold Pritchett, be deported to his native country of Canada. The C. I. O. has smeared the A. F. of L. with the cry of "racketeers" and "phonies." The A. F. of L. has retaliated by branding the C. I. O. loggers as "aliens" and "communists."

Gooning the Goons

Gradually the public has turned from both groups. Disgust with the desperate Far Western labor conflict was the basic reason for the overwhelming proportions of Langlie's victory. Not since the unions resorted to political action, has a conservative candidate ever triumphed so decisively in Seattle. The supporters of labor on the Pacific Coast are aware that the savage warfare within the unions may defeat New Deal candidates and elect conservative Republicans this autumn. "No further time must be lost in reestablishing unity in the labor movement," recently warned the *News* of the left-wing Washington Commonwealth Federation. "The New Deal is in jeopardy."

The pendulum usually makes a full swing. The A. F. of L. in the West has been led by Beck and his notorious "goons." The C. I. O. in the region has been headed by two aliens, Bridges and Pritchett. Neither circumstance is conducive to public good-will. The enemies of labor along the Pacific seaboard look ahead enthusiastically to the most lush harvest of anti-union legislation in the history of the country. This is evident in Oregon, where the lumber struggle has been concentrated, and where the feud between Beck and Bridges has been fought.

On the streets and countrysides of Oregon, petitions are being circulated for an initiative measure that would practically destroy the unions in the state. Picketing would become a virtual impossibility. Union expenditures could be held up for years in the courts. The measure goes far beyond the customary proposals to incorporate labor organizations. Its restrictions would reduce the trade union movement in the state to a nullity. And although the people of the tolerant and progressive Northwest are ordinarily suspicious of this type of legislation, the initiative is quite likely to be adopted. Enough sig-

Arbitration of Labor Disputes

THE impossibility of outlawing strikes makes it necessary for the democratic state, more than other forms of government, to establish some machinery for settling disputes, because in giving ultimate responsibility to the people the state has to protect the unity of the people from being disrupted by warring groups.

Conciliation and arbitration are the means of the democratic state for preventing industrial disputes, offering the contestants a possibility of changing the status quo, of settling new rights in a peaceful way. Their presupposition, like that of democracy, is that some will to reach an understanding exists. They will succeed only when the unrest is not due to dissatisfaction with the economic organization as such; when the predominant attitude is one of extreme liberalism or communism, arbitration will fail to establish industrial peace. But if there is a real desire for understanding, then arbitration and conciliation, by helping to mitigate the inferiority feeling of the working class as well as the autocratic demands of the employers, tend to create the sense of unity. The important question is what form these negotiations should take so that the democratic principles they embody can best be served.

There can be no doubt about the democratic character of conciliation and voluntary arbitration. They are methods of settling differences by way of negotiation; like parliamentarism they stand for the principle of decision of conference as opposed to decision by force. They are based on the fundamentally democratic principle that there should be no class government, no misuse of group power, no exploitation of one group by another. Their aim is to combine rival groups into one labor unit with a community of interests.

Conciliation represents the democratic principle that the parties have to arrange their own affairs, and in voluntary arbitration too the principle of self-government is preserved. Here a solution has to be found which corresponds to the relative bargaining strength of the rival parties, or they will not accept the award. Voluntary arbitration is formalized collective bargaining with outside help. The weaker party has to agree because it has not the power to get more, but there is some protection of the weaker group because the investigation of facts promotes mutual understanding.

—*Political and Economic Democracy*, edited by Max Ascoli and Fritz Lehmann

natures to place it on the ballot have readily been obtained. The people vote on it in the fall. It will be the first time in history that a general electorate will have a chance to pass upon a plan to control and curtail the activities of organized labor. The outcome will be closely studied throughout the nation.

Tough Governor

Oregon has a governor who was once a major-general in the army. He is Charles H. Martin, formerly military commandant of the Panama Canal Zone. A few of his recent utterances reveal the extent to which some officials in the Far West are using the present turmoil to arouse anti-labor hysteria. Not long ago, in discussing the chaos in the lumber industry, Governor Martin said, "The Italians wouldn't submit; they organized their blackshirts. The Germans wouldn't submit, so they had their brownshirts and Hitler. I don't believe Americans will submit." The governor, an anti-New Deal Democrat, also advised the sheriffs of his state to move against labor rioters and "beat hell out of 'em!"

At a public meeting Governor Martin shouted, "Crack their damn heads! Those fellows are there for nothing but trouble—give it to them!"

He also counseled the State Police to apply third degree methods to the men taken in anti-union raids, and ominously observed, "We have 3,500 National Guardsmen in the state and each of them knows how to use a rifle."

What is going to be the result of all this? The people of the Northwest are generally tolerant and liberal. Governor Martin's advice to the farmers to use their pitchforks against labor organizers brought a rebuke from the State Grange rather than a response. Will the tumult in Western labor alter this attitude? Will reaction to the present union warfare set back organized labor fifteen or twenty years along the Coast?

Several facts are obvious. One is that Beck and Bridges will not make peace for a long time to come; the forces they represent are too bitterly opposed to reach terms in the near future. Another is that although Langlie is Seattle's new mayor, Beck is still the city's labor boss. His power and influence may be modified, but he will not be shorn of them without a desperate struggle. Many business groups are ready to help him resist dethronement; they would rather see Beck in command than his C. I. O. adversaries from the woods and waterfront, and they are afraid his elimination might open the Puget Sound area to Harry Bridges. This reasoning prompted the *Argus*, Washington's leading conservative weekly, to prefer the late Mayor Dore to Langlie, the avowed conservative candidate. Dore had been frankly partial to Beck and the A. F. of L.



Associated Press

FEMININE PARTIES: *Seattle clubwomen picket the Labor Temple in protest against the strike that shut down the Hearst* Post-Intelligencer.

A sidelight on the Seattle political circus is that Langlie's victory constituted a sharp political setback for John Boettiger, the son-in-law of President Roosevelt whom Hearst sent westward in 1936 to revivify the strike-bound *Post-Intelligencer.* Boettiger was decidedly friendly to the Dore-Beck regime. His financial editor published a series of articles arguing that labor conditions were not as bad as painted in Seattle, and the paper ran a full page essay glorifying the city as a "model industrial community." Boettiger himself prophesied "a long period of harmonious labor relations" and urged that everyone say: "Seattle is *my* town and I'm going to *fight* for it!"

Langlie, on the other hand, assailed labor conditions in Seattle under the Dore-Beck egis. He said labor had to clean house, and condemned price-fixing combinations between business men and labor czars. The voters elected him overwhelmingly, accepting his version of the labor situation rather than that of a "model industrial community" put forth by Boettiger's *Post-Intelligencer.*

The grim labor troubles along the Pacific Coast—and more particularly in the Pacific Northwest—seem destined to continue. The end is not in sight. Already these struggles have had significant results. A conservative city administration rules in the labor stronghold of Seattle. An anti-union initiative measure of sweeping proportions may be enacted at the polls in Oregon, and the governor of that generally-liberal state has manifested amazing fascist sympathies in his pronouncements against labor. The Republicans, for the first time in eight years, see a chance for some triumphs in the West. They were blamed for the depression. They now are ready to blame the New Deal for the angry warfare between Dave Beck and Harry Bridges.

The whole labor embroglio along the Pacific slope proves several conclusions. Chief among these is the fact, that the trade unions must reckon with public opinion and prejudices. The C. I. O. did not so reckon when it made two outspokenly-radical aliens its spokesmen in the Northwest. The A. F. of L. in the Northwest blundered similarly when it placed its destiny in the care of Beck and the prizefighters doing his picket duty. Even in the country's most progressive region, such policies are likely to arouse antagonisms ultimately fatal to the aims and objectives of the labor movement.

LAMPS FOR THE OIL OF CHINA

By HARRISON FORMAN

FOR years we have referred to kerosene as the American institution of China. Today, however, kerosene in the Orient is rapidly becoming as old-fashioned as it is in the United States. The Chinese—those clever Chinese—have invented a tricky little lamp which burns, not kerosene, but a specially prepared domestic oil. The new fluid is not only cheaper but burns brighter and longer than kerosene.

Only two years old and but one year past its experimental stage, the invention has caused even more of a stir than did the American kerosene lamp when first brought to China. Revenue of American oil companies from kerosene sales in China fell off $8,000,000 last year. And this despite a war year in which the normal kerosene needs were greatly increased. The Chinese Government has been pushing the new product and has given it a semi-official status. The manufacturers, now turning out the lamps at a rate of 400,000 a year, report that their greatest difficulty is in meeting the demand.

Both oil and lamp are the proud achievements of 29-year-old Chung Lin, the "Edison of China." Chung, a trained chemical engineer, has been toying with gadgets ever since he was old enough to grasp one. He was hardly out of his 'teens when he invented an ingenious Chinese mimeograph machine that had previously been thought impossible because of the vast number of characters, and their delicate shadings, in the Chinese language.

The Chinese will tell you that Chung leads a charmed life. Six years ago he had hardly finished setting up a laboratory in Shanghai when the Japanese launched their 1932 massacre. The laboratory was blown up by an enemy explosive not long after Chung had left the building. Today, Chung's modern, fully-equipped factory stands on the same site.

Even though the Japanese have invaded, and now govern Shanghai, the lamp factory continues to turn out its products with little interruption in routine. The strategy of the invader is to control, rather than to exterminate, the business and economics of China. Thus, Chinese citizens are permitted to go about their various affairs under strict Japanese surveillance. Punitive measures against civilians are infrequent.

The Japanese had been in control of Shanghai for several months when I visited Chung Lin at his factory late last year. Dressed in a handsome double-breasted suit, his appearance was not unlike that of the typical young American executive. He spoke fluent English and fingered several oil lamps on the display desk in his modern, well-furnished office.

Westernized Education

Like thousands of young Orientals Chung Lin was trained in Chinese schools, but in Western ways. Now they are engineers, doctors, chemists, skilled mechanics and teachers, devoting their lives toward national reconstruction. The Japanese invasion? That will only increase their effort and number, he declared, to realize the goal of national reconstruction by means of national defense. He was confident that his generation would rebuild China for the Chinese.

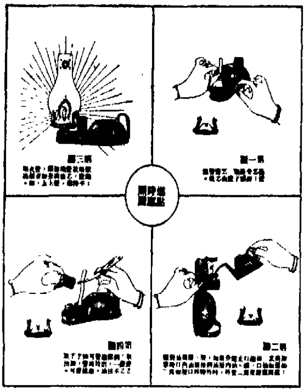
Chung Lin came from a poor but cultured family. A product of Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement, he graduated from Ling Nan University in Canton. He then spent two years in France studying research chemistry. Returning to China in 1931, he obtained a government patent on his mimeograph machine and found almost instant acclaim.

It was quite by accident that he conceived the idea of the lamp. He overheard a group of soy bean producers complain of the serious drop in the demand for their product. If a new market for the bean could be found, the industry might be able to right itself. Chung knew that oil extracted from the bean and other vegetables was once a thriving rural industry. These plant oils furnished fuel for the ancient oil lamps of his forebears; when the



Harrison Forman

CHINESE GREATS: *Chung Lin, the "Edison of China," and Dr. H. H. Kung, of the Executive Yuan, display the new lamps which are making history in the Orient. Appropriately, the portrait above the display is that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.*



THE INSTRUCTIONS: *Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets explaining the use of the kerosene-less lamp have been distributed throughout the country. A page of the pamphlet is reproduced above.*

modern kerosene lamp was introduced, the old oils went into virtual eclipse. But if a new plant-oil lamp could be perfected that would be cheaper and safer than the foreign kerosene lamp, the vegetable oil industry would thrive once again.

Chung set up a laboratory in the Chapai district of Shanghai in 1932 to perfect such a lamp. He made exhaustive experiments with a wide variety of refined oils extracted from soy beans, peanuts, cabbage and cotton-seed and other plants. He didn't get very far on his first lamp model. A Japanese projectile completely demolished his self-financed laboratory.

Today, this perfected seed-oil lamp burns brightly in hundreds of thousands of Chinese homes with a flame superior in every way to that of the kerosene lamp and is fed by fuel made from a wide variety of Chinese-grown plants.

Until Chung Lin invented the seed-oil lamp, American oil companies had a monopoly in lighting the homes of interior China, where electricity is undeveloped. As was well described in the best-seller, *Oil For the Lamps of China*, American oil interests made millions of dollars by giving away kerosene lamps to replace the ancient and defective oil lamp, making China dependent on the kerosene oil sold to her people.

Chung admits that the traditional earthen lamp of his forefathers was inferior to the kerosene lamp. It gave a smoky, evil-smelling flame, caused by the inadequate flow of impure vegetable oil to a crude wick. In his own words, "the flame was in a position of permanent gloom," and the "foreign lamp rightly kicked the native product out of significance." Now that they are making their own lamps, the Chinese use oil extracted from tons of vegetables and seeds grown by thousands of toiling peasants throughout the country.

Looking at the array of shining lamps with smokeless transparent chimneys, it was hard to believe that such a simple invention could have far-reaching significance. In a highly industrialized country it would go virtually unrecognized. But in China, it is a veritable Aladdin's lamp. It cuts down foreign trade deficits, fills the coffers of the treasury. It is a shot in the arm of rural economy, reviving agricultural activity. The people are captured by the flame of their own product and are imbued with a spirit of national consciousness. The will to resist the invader stiffens. By the light of this China seed-oil lamp, a new confidence is kindled toward rebuilding a modern China for the Chinese.

Timely Invention

Mr. Chung's invention came at a most opportune time. Government and business leaders of China had been battling for years to solve the problem of rural bankruptcy that had hung like a pallor of futility over Chinese life. The leaders knew of the intimate link between rural bankruptcy and the woefully unfavorable foreign trade balance. With a yearly outflow of nearly one-half billion (Chinese) dollars* in payment for imports in excess of exports there was reason for national alarm.

When it is realized that one-fifth of this huge drain on Chinese wealth, amounting to $120,000,000 annually, was in payment for oil, the significance of the oil lamp becomes more apparent. Ninety per cent of this imported oil was kerosene.

"To make a saving of $100,000,000 annually is a big thing, even for the United States, is it not?" queried the inventor with a wry smile. Proceeding from the display room to the factory, he added, "but to China that saving can be the difference between national independence and economic servitude."

In the early thirties, the odds seemed greatly against the government's campaign for national reconstruction. The Japanese had already severed the prosperous northern provinces and encouraged widespread smuggling on its borders, resulting in enormous losses of revenue to the Chinese Central Government. Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek's many campaigns of futile civil war against the dogged Red Army had impoverished the countryside and drained the nation's treasury.

In all, foreign invasion, civil war, drought, foreign concessions, and the foreign trade deficit had contributed to the serious financial straits that tied the hands of the Chinese Government.

With a full treasury, however, the government could adequately deal with its internal problems. "Stop the leak!" was the cry from all parts of China. Stop the outflow of Chinese silver into foreign hands. Change the course to an inflow of Chinese money invested in national reconstruction.

During this surge for national salvation that swept the land, Chung Lin acquired backing from industrialists to erect a new laboratory on the outskirts of Shanghai where he completed his experiments. Afterwards, in 1935, he was granted a government patent on his perfected lamp.

The government realized the important part the invention could play in China's national economy, and helped subsidize a factory to produce the lamps on a national scale. The China Plant-Oil Lamp Co., Ltd. was formed in 1936 with Dr. H. H. Kung, then vice-president of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance, as chairman of the board of directors.

Chung Lin showed me through the factory last year. The whirring of motors and pulleys and the steady thump of stamping machines made it difficult



Harrison Forman

IN THE FACTORY: *The new lamp is manufactured in the best traditions of the Western industrial plant. Despite the Japanese invasion, the factory continues to turn out*

*The Chinese dollar or yuan is worth $.29½

to believe that it was not a New England plant. Despite an initial production capacity of 400,000 lamps annually with skilled operators working day and night, the factory was unable to meet the increasing demand for the product. The seed-oil lamp is produced in a dozen different models; there are wall and table models for lighting homes; street and portable types for lighting thoroughfares; signal and safety lamps for soldiers; stove lamps for making tea.

Noting that the Chinese oil lamp is not unlike our kerosene model excepting for a projecting cylinder, I asked Chung to explain its operation. The trick, he said, is in the cylinder. By placing the oil base higher than the burner, with the cylinder-like vacuum compression chamber between, the natural forces of gravity and atmospheric pressure were applied to help the free flow of a more refined seed-oil to an improved wick.

To meet the small purse of Mr. Average Chinese the lamps sell from twenty cents and upward. By burning seed-oil instead of kerosene for two or three months, sufficient saving is made to pay the initial cost of the ordinary house lamp. What is important, too, to the Chinese masses is that the saving made by burning the cheaper fuel for several hours pays for an extra bowl of rice.

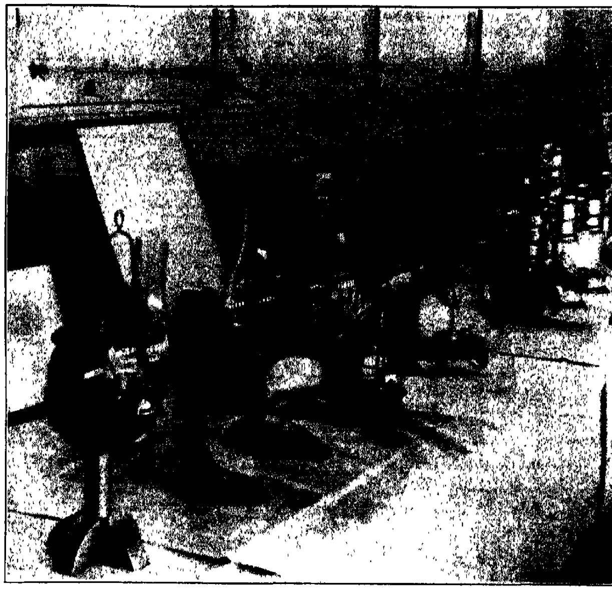
China as an Exporter

Many refining plants have been erected in local centers to collect and distribute the oil for lamp fuel. China launched what is believed to be the first organized sales campaign to sell a Chinese industrial product in foreign countries. Already orders have been pouring in from the Philippines and Siam. Meanwhile, manufacturers have established branch offices in every province to facilitate a wide distribution of their lamp.

In a country where the spectre of famine is always present, the immense value of the residue of plant cellulose is not overlooked. A new supply of food is made available for plants, livestock, and peasant, as the compressed vegetable matter is readily converted by the local refineries into the sorely needed fertilizer, fodder, and flour-meal. Other manufacturing plants, financed largely by reduced kerosene imports, are supplying the large quantities of glass chimneys, fiber wicks, lacquers and other parts that go into the manufacture of the lamp.

It has been necessary to do a first-rate selling job in introducing the new model. Its superiority over the kerosene and ancient oil lamp has been stressed. Attractively illustrated literature has been widely distributed and displays have been shown throughout the country. Detailed pictures helped illiterate to use the lamp.

The government sponsored company launched a national advertising campaign to push sales, adopting original slogans such as, "Do you know that the whole city of Chicago was demolished in 1871 because a cow overturned a kerosene lamp?" Appeals were made to the national minded with, "Why contribute 12 million dollars to foreign countries?" Also, "Do you know the reason why the kerosene lamp is partly responsible for the short life of the average Chinese in comparison with foreigners?"



Harrison Forman

ON DISPLAY: *The uses of the lamp range from usual illumination to heating and cooking.*

The Military Tests

Even before the current war started Chiang Kai-shek's military headquarters realized the possible significance of the oil-lamp as a factor in national defense. It was rigidly tested with cabbage, sesasum and peanut-oil, comparing it with a Standard Oil Company kerosene lamp. The test upheld the claims of the inventor and the manufacturers and revealed these advantages:

1. It burns 20 per cent less fuel per hour.

2. It is cheaper to operate, especially in the interior where the cost of transporting kerosene makes the imported fuel 50 per cent higher in cost than the vegetable oil that is produced in local areas.

3. It is safer. Fire hazards are reduced to a minimum. Kerosene lamps have caused the destruction of thousands of dollars worth of property. The seed-oil lamp, even though carelessly overturned, is unlikely to become inflamed.

4. It is more hygienic. The absence of poisonous fumes eliminates unpleasant odors and smoke.

5. It affords better illumination. The flame is whiter and brighter.

6. Finally it uses vegetable oil exclusively and cannot be used with kerosene.

In February 1936, with the threat of Japanese war breaking out anew, and as a result of the test, Chieng Chung-cheng, president of the military council, issued instructions to all the interior provinces ordering all government agencies affected to reduce freight rates, make tax exemptions and facilitate the widespread adoption of the new product.

No doubt the war has slowed up the rate of peace-time growth of the new industry, but already the soldier and civilian alike possess a lamp that is an indispensable protection from fire hazards caused by air raids.

LAWLESSNESS IN MEDICINE

Is there any relation between the high death rate from heart diseases and drug law laxity?

By NORMAN W. BURRITT, M.D. and HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER

IN 1935, over 300,000 persons died in the United States from heart disease, an increase of 59,000 over the total number of deaths in 1930 from this human ailment. For 15 years this cause of death has increased steadily in this country, from 159.1 to 244.9 per 100,000 population. It is now far in the lead of all causes of death, being double that resulting from cancer, which is next highest. One death out of every ten today is caused by heart disease. From 1910 to 1920, however, the United States death rate from heart disease did not increase although it did fluctuate during the World War years.

Many reasons have been advanced for this seemingly abnormal increase in deaths from this disease in the 15-year period during which our annual death rate from all causes has been decreasing from 1310 to 1090 per 100,000 population.

In the professional and lay press there has been ample consideration of the treatment of heart disease and of the types of medication administered, but little or no mention has been made of the quality of the medication as a possible cause of death, or its frequent impurity and lack of uniformity.

In 1927 and 1928, an effort was initiated in which one of the authors of this article took a leading part, to induce public and official recognition of what appeared to be an increasing laxity in the enforcement of the Federal Food and Drugs Act, popularly known as the Harvey Wiley Pure Food and Drugs Law. In this agitation attention was called to the absence of any enforcement of this law against adulterated crude digitalis and the digitalis medicinals, and to the possible relationship of such laxity to the increase of death from heart disease. Digitalis is the drug used very widely in treating heart sicknesses.

Attempts were also made to attract public attention to statements made privately by physicians declaring that they were frequently perplexed and disturbed when digitalis administered to their patients did not produce the expected therapeutic results.

This article answers the following questions:

1. What is digitalis?
2. What does the Wiley Law attempt to do?
3. Do physicians ever claim that faulty ether is responsible for the death of patients?
4. Is the death rate from heart diseases increasing or decreasing?
5. Who is Henry D. Hatfield?

In February 1930 charges were made before a Senate Committee that illegally adulterated digitalis preparations were being improperly ignored by government officials and were a possible cause of a part of the increase in heart disease mortality.

Both Dr. Wiley and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana took an active part in this agitation and in May, 1930, for the first time since the law was passed in 1906, a court action was instituted against a manufacturer charging him with a shipment of adulterated and misbranded Tincture of Digitalis. He pleaded guilty and was subjected to a fine.

Thus far medical opinion had been publicly silent regarding adulterated digitalis but in June 1930, extended public hearings were held by a Senate Committee on the Administration of the Food and Drugs Act. Dr. Henry D. Hatfield, Senator from West Virginia, who was also a distinguished physician, advised his Senatorial colleagues that:

"It is an established fact that digitalis, the old tincture of digitalis and the forms of digitalis on the market today, have no effect—that is, generally speaking."

Confirmation of Senator Hatfield's statement came quickly from a group of his professional colleagues when, in the July *Bulletin of the American Heart Association,* there appeared this statement:

"The most serious difficulty that the practitioner encounters in the use of digitalis is *the uncertainty as to the quality of the drug.* When a patient in heart failure receives comparatively large doses of digitalis and fails to show improvement it would be of inestimable value to the physician at that time to have absolute assurance that his failure to obtain results is not due to some peculiarity of that specimen of the drug."

Government Denials

Meanwhile, there had been vociferous denial by Government officials that there was any laxity in the legal control of the uniformity of digitalis or of any other drug.

In September 1930, a second criminal prosecution was instituted against a manufacturer for shipping Tincture of Digitalis testing only 40 per cent of the U.S.P. assay guaranteed by the label. Later in 1930, Senator Wheeler compelled the publication of certain secret Government records pertaining to digitalis and various other medicinal preparations, which revealed that no court actions had been instituted by the Food and Drugs officials on 24 out of 26 different shipments of adulterated digitalis preparations prepared by 21 different companies in the period between 1927 to 1930. Most of these cases had been placed in what is called "permanent abeyance" in the department files. These tests ranged from 33 per cent of the U.S.P. assay to 150 per cent; in other words, if a heart patient had been given the physiologic dose of the low test digitalis by his physician and the prescription had been refilled from a druggist's bottle of the high test, almost 5 times as strong, the patient would have been killed by the "remedy." The physician, having relied upon the supposed protection of the Government in enforcing the U.S.P. assay guaranteed by the labels on the bottles, was not to blame. Both bottles were falsely labeled, in definite violation of a criminal statute.

The official or legal standards for

preparations of digitalis and other medicinals are compiled and published in the United States Pharmacopoeia and in the National Formulary, and upon them pharmacists and physicians must depend for the quantitative and qualitative dosage from which prescriptions are compounded and administered.

These U.S.P. and N.F. tests are the legal standards for drugs and medicines under the Food and Drugs law, and this statute specifies prosecution and fine for the first violation detected on the part of a shipper of adulterated or misbranded food or drugs in interstate commerce, and a fine or imprisonment for each subsequent offense by the same shipper.

Another section in the statute permits seizure of violative merchandise through a court action called a libel, on which a decree ofcondemnation and destruction may be directed at the merchandise itself instead of at the shipper. Under libel action, the shipper is not punished, and in certain cases, especially those involving foodstuffs, the articles are first condemned as unfit or putrid, and then returned to the shipper under a bond to be "reconditioned" or salvaged, and again sold to the public.

In cases where the shipper cannot be identified, or other evidence of guilt is lacking, libel is the only control available, but criminal prosecution is mandatory under the law in all other instances. However, since 1924 the percentage of total criminal prosecutions under the Food and Drugs Act dropped steadily until by 1929 the ratio was less than seven prosecutions to each 93 libels.

In the early days of the Wiley Law, this ratio was at times as high as 80 per cent criminal prosecutions to 20 per cent libel actions; in recent years, it has risen considerably above the low mark of 1929 and 1930 but there are still more libels than criminal prosecutions.

The Score in Prosecutions

From 1931 to 1938, there have been only 14 court actions published relating to adulterated or misbranded digitalis preparations, of which one-half were merely libels against products of companies which have never been prosecuted for the offenses. Two of these libels involved digitalis preparations shipped by the same company and also included condemnation of preparations of 18 other U.S.P. drugs shipped by this manufacturer. One of the digitalis preparations included in the libels was found by Government tests to be practically inert; another special preparation of digitalis, made by a different company, was merely libeled though it tested 100 per cent in excess of the assay stated on the label.

As compared with these few court actions during seven years, the 1931 Annual Report of the Food and Drug Administration indicates that nine of the 61 digitalis preparations tested during the previous year required action, and the 1937 Annual Reports state



FOR BETTER MEDICINES: *Senator Burton K. Wheeler has been in the forefront of the fight for strict enforcement of the Food and Drugs Law.*

that 13 out of 122 digitalis preparations officially tested in the preceding year were found to be adulterated or misbranded. Meanwhile, physicians continue to wonder why one bottle of U.S.P. digitalis gives different results from another bottle, and turn from brand to brand of what is supposed to be, and legally should be, exactly the same preparation.

Anesthetic ether was another preparation included in the charges of lax enforcement and among the departmental records exposed in 1930 by demand of Senator Wheeler.

Prior to 1927, 13 actions, all libels, were recorded against adulterated ether and in some of these the bad ether was returned to the maker on bonds. From the official files published in 1930, it was revealed that in the years 1926 to 1929, over 900 cans of adulterated ether had been detected out of 6,000 tested, without either libel or criminal prosecution being instituted; also, that in a single year, 77 per cent of the tests made of one brand of ether showed adulteration.

At the hearings before the Senate Committee in 1930, the Chief of the Food and Drug Administration admitted that an agreement had been made several years previously by Government officials with the ether manufacturers not to seize or libel any shipments of adulterated ether; this agreement ended later in 1929 and seizures were then resumed. Since 1929, there have been published almost 200 different court actions involving adulterated anesthetic ether, of which only a bare half-dozen were criminal prosecutions. In the 1936 Annual Report of the Food and Drug Administration, it was stated that only slightly more than one per cent of the cans of ether tested during the year were found adulterated, but in the 1937 Annual Report the percentage of bad cans had risen to over 8 per cent and in numerous instances the impurity in the cans has been iron rust, or other substances which have no legitimate place in ether and are not the product of deterioration.

Bad ether presents a different problem to the medical profession than in the case of medicinals administered to patients in emergency or in routine dosage. Anesthetic ether is usually packed in one-fourth or one-half pound cans, hermetically sealed, which are not opened until the ether is to be administered to their patients, prior to, and during, a surgical operation. If the ether is bad and the patient dies, the surgeon is unable to make a test of the particular can used during the operation as the can is empty and no tests can be made of its contents. Under these circumstances no matter how certain a surgeon may be that his patient has died from the effects of defective ether, he is helpless to even voice a protest bcause of the actual hazard that he may be blamed not only for killing his patient but of attempting an alibi by falsely accusing the maker of the ether of an offense which the surgeon cannot prove.

Patent Medicine Control

Another type of looseness in the enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act, of special interest to the medical profession, is the inconsistency in the control of patent medicines. For example, out of a series of 25 different libel actions during the last eight years against various preparations sold for self-medication by a single company, for which admittedly false claims of therapeutic effects were made, only one has ever been followed by a criminal prosecution. Some of these preparations not prosecuted were sold as remedies for such ailments as syphilis, pneumonia, and influenza, and in all cases, the claims were preposterous. The family doctor, ignored by the

TREATMENT OF HEART DISEASE

HEART diseases usually need prolonged treatment. After any acute episode, even when a routine of treatment has been established, rest over a long period of time, with careful medical observation, is generally required, and the individual is rehabilitated only slowly. It is a common experience that many heart patients must be readmitted soon after their discharge from a hospital. The reason for this, in many instances, is the fact that, in order to make way for more urgent cases, they are discharged before their health is sufficiently restored. The net result is an increase in the number of days they spend in the hospital per year. An individual who has passed the acute phase of the illness could be transferred to the "subacute" or "chronic" type of hospital or sanatorium, for subsequent treatment.

One need only consider the case of the patient with rheumatic fever to understand that prolonged institutional care is necessary for obtaining the best practicable result. Many of these individuals require skilled attention for at least one to two years before there is a subsidence of the infection. Similarly, in syphilitic heart disease when signs of heart failure have appeared, prolonged conservative treatment is necessary. In hypertensive heart disease, when there has been cardiac decompensation, a long period of rest is indicated, in order to re-establish the cardiac reserve.

—*The Hospital Survey for New York*

patient when remedies of this character are relied upon, or called in too late after they have failed, is as helpless as are his patients when he is forced to rely upon a policy of law enforcement which at times ignores repeated offenses by a single company.

Several years ago, shipments of an elixir containing codeine were libeled by the Government—and upheld by the court—on charges of both adulteration and misbranding. No prosecution was ever brought against the maker for this offense. Last year the nation was shocked by reports of over 75 deaths resulting from the administration of another type of alleged elixir which had been sold by this same company, the product this time containing a toxic substance which apparently had not been tested by the manufacturer. Having escaped prosecution for the first offense, thus did tragedy result from a second elixir made by this same company. In considering the disparities between the number of violations in medicinals detected but not prosecuted, comparison should also be made with the much more rigid enforcement of the same statute against those who sell misbranded cattle or stock food.

According to the annual reports of enforcement in the last six years, there have been 453 court actions for violations involving stock foods of which 365—or over 80 per cent—were criminal prosecutions. Most of these were for misbranding because of a shortage of a small percentage of the protein content claimed on the label of cottonseed meal or the like.

Those "scoundrels" who have sold a few bags of cow-feed slightly short in food value answer for their crimes by paying the full penalty of the law, but makers of adulterated ether and digitalis sold for doctors' use, or fake cures for syphilis, pneumonia, and the like, sold for self-medication, are in many instances neither prosecuted criminally nor even slightly annoyed through libels on their deadly concoctions. So let it be known that no innocent barnyard pig shall become sick because of a false label on his breakfast food, but when the farmer's wife dies because the medicine is not what the doctor thinks it is, or what the label says it is—well, that is just unfortunate, and perhaps a new law can be demanded to pu the doctor in jail when his medicin kills a patient.

The Medical Society of New Jersey which is the oldest medical organizatio in this country, passed a resolution a its annual convention in 1934 urgin a Congressional investigation of th sale of impure drugs and foods as a danger and a menace to the publi health. Despite efforts which have been made to persuade its members to desist in their attempts to induce Congressional action upon this subject, similar resolutions have been passed by this medical society in its three annual conventions held since 1934, including vigorous opposition to the proposed repeal of the Wiley Food and Drugs Act, or the substitution for it of the so-called Copeland Bill, which gives enforcement officials complete discretio to ignore any offense defined in th law without even making it a matte of public record.

In March 1937, a bill amending th Wiley Law, prepared by a Committe of the New Jersey State Medical Society, was offered by A. Harry Moor in the Senate and by Frank A. Towey Jr., also of New Jersey, in the Hous of Representatives, where it is stil pending.

Progressive physicians will demand a real investigation under oath befor any change in the law is made. Thes amendments should comply with ever legitimate criticism of the Wiley La which has been advanced; also, b preserving the provision requiring criminal prosecution of the offender in eac case where the evidence is available, i should be the purpose of forward thinking medical men to prevent th enactment of a new law which woul legalize the kinds of lax enforcemen which the Wiley Law now reveals.

In January 1938, Congressma Towey, during debate in the Hous of Representatives, said:

"The history of the Food and Drug Act, or so-called Wiley Act, would hav been much more pleasant reading a to the convictions obtained under it i its very plain and forceful provision had been carried out."

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

PEARL BUCK, in an address before the American Booksellers Association a short while ago, delivered a forthright and amazingly effective attack upon "the best seller craze" which has foisted upon American publishing most of the vices of a sales racket. Miss Buck's attack, though not the first of its kind, is the most recent and one of the best that has been made. As an author who has been frequently on best-seller lists, her words have additional challenge and significance:

"I wish to heaven that we could do away with best-seller lists entirely. The best-seller list is not a thermometer. It is an iron mold clamped upon the public mind. . . .

"We American novelists have not the consolation of novelists in other countries, that if we are not best sellers we are nevertheless appealing to a small select few."

In America there aren't any small select few, and if you aren't best selling you aren't selling, and if you aren't selling it's the worst thing that can happen to you not to be on that list. If you are a novelist—worse than that, you aren't making money—you aren't being heard in what you want to say.

"If you would refuse, as booksellers, to have best-seller lists or to support them, I am sure there are plenty of us who write books who would heartily support you. I know it has been tried, but I wish it could be tried again. Perhaps if author and bookseller got together to abolish it it could be done."

The publisher who has a best seller profits for the moment, with his best-selling book, but he loses on most of his other books because he has consumed so much of his time, energy, and money in making this book into a best-seller that he doesn't have enough time to give adequate attention and promotion to his other publications. Everybody and everything is focused and concentrated at the time upon the best-seller to the exclusion of everything and everybody else. The author loses because in a lifetime he has but few chances of being a best-seller with any repetitiveness, and every time he is not a best-seller the sales of his works suffer. Every publisher wants to sell every book he publishes but at the same time he aims to sell as large a number of books as possible and when one of his books, like a verbal Man-O-War, plunges into the best-seller class, he puts his best bets on it and lowers or cancels his bets on his other books. The result is that the nonbest-selling authors are "out of luck."

It is the reading public, however, without being aware of it, which suffers most of all, for what happens is that it becomes so best-seller conscious that it buys relatively few books that are not listed in the best-seller class—and since relatively few significant books are best-sellers the reading public becomes a slave to insignificant and inferior literature. I have talked, for instance, to hundreds of intelligent people within the last ten or fifteen years who spend nine-tenths of their book-buying money on best-sellers; two or three decades ago those same people would have purchased "select literature," and prided themselves upon discovering an unusual fiction or a rare, unrecognized genius. Many of them would have spent money on the classics and re-read the works of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Rabelais, Shakespeare, etc. Today they wait for the best-seller lists to tell them what to read because they have no interest in anything which everybody else is not reading. In a word, they have lost their claim to individuality, to taste, to quality. Quantity, not quality, is their prevailing criterion.

And all this has resulted from the fact that book publishing has become a mass-production industry, like shirts, automobiles, shoes, toothpastes, and book-sellers. Publishers have managed to make books into a new form of Peruna, a kind of patent-medicine of the spirit. If a book can make ten thousand people happy, it should make a million, and all that is necessary is to find a slogan, a technique, by which a million people can be hypnotized into buying the volume.

In the meanwhile, good literature suffers. Fewer and fewer people are interested in buying books that no one talks about. After all, in our mass-production world we are constantly talking about the most popular movie, the most popular play, the latest style—and now we talk about the most popular book.

A generation ago publishers concluded that every good book would find a market of its own, and that advertising and promotion though helpful were not fundamental; today publishers believe that a book will not find a market of its own unless it is given adequate advertising and promotion. Publishers have come to this conclusion because the present-day reading public has driven them to it. It simply will not buy books that are not being talked about and to get a book talked about means advertising and promoting it. In Emerson's day there may have been an element of truth in his contention that if a man in the remote recesses of a forest built the best mouse-trap that could be had, the world would beat a path to his door; today the world would beat no such path—it would buy the mouse-trap that was most widely advertised in magazines, newspapers, and on billboards. Unfortunately, the same holds true for books.

We have a larger book-buying public today than we have ever had in the history of the country and yet statistics would prove, I am certain, that we have a smaller book-buying public than ever for non best-selling books. In the end, everyone would gain if we undertook a battle against "the best-seller craze": the author, the publisher, and the reading-public most emphatically. It undoubtedly would take a little time, and some losses might be undergone by some publishers, before the reading-public would adjust itself to the new situation, but before long we should find a better reading public and ultimately a larger one. And most important of all we should find publishers able to publish better books at cheaper prices because there would develop a larger market for more "select" literature.

The Snow White Fiasco

It is doubtful if any film in recent years has evoked such enthusiastic and extravagant laudations as Walt Disney's "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs." Most of the critics shoved their condemnatory adjectives and adverbs back into their old kit-bags and dove down in search of all the superlatives they could find, most of them rusty from lack of use. Even Otis Ferguson, one of the best and yet at the same time one of the snootiest (or, perhaps, in fairness to him I should say, one of the most-difficult-to-please) of our cinema critics rhapsodized about the film and declared it was a masterpiece, or something pretty close to it. I looked in vain for adverse criticisms, and after I saw the production twice—I refused to trust my first impression—I wondered what had come over our cinema critics. The picture is an interesting experiment, is filled with episodes of delightful whimsicality, is well-handled scenically, is effective in its color-designs, and engaging and arresting in its caricatures and altogether magnificent preposterousness. But beyond that there is little to say. At least a third of the film is boring, needlessly and pathetically and uncondonably boring. Anyone with critical sense or sensitivity should have realized that here was a cinema which could have been a masterpiece if it had been "cut" in half, or perhaps better still into a quarter of what it is. One quarter of it is first-rate, of that there can be no doubt. But that quarter is where the dwarfs stop *dwarfing*, and where dear sweet Snow White, who looks like a pasty, sepulchral, sewing-pattern design scissored out of context, disappears from the picture. That the character Snow White is a failure in every way is undisputable. As a moving figure she is unreal, as a face and body she is absurd, and in terms of what she does she is ludicrous. The dwarfs are much better; their absurdity is acceptable because they are by nature absurd and one would not accept them under any other guise. But when the dwarfs decide to accept Snow White and obey her orders, they become shortly thereafter as boring as their mistress. The beginning of the dwarf section is excellent, excitingly original, but it is not long before the dwarfs become as boring as Snow White and by the time they finally complete the difficult job of washing their faces, I hoped a high wind would come along and blow them into a recollection. But alas, it didn't.

The English critics have greeted the film with much less enthusiasm than the American. Many of them have been luke-warm in their reaction; others have been frankly annihilatory; a few have been appreciative. The criticism which interested me most was one which appeared in *The New English Weekly*, in which the author, who signed himself P. T., declared that "Snow White for all its assumption of grandeur is a definite proof that his (Disney's) air-bubble has swollen to its utmost dimensions and that the Disney legend is in danger of bursting like the frog from the fable." The critic then goes on to add that "the same old tune is smeared over the film, unctuous and gluey as a patent face cream. The tempo, moreover, is hardly Disney at all, for the action is continually held up to permit of the heroine delivering herself of song or prayer or worse. I found myself longing for some old Mack Sennett slapstick to throw a pie at her head and speed the pace a little. . . . Another *Snow White* will sound the Disney death-knell."

Dangerous for Children?

In both England and the United States much has been made over the fact that the film is dangerous for children to witness. Many people who liked the cinema immensely were convinced that it would be a mistake to allow children to see it. They were especially concerned about the character of the Queen-Witch, whom they feared would frighten children and wreck their nervous systems. In that connection, the remarks of the critic from *The New English Weekly* are particularly pertinent:

> The midnight hag is the best thing in the film. She is crude melodrama, *the kind of thing children understand and enjoy*. They are natural moralists and like to see wickedness painted in strong primary colours and so magnified that its ultimate destruction appears adequate and satisfying. To be in a position to say "I told you so," is a comfortable condition for anybody, and children, whose inevitable fate is to be so often in the wrong, find it particularly pleasant. The awful ends of fairy-tale villains give them an opportunity to condemn and disapprove and so balance their own heavy accounts with grown-ups. Those midnight terrors in the forest, the thunderbolts and lightning, the hellish brew and the eyeless skull, merely serve to brighten the eyes under the striped school caps. Spellbound by such exorbitant mischief, the film's true horror escapes them.

Perhaps the most interesting criticism *The New English Weekly* critic made of the film concerned the role of the animals in the cinema. His point, wrong or right, merits serious consideration. He attacks Mr. Disney for a distorted attitude toward man and animals and condemns him for what might very well be called ***animalitis***:

> Set a rabbit weeping, reveal a heart of pity beneath the tortoise shell, trump up a good deed for the adder and kind thoughts for the stoat and you have the password to the modern heart. And Disney knows it. The very pith of his secret is the enlargement of the animal world and a corresponding deflation of all human values. There is a profound cynicism at the root of his, as of all, sentimentality. The web is hung with dew-drops but the spider's in the parlour. Its presence there is instanced by Disney's handling of his humans. In dialogue and in drawing these proclaim with one voice his essential unbelief in humanity. The animal, being already on and of the earth, cannot be dethroned. On the contrary, it can be made into something too cute for words, so Disney, gentle shepherd, leads the lowly creatures upward. And bang, on the downward scale, go the luckless humans, crooning their way to perdition. And, when one comes to think of it, why not? In a word where rabbits are capable of tender love and the apparatus for projecting animated drawings is perfected, human beings, in any active sense, are irrelevant—in fact, in the way. It is much more fun to watch one pigeon cuddling another and exchanging endearments than to bother about human reactions under similar conditions. Up the animals, says Mr. Disney! And proceeds to set action to the word to the tune of "Green Grow the Rushes-o" with a cunning, childish, inconsequent air. Too, too sweet. Yes, indeed, a little child is leading Disney but it has not the pace of an angel.
>
> The pity of it is that his motives are unconscious and his own unawareness blinds the eyes of his audiences. His genius in spite of its extraordinary entertainment value, is destructive, but he does not know it and it will be a long time before we ourselves begin to guess at it. If he were powerful enough to draw his bitterness up to his conscious mind he would move out of the world of easy laughter and become the best sort of social menace, a searchlight to disclose the essential emptiness of our house. There is no indication, however, that the hidden moralist in Disney will ever be revealed to himself or to the world at large. He is deep in his legend, drowned in it full fathom five.

More Seasoned Matters

Whatever criticisms might be made of the New Deal, no one can honestly deny that a large number of the Administration's projects have been of extraordinary value to the public as a

whole, as well as to the artists to whom they have given employment. In this connection, I am particularly concerned with the present Pepper-Coffee Bill, which I consider most important in terms of its promises as well as its implications.

What the Pepper-Coffee Bill, now before Congress, proposes to do is simple. It wants to see that the government establishes its cultural work upon a permanent basis. It maintains that the impermanent basis upon which it has been founded in the past has been detrimental to the artists, literary as well as plastic, who have been involved. Artists can do their best work, the Bill adds, only if they are assured of a steady and secure income. In olden days artists derived such support from patrons. The time has come today when the government must become the patron of art if it wants to give birth to significant artists and significant art. The Bill, in other words, is devoted to continuing upon a permanent basis the work that the Federal Arts Project in divers fields have undertaken, and in the light of the achievements to date, it is to be hoped that the Bill will awaken a positive response.

The Bill urges that Congress "appropriate funds out of the United States Treasury for the establishment and support of a permanent Bureau of Fine Arts." It then goes on to specify the needs of such a Bureau and details just what is necessary for its operation. Its recommendations are most humble. Its criteria are most laudable. As a matter of fact, its whole concept and purpose, viewed in the light of the work already achieved, are of the highest order, and there is every reason to believe that if the bill passes the American public will benefit by virtue of the superior esthetic effects which will be discovered in public buildings and public structures of all varieties. It was in this way that artists in many ancient countries were supported by the state and it is time that we learn to absorb some ancient wisdom in this respect.

Pursuant of the Periclean program of employing artists by the state, the American government aims to give work to American artists in the great job of beautifying the country. Already, as indicated above, autochthonous American art has developed a new quality and challenge. The American artist has already begun to realize that he is no longer working just for himself but for the community, for society. Just as Phidias dedicated his great art not to the exaltation of himself but to the exaltation "of the gods," the American artist of today is devoting himself to the exaltation of the ideals of the country of which he is a citizen. Very often, it is true, his conception of what the ideal of the country is may disagree with that of some of the conservative die-hards, but that, no matter how radical, it is born of the country itself, cannot be gainsaid. The nature of the work he has produced is the best testimony of that fact. Teamsters, milkmen, machinists, men of every variety of occupation, are being discovered by the Federal Arts Project, as artists of latent significance. Just as in other countries where similar support has been forthcoming, which includes France, England, Soviet Russia, Mexico, the number and quality of artists has improved in proportion with the expenditures the government has made in support of art projects. Without government aid, for instance there would have been practically none of the marvelous Orozco and Rivera murals which have made Mexico today into a country of such marvelous artistic wonder and magic.



MASTERPIECE?: *The English press was more critical of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs than the American reviewers, who spoke almost entirely in superlatives*

Utrillo: French Master

The announcement that the Denver Art Museum had purchased Maurice Utrillo's painting "The Church of Montmagny," a predominantly architectural piece of work, is important for all admirers of modern French art. Utrillo is a name which is little known in this country. His work is even less known. Utrillo has never been a figure accepted in the *best* circles. He has always been too *Latin Quartier-ish,* too *Greenwich Villagy,* in his attitude, his philosophy, to satisfy the art dealers and the art purchasers. A strange, uncanny personality, living in a wayward world of vague hashish fantasy, Utrillo, fascinated more by hallucinations than by reality, has frightened off most of his would-be admirers. Known originally as the painter of Montmartre, where in a score of cafes and bistros his work can still be found today, Utrillo has gradually become recognized as one of the most interesting and arresting of the French painters of today. "There is a legend" Pierre Loving writes, that on the famous hill of Montmartre "a number of cafe proprietors kept on hand tubes of colors, brushes, pencils, and canvases, so that Utrillo, a picturesque, indigent figure, could pay for his *consommation* on the spot by presenting the establishment with a quick drawing or color sketch."

The man Utrillo is unquestionably weird. The fact that he is a spiritual somnambulist, a man quiet and violent by turns, as unpredictable in his moods as the career of a storm, is interesting only as an insight into his character which is as wild as that of Verlaine.

His paintings have about them that paradoxical staticness of flux—flux in stasis, the rigid becoming rigidless, the fixed becoming fixless.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE inter-Church Conference was held in Utrecht from May 9 to 13 to lay the foundations of the World Council of Churches as suggested by the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences last summer. At first glance it would seem that this conference represented a much larger section of world religion than it actually did. One should keep constantly in mind that the news items which we read in our daily newspapers concern (as a general thing) only a small part of current religious history. In connection with this it might be of interest to our readers if we publish some statistics concerning the membership of the Churches distributed throughout the world. These figures are from the latest available information, provided by the International Christian Press and Information Service of Geneva, Switzerland.

The total number of Christians in the world is estimated at about 685 to 700 million. The largest group is that of the Roman Catholic Church, which numbers about 360 million, distributed as follows:

Europe	215	million
South America	60.8	million
North America	47	million
Australia and Oceania	10.4	million
Asia	9.2	million
Africa	6.8	million

The Orthodox Church (Eastern Christianity) numbers 145 million, (another estimate puts the figure at 125 million), distributed as follows:

Europe	110–130	million
Asia	8.1	million
Africa	5.8	million
America	1.2	million

Protestantism numbers about 200 million and Anglicanism 35 million. Together the two amount to:

Europe	120	million
North America	100	million
Australia and Oceania	6	million
Asia	7	million
Africa	4	million
South America	1.5	million

This conference in Utrecht, representing the non-Roman Catholic Christian Churches, could speak for only a small sector of world religion. The largest Christian Churches in the order of their membership are: Roman Catholic (360 million); Orthodoxy (145 million); Lutheran (84 million); Anglican (35 million) Methodist (15.4 million); Presbyterian (15.2 million); Reformed (15.2 million); Baptists (13 million); Congregationalists (2.5 million).

As regards the non-Christian religions, the I. C. P. I. S. statistics show that the two billion inhabiting the world are distributed as follows: 500 million in Europe, 250 million in America, 150 million in Africa, 12 million in Australia, and over 1,050 million in Asia.

Mohammedism numbers 270 million (180 million of them in Asia, 74 million in Africa and 15 million in Europe); Hinduism numbers 250 million, Jewry 15 million, Buddhism (India, China and Japan) 625 million. It is impossible to say how this last figure is made up. Shintoism is relatively scarce, since Japan numbers 70 million inhabitants belonging to various religions. Leaving out religions with few adherents, such as the Sikhs in India, there remains a total Christian population of 700 million. Membership of primitive polytheistic religions must be reckoned at 74 million and Agnostics at about 75 million.

Still, even though representing only about one-eighth of the world's total population, this Utrecht Conference holds forth to the world the ideal of all religious bodies (Christian) working together for the furtherance of true religion and the spread of right living among the peoples of the world. As the Churches represented at this Conference are able to lay the foundations for a World Council in which they can really cooperate—as they are able to set up a scheme in which the competition of different denominations of Christians will be eliminated—the spread of Christianity will be accelerated, and the proportion of the world's population which acknowledges the Lordship of the Man of Galilee will be increased.

Meanwhile the non-Christian religions are not asleep. Orthodox Hindu and Moslem missionaries are very active, especially in efforts to gain the 60 million "Untouchables" of India. Caste Hindus refuse to eat, drink or pray with the Untouchables, but are beginning to show more interest in their physical and spiritual welfare, lest they be lost from the fold of Hinduism.

The Moslem leader in India has printed a spirited appeal in the "Light of Lahore" in which he says: "I am sure that if Moslems make a serious effort to win them, a large majority, if not all of the sixty million, will find salvation in Islam." But the Untouchables are suspicious and question the motives behind all efforts on their behalf, especially when such efforts are made by those who for so long a time have done so little for them. In a recent meeting presided over by an orthodox Hindu at which hundreds of Moslems were present at Nagpur, one of their leaders asked this pertinent question: "What did Islam do for us in a thousand years? What did Sikhism (a sect of Hinduism) do for us? It was only after the Catholic missionary came and took us to his bosom that others began to take notice of us."

Primitive Christianity

The great official daily paper *Isvestia* published an article on March 30 on the activity of the governmental commission for history texts books used in schools. This commission recognized "that the introduction of Christianity into Russia represented progress as compared with the pagan barbarism prevailing till that time. This progress consisted not only in the fact that the Russian nation received a literary culture, but also certain elements of the Byzantine civilization". . . . "The Christian Church devoted all its energies to doing away with slavery at the time of the predominance of Kiev." Later on "the ecclesiastics defended the right of serfdom which, it must be admitted, was not pure slavery." "The literary works brought into Russia by Christianity had not only a cultural and theological value, but were also marvels of style and of art as, for example, the Gospel re-copied in 1606 at the command of the chief, Ostromir, at Novgorod. In the monasteries of Kiev there were men who were not only writers of value but men of science." The article ends with a reminder of the architectural works of the church, notably the great cathedrals of Kiev and Novgorod. I.C.P.I.S. Geneva.

NAVAJO NEW DEAL

By Charles Morrow Wilson

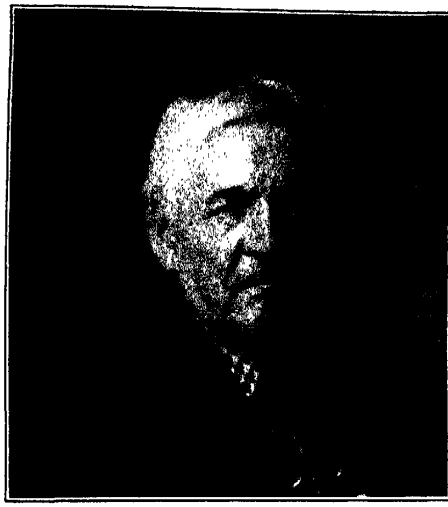
LARGEST of U. S. Indian nations (incomplete census estimate 59,000) and perennial underpinning to the Congressional pork barrel of Indian relations, the Navajo faces the future with one of the most formidable array of problems ever met by an American population.

Residents of a 17-million-acre reservation, principally desert and expertly described as "the most worthless land that ever lay out of doors," the Navajos face the reality of failing range and resources and a rapidly increasing population. (Popular folklore notwithstanding, the American Indian is anything but a dying race. His average increase is about 50 per cent greater than that of his white brethren and best available statistics indicate that Navajos have increased more than sevenfold since 1872 when the tribe was liberated from Federal retention at Ft. Rodondo to its present reservation.)

More than three-fourths of all Navajos earn livelihoods from owning and tending open-range herds of sheep and goats. Medium family living has been the marketable returns from 300 sheep and goats. New Deal reclamation policies now prohibit ranging of goats upon the reservation and are seeking to reduce Navajo holdings of sheep (long in excess of a million head) to 560,000 sheep units, an abrupt reduction of 58 per cent, which would leave an average of only 41 head to the Navajo family.

After New Deal relief expenditures of about $12,000,000 on the Navajo reservation, the boundary extension bill, still languishing in Congressional red taping committees, has succeeded in increasing the reservation area by only about a million acres, 310,000 acres of which were bought with tribal money.

Apparently the average income of the Navajo family has dipped from about $500 to less than $300 a year, and hard times are reported by the 214 licensed Indian traders now operating posts upon the reservation. As yet only about one-sixth of one per cent of the reservation is under



Chee Dodge, 84-year-old Navajo spokesman and unofficial leader.



Gourmets should be interested in the delicious tamales the Navajo wives bake in green corn husks.



Irrigation ditches are opened and maintained by Indian labor.



The Navajo is still America's ace cowboy.

irrigation. In mean rainfall the remainder is actually dryer than much of the Sahara.

Poor Navajos are growing poorer despite the efforts of John Collier, New Deal Indian Commissioner and former secretary of the Indian Rights Association, who declares that "the American Indian must be returned to his savage dignity as a people." Commissioner Collier declines to state whether this assertion has any bearing whatever upon the fact that the Superintendent of the Navajo reservation recently received from the Office of Indian affairs at Washington an assortment of twelve fencing jackets and three cases of bolo knives or machetes. Navajos are using the machetes as meat cleavers, but how to use the fencing jackets remains an Indian problem.

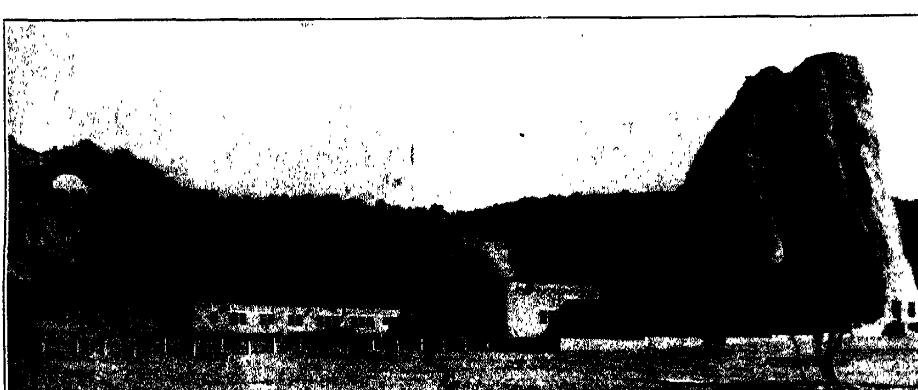
Faced with odds which white men might regard as ruinous, the Navajo is shaping a new tribal life. In the Shiprock, New Mexico, is an area of the reservation where the first irrigation water has made verdant garden farms of about 3,000 acres of desert. Navajo labor opens and maintains the ditches, and Navajo community clubs (the highly democratic Indian Farmers' Association) are entrusted with maintenance problems.

Navajo families chosen by reservation officials to occupy the new garden farms are required to give up sheep and other range animals and are limited to an average of ten acres for tillage.

Despite this abrupt change from a pastoral life to intensive farming first Navajo harvests from irrigated farms show an average value of more than $50 an acre, greater than the white man's average on the same type of land As a modern agriculturist, the Navajo retains his beloved corn as principal crop. Though handmills replace the ancient handstones the Navajo wives still roast the ears in underground pits, devise gourmet's dreams in the form of meat and meal tamales baked in green corn husks and stage community bakings in which corn batter is poured into dry dirt pits and fired from above.

Corrals of gnarled native Juniper wood continue to replace white man's fences. The Navajo family head remains America's ace cowboy and though the men have largely adopted white man's dungarees, most of them still wear their hair long, band their foreheads with black or blue ribbons, wear moccasins instead of shoes, and ornament store-bought dungarees with belts and braids of hammered silver. Women and young children remain intensely loyal to tribal fashions and tradition. Navajo range practice sees many improvements—better breeding stock, regular dipping, supplementing ever scarce surface water with snow-melting devices and so on. These are some of the reasons why maximum of Federal relief to 59,000 Navajos has totaled only 829 individuals, but slightly more than one per cent and a meagre fraction of relief averages for white Americans.

Meanwhile at the ERA-built rock school house at Win-



Indian school at Window Rock, Arizona, the new Navajo capital.

dow Rock, Arizona (new Navajo capital) an assembly of 68 Navajo delegates, principally "head men" or community leaders, have met to inaugurate the first tribal constitution in Navajo history. The Navajo language (oral and closely similar to North China dialects) has no word for "constitution" so the Navajos have coined the word "Say-as-elah," meaning "foundation word."

About 90 per cent of all Navajos are still illiterate in English. Thus the constitution assembly is largely an oral event. Voting is done by color ballot, a given color of string being assigned to each candidate. A Navajo drafting committee of five still labors with the tricks of whiteman's words, using a missionary priest as interpreter. Having been approved by tribal assembly the Navajo constitution must next receive the approval of the U. S. Secretary of Interior, after which the nation will seek final sanction by act of Congress.

The coppery constitution writers have produced one of the most enlightened state documents in American history. The tentative draft provides for a permanent tribal assembly to be elected by Navajo vote. Common term of office is six years and no tribal officer or assemblyman can be holder of a U.S. or State job. Office tenure excuses no man from prosecution for misdeeds. Prior to each election the tribal assembly will appoint a committee to investigate all candidates for character and competency and no Navajo can be a nominee without approval of this committee. The judiciary will also be elective for terms of six years.

The present reservation will remain permanent and communistic tribal property and Navajos claim the right to form tribal corporations for buying and selling any needed merchandise, operating mills or stores, mines or factories and caring for orphans, minors and aged within the nation. Devoted effort is also being made to check pillaging of Navajo funds by political desperadoes of New Mexico and Arizona who have repeatedly seized Navajo trust money for building roads, bridges and meeting deficits of no benefit to Navajos. Also to blot out recurrent collusion between the branches of the U. S. Department of Interior and Western railroads which have conspired to rob Indians of non-reservation lands. Conservative spirit and official compromiser of the assembly is 84-year-old Chee Dodge.



The Indian women and their children remain loyal to tribal customs.



To supplement the ever scarce surface water, the Indians have learned to use efficiently a new snow-melting device.

Acute Americans

The visitor to America who hopes to find, in the one continent which may be regarded as secure from military attack, a greater degree of tranquility and detachment from the conflicts of the world than is possible elsewhere, will be gravely disappointed. Far from being mentally isolated the people of the United States seem far more acutely aware than the average Englishman of the tension in international affairs and the dangers which are inherent in the present situation. They have a much more heightened sense of the immediate prospect of impending world war. The causes of this curious paradox whereby those who are most remote from the danger have the greatest sense of its proximity, is to be ascribed partly to the more intense vividness of life in U.S.A. and to the dramatic or melodramatic keying-up of news in the press and over the air; and partly to the efforts of the remarkable corps of foreign correspondents serving the leading newspapers and news agencies, whose dispatches give one the impression of having been written from the edge of a volcano in the earlier stages of an eruption

—*The New Statesman and Nation*, London

Delirious Thought

An interesting new phenomenon may be observed on the checkered and changing surface of what is presented to the reader by the bourgeois press as the international political situation.

Here the Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri* publishes a message from the American journalist Knickerbocker, stating that "Soviet airplanes from Vladivostok are able to reach Tokyo and other points in Japan in a few hours." This informed American from Paris recommends to the Japanese, in the event of a war against the U.S.S.R.:

"First of all to subject the Vladivostok airdrome to heavy bombardment. From this viewpoint Vladivostok is like a revolver aimed at the back of Japan, and Japan cannot rest so long as this revolver is not diverted from her. But it will not be so easy to divert it. A powerful submarine base has been established on the Russian island. . . ."

And so on, and so forth. . . .

Such is the American news from Paris on Vladivostok.

Behind all these agents, behind the Knickerbockers, stand their masters, the imperialists. They do not like to expose themselves, they keep behind the scenes, but it was to them that Lenin referred when he proposed "to explain to the people the real situation of how great is the secret in which war is born. . . ." International fascism is



Il 420, Florence

IN RUSSIA: *Proud Wife: "That is the latest picture of Z-14, my husband."*

not content with the huge fires of war which are already aflame in various parts of the world. It is not content with Spain, China, the smouldering fires of Abyssinia. It wants still another nice little war, and the sooner the better. If possible let the Soviet Union be drawn into a military clash.

Among those who are ordering and inspiring the present campaign of lies and instigations we recognise the rulers not only of the fascist states. The old wire-pullers of British imperialism, the old camp-followers who like to line their pockets at the expense of other people's fights, other people's blood, the British die-hard conservatives, have undoubtedly taken a hand in the latest newspaper gossip and provocations concerning the alleged military preparations of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

The delirious thought that the Soviet Union will make war upon Japan in return for some guarantees of security in the west, this vainglorious cynical yarn could indeed have been conceived only in the softened brains of the British reactionaries. For it must be known from the reiterated statements of representatives of the Soviet Government that in the defence of its security the Soviet Union relies primarily on its own forces: the valiant Red Army and the invincible unity of the Soviet people. This is known to all honest people. Addressing the fascist gentlemen who were leaving the League of Nations because it does not encourage military adventures, Comrade V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Government, said at the Eighth (Special) All-Union Congress of Soviets: "But to speak quite frankly, as far as protecting the interests of peace and the peaceful labours of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is concerned, we put our real trust solely in our own forces."

—*Pravda*, Moscow

Italy Blames France

Now that the news is out we know whom to blame for the *Anschluss:* it is the *Quai d'Orsay*. During the conversations between the Chancelleries on February 12th, the Austro-German situation had developed, with the consent of Italy, for the recognition of the political rights of the Austrian National-Socialists within an independent Austria. It is in this way, and not in any other, that Danzig and the Reich, with the consent of Poland, came to an agreement as to the role of the National-Socialists within the Free City. Did Danzig become a part of the German Reich for that reason? Of course not. The same would have happened in Austria. But France, seized with an attack of hysteria, started to intrigue desperately in Vienna and in Rome.

Who else but France could suggest to Schuschnigg the great idea, worthy of a vaudeville act, of a plebiscite with-

out electoral lists, without ballots, without even voting stations? Thus Germany, because of the fact that Europe has lost the gay spirit of the *Folies Bergères*, became seriously concerned with the plebiscite. And she had the perfect right to be, since she had also the power to enforce this right. So for the materialization of a dream which until now had only been insanely hoped



New York *World-Telegram*

A QUEER OLD BIRD IS THE PELICAN . . .

for, Hitler has no one to thank but Mr. Puaux, France's Minister to Vienna.

This brilliant Viennese improvisation was accompanied by diplomatic intervention from London. *L'Echo de Paris* tells that Delbos forced Halifax to induce Lord Perth to suggest to Ciano the problem of Austria in the name of the three countries—the three of Stresa. The front of Stresa in the ripe year of 1938 after the journey of Mussolini to Berlin! Not that the Stresa Front has ceased to exist because of that fact. No indeed, the front never existed except on paper. Italy used it for its action in Africa, and by rebound it was unavoidable that the Stresa front should be cut in two. Has not England betrayed it? In the article of its establishment, the recognition of Germany's right to own a navy was the first flagrant and serious violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

—*Gazetta Del Popolo,* Turin, Italy

League's Last Gasp

Thanks to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the League of Nations will still be of some use. . . . The diplomatic journalists called this proposition (the recommendation to recognize the Italian conquest) "an elegant solution." . . . And thanks to the League of Nations things can be arranged so nicely that it would be stupid not to profit by it. England and France can not but help oppose the recognition of Franco. But if the League of Nations takes care of that England and France will have no reason to refuse. After which the League of Nations would recognize Manchukuo: later the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany, of Lithuania by Poland, etc. England and France, always respectfully deferring to the decisions of the League of Nations, would have to accept. In fine, what are the main objections to the Totalitarian regimes? That their acts are not legal.

The very day when acts of force are legalized by Geneva, the powers mainly concerned in legality, such as England and France, will be satisfied. Once upon a time the Dauphin was given a little playmate who always received the spankings because one could not raise a hand against the sacred person of the son of the King of France. This little comrade was called "the whipping boy." Thanks to Mr. Chamberlain, the League of Nations has been promoted to the glorious role of the whipping boy of the democratic powers.

—*Le Canard Enchaîné,* Paris

Franco the Angel

If you are to have modern warfare—for which this country is determined to prepare herself then you must take the consequences. And the references to the open Bible at Eastbrook Hall (if so be that the Bible was opened at Judges vii., verse 20) would reveal the old battle cry: "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

To-day we have altered it so as to read: "The bomb of the Lord and of Franco"—or perhaps we are only to allow it to read: "The bomb of the Lord and of Chamberlain?" Whether sword or bomb, the results are much the same. What are not the same are the purposes of the contending forces in Spain. And to me, as to so many other Christians, it is clear that Franco is on the side of the angels.

—Rev Frank Harwood, *Yorkshire Observer*

It's a Game

"Had Hitler and Mussolini been cricketers I do not think we should have had all this trouble that is going on in Europe to-day," said Sir Francis Lacey, for 25 years Secretary of the M.C.C., speaking at the annual meeting of the Wiltshire County Cricket Club, of which he is President, at Trowbridge yesterday.

—*Manchester Guardian*

The Two White Nations

There are few people who, as man to man, harmonise so naturally and easily as Germans and Englishmen of the same level of education. Shortly before the War an English Admiral at



Glasgow Record

HE CAN AFFORD TO TRUST NO ONE

an international naval banquet drank to his German comrade with the softly-spoken words: "To the two white nations!" That was not just an empty instance. Anyone who has witnessed a meeting of seamen from all parts of the world knows that this expression voiced the feeling of more than an individual.

—*National Heft*, Zürich

Polish Minorities

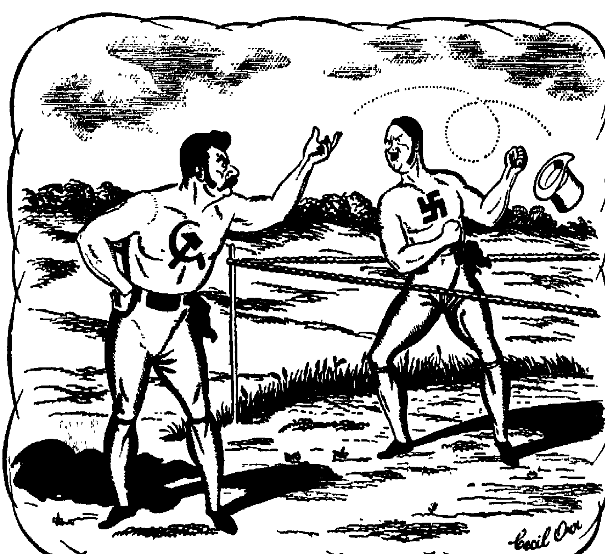
A conference for a "Polish-Czechoslovak Press Entente" took place in Warsaw in 1933 under the chairmanship of a high official of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a representative of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Ministry. The following decision was voted unanimously: "Polish-Czechoslovakian relations are developing in all fields on a friendly, real and fruitful fashion. In accordance with the clear desire of the two peoples the policy of the men in power aspire to a still wider and deeper collaboration."

At that time the problem of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia had not been invented.

The next year, on January 28, 1934 the semi-official *Gazeta Polska* astonished its readers with an article dealing with Teschen as having "been torn away from Poland." The diplomats accredited to Warsaw at first thought this must be an error. However in a few weeks they had to change their opinion, in view of a violent campaign in the press against the alleged bad treatment of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia. Finally a campaign against France and the conclusion of the Polish German agreement gave an explanation to that which had appeared as an enigma before.

From then on the Polish campaign against Czechoslovakia concerning the Polish minority increased continuously. The cultural and social concessions made by Czechoslovakia, which shortly before, Poland had considered merely as insufficient, suddenly did not seem to exist. Any comparison between the standard of living of the members of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia and the population in Poland was considered an insult. The whole world noticed thereupon, that the question of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia was becoming an instrument of the external policy of Warsaw.

The same spirit is apparent in the latest claims which the Polish minority made in Czechoslovakia. The organ of the minority *Dziennik Polski* writes naively: "As all nationalities (in Czechoslovakia) demand their autonomy we also demand it." But as it is impossible to justify the Polish demand by facts, they are being created. This is also the reason why the figures concerning the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia increase with foolhardy rapidity. Their number certainly does not amount to more than 80,000. And a German author, who by no means can be suspected of sympathy with his neighboring Czechoslovakia,



Glasgow Record

His Hat in the Ring

OSSERVATORIO DI MOSCA



Il 420, Florence

Stalin: *The seismograph has recorded a shock. Is it an earthquake, or has the World Revolution at last begun?*

Next-to-Go: *Neither, a Trotskyite has just blown another Moscow factory to bits.*

Mr. Kurt Witt, estimates them to be 100,000. Three years ago Polish authorities spoke of them as 125,000. Three weeks ago, it was 150,000. A week ago, Poland's foreign minister, Mr. Beck, said to Mr. Ward Price, an English journalist, that there were about 250,000.

This rapid increase astonishes even Warsaw. It causes some fears, perhaps, among those who realize that Poland isn't a national state herself. Official Polish statistics maintain that of Poland's population, 31.1% belongs to national minorities, while Czechoslovakia has 33.8 per cent belonging to national minorities. These figures are based upon the census of 1931, the results of which are questioned even by the Poles themselves. Thus Poland estimates the number of Ukrainians at 4.4 millions while the Ukrainians say they are 6.3 millions. There are similar divergencies concerning the White-Russians and the Jews. Under these conditions a few questions may be submitted to Poland.

(1) Concerning the 4.4 million Ukrainians; have they less right to autonomy than the 80,000 Poles in Czechoslovakia?

(2) Can Warsaw answer the question whether there are in the service of the Polish State in Warsaw more Ukrainians than there are fingers on one hand?

(3) Is there an Ukrainian University; a request made by the Ukrainians for many years?

Finally, one could point out that for twenty years a bitter, bloody struggle has been waged between Poles and

Ukrainians which has claimed deaths year after year. In summation, one could ask all those who understand the situation, whether one could really compare the rights enjoyed by the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia with those of the minorities of Poland.

—*Journal des Nations*, Geneva

Measuring Italian Jews for Persecution

"In one of our notes a few days ago we pointed out that the Italian press has been silent with reference to our publication of the *Protocols of Zion*.

Our purpose was very clear: to spur at least the greater part, if not all, of the Italian dailies to occupy themselves with a document which we consider fundamental because it reveals the plan of the Jewish International for the domination of Israel over the world. The *Protocols of Zion* is so basic that Hitler made it the breviary of every German since Germany, as much as any other country, was ruled by Jews before the war and Jews were the authors of the national disintegration of Germany after the war.

We were mistaken. Our press continues its conspiracy of silence around the "Protocols" and today, in taking note of our failure to break this silence, we must confess our gullibility. This forces us to assert that the aversion against publicizing the *Protocols of Zion* is extremely disappointing because it exposes the degree of influence that Jews and the friends of Jewry enjoy over our responsible press.

The newspapers to which we refer in maintaining that it is absurd to "wave the banner of anti-semitism," do not take into consideration that International Judaism is entirely united and is ganged-up ferociously against fascism and social order.

This explains Rumania's actions in view of this grave problem, and why other nations have felt they must close their doors to Jews of that country in contradistinction to their Italian co-religionists who fraternally and enthusiastically received many German Jews, offering them jobs instead of giving these posts to old fascist comrades who were thus "overlooked" if not boycotted!

While we are discussing this problem we must face the fact that the problem of International Judaism exists for Italy as well!

We don't want to say that all Jews are instruments of the Jewish International as a world organization. We want the facts to be made known: that Jews have an alliance among themselves based upon race and instinct no matter in what part of the world they may live! The history of two thousand years proves that out of this Jewish alliance has sprung the elements of dissolution of our civilization in every sphere of science, of finance, of art, of literature and sociology.

"We don't want to propagate racial theories," say our newspapers unanimously. But the cause of racial theory cannot be ascribed to Catholics but to the Jews! The whole Semitic press, and all the most important men of Jewry, have always spoken in the name of "Our Race" *their* race!



Das Schwarze Corps, Berlin

Beware Frenchmen! The Nazis are in Spain now. You will be next!

There is no problem of culture, of art, or of sport which has not been treated by the Jew from the racial point of view, not only abroad but in Italy as well.

Will anybody deny the indissoluble links of the Jews throughout the entire world?

Who of good faith can refuse to bear in mind that the Jews constitute a veritable Jewish World Parliament in Geneva? While outside of the League of Nations is an International Jewish Parliament to which delegates of the Jewish people are elected by Jewish Communities in different parts of the world and which exist as veritable electoral districts for this congress. Here is an actual International Jewish Parliament, the defense of which has been taken up by the representative of the Jews in Italy—Dr. Angelo Sacerdoti. Due to this world parliament the Jews represent a nation within a nation in the various countries—and consequently in Italy also! A Jewish International within the Italian Nation!

Let us suppose that in Italy there were 43 million Jews and 40 thousand non-Jews: will a certain press tell us what under the circumstances would be the position of the latter even if gifted by superior endowments? Perhaps they would be used to punch street car tickets.

We demand a logical attitude flowing from a sense of sacred, even-handed justice! We demand that the 43 million Catholic Italians seize control of the most vital centers of the State and Nation. Legitimate representatives should be those who know their duty towards the Nation without links to any kind of International!

At least, in view of the sense of justice which has always guided the Italian people—or better said—the people of Rome, we can allow them (providing that the *Italianism* of the Jews was one hundred per cent) to enjoy a legitimate proportion of important positions but not a superior proportion to that enjoyed by the Catholics.

As the Jews represent a one thousandth part of the population, one concludes that out of one thousand positions, nine hundred and ninety-nine should go to Catholics.

—Roberto Farinacci in *Regime Fascista* (Cremona). (*Farinacci was for some time the General Secretary of the Italian Fascist Party. He is one of the most violent among the Fascist agitators in Italy and is the owner and publisher of* REGIME FASCISTA *which is widely read all over Italy.*—Ed.)

Even the Dogs

Fashionable ladies, why not have your little dog tinted to match your dress for special occasions? Lady has discovered process guaranteed harmless to the most delicate animal, prettiest pastel shades imaginable.

—Advt. in *Daily Telegraph*

No Other Reason

You will have noticed that ex-President Hoover went to see Hitler a few weeks back. According to an interviewer he told the Führer that every day he stayed in dictatorship countries, the more fervently he believed in democracy. I am told now that he only went very reluctantly to see Hitler. He said: "Well, they tell me I'll have to go. I don't want to see Hitler for political reasons, or personal reasons, or ethical reasons, or aesthetic reasons, or moral reasons, or social reasons. And what other reasons are there?"

—Critic, *The New Statesman and Nation*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Apr. 3 - Apr. 30

DOMESTIC

APRIL 3—The President, in effort to speed Reorganization Bill, tells House Leaders he is willing to accept the compromise amendment that would let Congress, by a simple majority vote, veto any reorganization order issued by a President.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull opposes a stay at home policy for the United States Navy. He broadcasts his desire for world wide protection of United States citizens

Senator Harrison claims changes in Tax Bill have made it business recovery measure. Reforestation and other works listed in report on the CCC. Cost so far has reached total of $1,920,000,000.

Secretary Ickes, speaking to Chicago audience, warns America that Fascism, not Communism, is to be feared.

APRIL 4—Admiral Leahy asks House Committee to increase size of battleships provided for in recently-passed Navy Bill. from 35,000 to 45,000 tons. Ships, if built, will be largest of their type.

Mr Roosevelt signs bill providing for TVA inquiry.

House passes bill providing for loans to business with only minor changes in Senate's revision.

Senate adds $40,000,000 to Army Bill, raising total to $490,000,000.

William Green declares only solution to railroad problem is government ownership.

APRIL 5—Vice-President John Garner asks President to clarify his future general policies toward business, reassure industry

Admiral Leahy says proposed increases in Navy would not be sufficient to assure United States of impregnable defense.

Senators McNary and Borah decline to serve on TVA inquiry board as Garner ignores Senator Bridges.

APRIL 6—Secretary Roper concedes that fear of New Deal's next move is instrumental in retarding recovery.

APRIL 7—Senate is told by Rear Admiral Cook that facilities for aircraft production in United States is inadequate for war needs.

William Green asks labor in Pennsylvania to prevent Kennedy from being nominated on the Democratic ticket in the race for Governor.

APRIL 8—One hundred and eight Democrats lead House of Representatives in voting to recommit the Reorganization Bill to its special Committee on Reorganization. Vote was unusually close, 204 to 196.

In a West Coast speech, Herbert Hoover blames recession on people's fear of New Deal's contemplated program

APRIL 9—Tax Bill is passed by Senate. Included in measure, because of frequent arguments, is provision that income of future issues of Federal bonds should not be tax exempt. Bill provides for levies of about $5,000,000,000.

Republic Steel Corporation is held guilty of violating Wagner Act during July "Little Steel" strike of the C. I O. by National Labor Relations Board. Company is ordered to reinstate 5,000 men and are held responsible for deaths of three strikers killed in the conflict.

APRIL 10—Pump-priming proposals are attacked by Senator Byrd as dangerous to Nation. President urged by Snell to pledge balancing of budget.

APRIL 11—President Roosevelt proceeds with plans for large scale pump-priming and Government spending as Garner warns that Congressional opposition awaits such plans.

In message to Congress, President proposes that legislation be enacted to help railroads in financing and operating. He suggests they solve problem before next Congress convenes but offers no specific aid in finding a solution.

APRIL 12—John L Lewis declares Government should end "wishful thinking" and provide a "well planned" and "realistic" program to furnish work and aid recovery.

Secretary Hull, commenting on recent speech by Mayor LaGuardia, cites rise in trade as reason to oppose export subsidies

APRIL 13—Senators stage revolt when President insists on retaining the profits and capital gains taxes.

Congressional group hears Mr. Roosevelt begin his fight for pump-priming as he reads recovery measure.

RFC Bill, allowing the bureau to make loans to aid business and recovery, signed by the President

Postmaster General James Farley, speaking at a Jefferson birthday dinner, says Mr. Roosevelt will triumph over "mobilized die-hards"

APRIL 14—President asks for expenditures totaling $5,000,000,000 and very large credit expansion to end recession

Money is freed for spending as United States Treasury "desterilizes" its $1,392,065,461 gold fund.

Wall Street indicates that President's monetary devices for his recovery program will meet with failure

Secretary Ickes says PWA is prepared to rush projects in new programs as Housing Authority extends their plans

A survey of American airplane factories discloses that production could be accelerated to enable the United States to export 2,000 planes a year.

In his Pan-American Day talk, President declares foreign aggression will not be permitted in the New World

Secretary Morgantheau says that Mexican silver will be bought at Washington's price by United States as before.

Agriculture Supply Bill receives $101,000,000 more from House for highways.

APRIL 17—Greater part of messages now flooding Washington are against spending.

APRIL 18—Dr. F. E. Townsend set free by President's pardon just before entering jail. Says that pardon vindicates him.

Navy construction costing $1,156,546,000 meets with favor in Senate Committee report.

Jesse Jones, Chairman of RFC, explains RFC lending program; asks co-operation of banks.

APRIL 19—William Green broadcasts to England, says American workers will not sacrifice democracy.

President Roosevelt expresses approval of Anglo-Italian pact because it offers proof of the value of peaceful coercion.

U. A W. A. pickets General Motors Flint plants in order to collect dues. Plants close.

APRIL 20—Report to Senate asks end of Surplus Profits Tax to relieve unemployment.

C. I. O Non-Partisan League faces formidable challenge as A. F. of L. sets up competitive political machine.

Senator Nye flails Navy Bill as Sea defense line is urged upon Senate.

APRIL 21—In first speech to D. A. R. since assuming office, President Roosevelt urges members to instill in youth of America the same spirit of democracy that brought their immigrant ancestors to the New World.

APRIL 23—"Deficit spending" is denounced by the United States Chamber of Commerce They offer own plan for recovery. Tax aid listed first.

Homer Martin says move will be made to avoid strike voted by Flint auto workers

Virginia coal mine gives up 45 charred bodies of men killed in fire caused by dust explosions

APRIL 24—Senate report declares fair treatment of business men is most effective method of reducing unemployment

Henry Ford told by union that employees in Ford factories earning above $1500 would buy Ford cars

Jewish leaders adopt plan to settle 100,000 Jewish refugees a year in Palestine

Senator La Follette warns of "revolution" that will surely follow arms expansion.

APRIL 25—Roosevelt asks for a "simple statute" to bar tax-exempt bonds and public salaries.

Representative Rayburn reads House letter charging "chain telegram" drive against recovery plan

APRIL 26—President receives offer of co-operation from 16 business leaders

Low cost housing projects given $55,000,000 in additional ear-markings by the USHA.

Senator Borah tells Senate that enlarged Navy Bill is entirely unnecessary

President calls Representative O'Connor to White House. Reported to insist upon passage of Wages and Hours Bill

Roosevelt says that no representatives of the Administration will be sent to the La Follette conference.

APRIL 27—None of his ideas have been changed as a result of talks with President, declares Henry Ford

Vandenburg seeks new arms parley as Senate foes of the Navy Bill block an early vote.

The U. S. Government is asked by business, labor, science and church groups to lift arms embargo against Loyalist Spain.

APRIL 28—The La Follette brothers launch National Progressive Party.

APRIL 29—Path of Wages and Hours Bill is blocked by Rules Committee as five Democrats defy President.

APRIL 30—Socialist leader Norman Thomas denied right to speak in Jersey City by Mayor Hague. Thomas deported to New York.

INTERNATIONAL

APRIL 4—Italy and Great Britain finally agree on treaty terms, including Italy's withdrawal of her troops in Spain.

APRIL 6—Pope talks with Cardinal Innitzer and causes him to virtually retract his appeal made for large Anschluss vote.

United States formally recognizes Anschluss and asks Germany to pay Austria's debts.

France seeks agreement with Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania to protect Prague.

APRIL 8—Mexico receives a note from Great Britain demanding return of seized oil properties.

APRIL 12—War supplies are reported pouring into Loyalist Spain with Russia the presumable source.

Mexico tells Great Britain that seizure of oil companies is a domestic matter.

Fascist states are served warnings by two United States Ambassadors. Ambassador to Germany, Hugh R Wilson, declared in Berlin that the German effort at self-sufficiency is a "fallacy." He points to the American reciprocal trade treaty as an aid to peace. Wilson also made it clear that the United States would fight if provoked.

Ambassador A. Steinhardt urges American nations to present a united front against Old World "predatory forces" that seek "new or lost fields to conquer."

APRIL 16—Count Ciano and Earl of Perth sign Anglo-Italian pact By terms of accord, all Italian forces and war material must be withdrawn from Spain at the duration of the war Great Britain, in return, promises she will work through League of Nations for recognition of Ethiopia. The two nations reconcile their interests in the Mediterranean, East Africa and Arabia

APRIL 25—A three-year trade and defense pact is signed by Great Britain and Ireland

Three British ships are hit in Valencia air raids

APRIL 27 Mexican Ambassador in Washington announces that Mexico will reduce recently raised tariff rates.

APRIL 28—England and France reach agreement on defensive alliance with unified control during war

APRIL 29 England and France warn against German attack on Czechoslovakia

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

APRIL 3—Insurgents take Lerida, city known as key to Barcelona, as troops push to within six miles of Tortosa

Madrid suffers worst shelling of war when the Rebels pour 2.000 missiles into city.

APRIL 5—Loyalists form new Cabinet Premier Negrin given portfolio of War Minister

APRIL 7—Insurgents surprise opponents by capturing largest hydro-electric plant in Catalonia.

APRIL 15—Rebels reach Mediterranean Coast. Loyalist territory is severed and 22 miles of the coast is occupied.

Elbro bridge at Tortosa is wrecked by 48 bombers.

APRIL 19 Generalissimo Franco warns Loyalists that he has won war, warns Government to surrender or suffer consequences.

APRIL 20—Rebels fail to take Tortosa, shift attack to Castellon, take many border passes.

APRIL 21—Rebels report Western defense lines of Madrid have been cut as border areas are shelled.

APRIL 29—Loyalists block many highways as the fight for Lerida is prolonged.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

APRIL 10—Chinese troops follow up advantage gained in Southern Shantung as their planes drop pleas for their opponent's surrender.

APRIL 14—Japanese forces meet their first major defeat in modern war when Chinese rout large part of Japanese Southern Shantung army Total dead exceed 42.000

APRIL 27 Japanese officials are troubled over new war developments Disagree on proposal to expand forces in China.

APRIL 28—Chinese leaders insist Japanese push in Shantung has shot its bolt and predict foe's retreat

FOREIGN

France

APRIL 2—Officials declare refugees from Spain will be returned as soon as possible.

APRIL 4—Premier Blum seeking to rule by decree powers, proposes capital levy, revaluation of gold and registering of bonds

APRIL 7—Senate rebuffs Blum on decree powers which caused rioting among the Leftists in Paris Troops held in readiness to curb trouble.

APRIL 8—Premier Blum resigns after defeat in Senate Daladier called in to form Cabinet.

APRIL 10 Popular Front stages demonstration as Daladier forms anti-Communistic government

APRIL 12—Almost unanimous vote by Deputies grants Daladier's Cabinet decree powers.

APRIL 13—Senate backs Daladier decree rule 288 to 1 as strikes continue

APRIL 19—France sends invitation to Rome to negotiate treaty similar to one recently completed between Italy and England

Germany

APRIL 9—On eve of his plebiscite, Chancellor Hitler claims divine guidance in his closing campaign speech

APRIL 10—Greater Germany votes 99 08 per cent in favor of Anschluss, Hitler, his policies

APRIL 19—Germany's Protestant pastors must take oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler or be dropped. Country preparing huge celebration for Hitler's birthday.

APRIL 20—Birthday tributes to Hitler flood Berlin from all parts of globe Army bares its might in an enormous parade but also reveals inadequate equipment

APRIL 21—Iron fences are uprooted from public properties as need for metal increases. Foreign trade continues to drop

APRIL 23—Germans express bitterness over Brazil's suppression of organized minorities favorable to Berlin.

APRIL 24—Berlin considers Henlein's speech last warning to Czechoslovakian government.

APRIL 25—Bürckel, Nazi leader, is appointed Austrian Dictator for one year and is responsible only to Adolf Hitler.

APRIL 26—Austrian edition of Hitler's paper reveals his desire to rid Vienna of all Jews by 1942.

APRIL 27—All Jews are ordered to report their properties for liquidation.

Great Britain

APRIL 2—Government formally recognizes Anschluss

APRIL 26—Income tax rate of England is increased to 27½ per cent Commons shocked as peace-time high is established

Italy

APRIL 2—Pact with Great Britain in near future is considered certainty by officials here.

APRIL 17—Much relief is felt over prospect of peace in Mediterranean as British agreement is culminated

Poland

APRIL 3—Warsaw files objections with Prague on "anti-Polish" activities by Czechoslovakian Communists

Rumania

APRIL 17—Government attempts to halt terrorism in arrests of 100 members of the Iron Guard

Turkey

APRIL 20—Central Anatolia suffers 13 shocks as 250 die from earthquakes

APRIL 21 Death toll nears 500 while 50,000 are left homeless from quakes

Eire

APRIL 21—Government and all opposition parties unite in selecting Professor Douglas Hyde as first President.

APRIL 25—Ireland feels heartily in favor of pact signed with Great Britain. Reopening of markets is met with rejoicing by farmers

Czechoslovakia

APRIL 24—Henlein, leader of Nazis in Czechoslovakia, warns Prague to meet German demands and requests a new foreign policy.

APRIL 25—Czechoslovakia stands by her agreements and rejects Henlein's demands of orientation with Germany.

Russia

APRIL 20—Soviet refuses to permit further purges of collective farms and threatens purgers with severe penalties.

Mexico

APRIL 6—President Cárdenas orders 20 per cent of foreign oil sale proceeds set aside to pay for expropriated property

Travel

THE SUMMER IN SCANDINAVIA

Norway

NATURE, which gave so sparingly of soil to the Norwegian farmer and so lavishly of scenery to the traveler, gave Norway the boon of the Midnight Sun. In that land you need not set your clock ahead an hour in order to catch an extra sixty minutes of daylight, for at North Cape the sun goes right on shining the entire night through, and even in Oslo, far to the south, all but two or three hours of the entire twenty-four are light.

If the Midnight Sun is one of the great phenomena of Nature, then surely the scenic grandeurs and the contrasts of Norway are another. There you will find mountain walls which climb a sheer mile out of ocean waters; fjords which pierce even more than a hundred miles into land; the greatest glaciers in Europe, rushing waterfalls, torrential rivers and vast, barren mountain plateaus. Or, if you wish, Norway will afford you idyllic valleys, sandy, sunlit beaches, quiet homes beside the quiet waters of a lake, for the nation has them all, has them in a profusion which beggars description.

This summer, in addition to its scenery, Norway is spreading before the eyes of travelers a great exhibition, which shows the industrial, cultural and artistic development of the country as well as its natural wonders. Built on the shore of the beautiful Frognerkilen, a bay of the Oslofjord, this Exhibition of Norwegian Life opened in May and will continue to September 18, as a highlight of Scandinavian travel for the season.

While the Exhibition will tell first of Oslo and Norway, the three other Scandinavian lands, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, have been asked to participate in it with special displays, so that it will have a truly international flavor. Their most outstanding contribution will be material for Nordic Building Days, which will review the modern architectural and construction progress of the four nations.

The industrial sections of the Exhibition will attempt to show graphically the part Norwegian industry is playing in world development. Norway is not a nation which lives chiefly by fishing and farming, and Norwegians as a race are anxious to prove that point once and for all with this great display of their work in the fields of engineering, factory construction, and power development. Native handicrafts and peasant handiwork, too, will receive their share of attention, as special displays of the weaving, the knitting, and the wood carving for which Norway has long been famous will be arranged. Last but not least, the Exhibition will devote much of its space to travel attractions and scenery.

To provide accommodations for Americans visiting it, the Norwegian America Line speeded up the construction of its new flagship, the 18,675 ton *Oslofjord*, so that the liner will make its maiden voyage June 4, arriving in New York June 13 and returning to Norway June 18. The vessel will with that trip enter regular transatlantic service, so that Americans may travel to Norway's great Exhibition on Norway's newest and finest ship.

In tourist interest Oslo, the modern capital; Trondheim, the ancient capital and shrine of St. Olav; and Bergen, the gateway to the fjords, will this summer be the great focal points for visits to Norway. While there are literally scores of fjords, you can sample them best perhaps by visiting the Hardanger, the Sogne, the Nord, and the Geiranger.

Hardangerfjord is perhaps the most famous for idyllic and lovely scenery. Orchards and well-kept farms lie along part of its shore; scores of streams spread out from it; great mountains rise beside it, while in the background one may see the gigantic Folgefonn glacier, its silvery reflection sometimes mirrored in the still waters of the fjord.

Longest of Norway's fjords is the Sogne, which extends back into the country over 112 miles. Along it lies the Jostedalsbrae glacier, spreading out over 580 square miles to form the largest glacier in Europe. This fjord is famous for its mountains, which in places rise almost a sheer mile above its waters.

Nordfjord has scenery which rivals in places that of the Hardangerfjord or Sognefjord, and at its end lies one of the most remarkable roads in the country, one which ascends from sea level through ever-changing scenery to 3,700 feet, and ends once more at sea level, at Marak on the Geirangerfjord.

Many travelers consider Geirangerfjord the most beautiful in Norway, and to miss its Seven Sisters Waterfall would be to miss one of the finest sights in the country. Even the Geiranger does not, however, exhaust Norway's endless list of fjords, nor do its fjords exhaust its scenic attractions.

This summer, because of the Oslo Exhibition of Norwegian Life, because of the wide-spread interest here in Norway and things Scandinavian, those attractions will head the "musts" on many an European itinerary.

Sweden

"We are a small nation but we should think great things," says the motto engraved on the outside of the Nordiska Museum in the city of Stockholm. Those words sum up the Swedish people, for they are a race which believes in thinking and in doing great things.

Not so small a nation as generally believed, Sweden covers an area of 173,000 square miles and has the distinction of being the oldest country in Europe, ethnologically speaking. The present Swedish people are the descendants of the same race which settled in Sweden over 10,000 years ago. This centuries-old habitation of the same land has made the Swedish people a unified nation, has perhaps given them the impulse to create such great things as their noble Town Hall in Stockholm, such beautiful things as their delicate Orrefors glass, known the world over.

Stockholm, city of islands and bridges, is the focal point of a visit to Sweden. Over 1000 years old, the present city was built in the 13th century by Birger Jarl who considered the location a natural protection against the ravages of Baltic pirates. Gradually expanding, the city spread out over more and more islands until today it is divided into an Old Town and New Town.

Dominating the Old Town and facing the New rises the Royal Palace, which has stood watch over the city for more than a century. The austerity of its northern facade symbolizes the strength and simplicity of her people; the decorations of the southern facade their artistry and industry.

In the New Town the architecture of the Town Hall offers an interesting contrast to the Royal Palace. Considered one of the finest buildings in Europe, this masterpiece of modern architecture confirms the excellence of the Swedes as master builders. From the frescoes of the interior to the wrought-iron gates outside, everything in the building is the product of the country's handicrafts and reveals the exceptional civic pride of the people.

The bustling city of Stockholm, characteristic of Swedish energy and ability, is yet by no means the only city of activity in Sweden. Gothenburg, for example, other terminal of the Gota Canal and home port of the Swedish American Line, is a busy seaport and manufacturing town.

Like Stockholm, Gothenburg is a "water city." When Gustavus Adolphus decided to build a seaport there, he summoned experts from Holland, who constructed the city just as they would make a town in their own land—with canals, straight streets, and a large moat. Today the moat is a waterway bordered with trees, the old walls of the city are a beautiful esplanade, but even now most of the canals remain.

City of shipyards and factories, its wharves lined with cargo vessels, coast steamers, timber boats, fishing smacks, and ocean liners, Gothenburg has its chief glory, in the eyes of its inhabitants and visitors alike, not in those things but in its avenues of trees and its parks. Often called the City of Donations, most of its social and cultural institutions have been made possible by private generosity, and it has a donation fund of about a quarter of a million dollars, the income of which is used for beautifying the town.

Gothenburg and Stockholm are the best examples of Sweden today, but no tour of the country is complete without a trip to Dalecarlia with its old-world beauty and charm. For there visitors may get a glimpse of the Sweden of yesterday, not in dull or musty museums, but in the living customs of the people.

Dalecarlia still has red log cabins, whitewashed village churches, women and girls in bright native costumes, farmers who row to church in long boats. On June 23 the Midsummer Night festival of the province brings memories of a pagan past lost now in the mists of time.

Though many who are in Sweden during June plan to be in Dalecarlia during this Midsummer celebration, the festival has not yet been spoiled by overwhelming mobs of tourists. All the freshness of the ceremony remains. Newly-cut birch trees wreathe each doorway, a pole bound with birch boughs stands in or near the village, and the people arrive from miles around for a dance which puts American dance marathons to shame.

From midnight to morning men and women, boys and girls circle the pole, dancing, singing, and clapping their hands so that it seems these staid, solid country folk have lost their reason entirely. This is also the one time of the year when men turn out in their native full-dress suits with yellow buckskin breeches, flowered waistcoats, and wide-brimmed hats, while women wear their full regalia with the full skirts, silver pins, and embroidered bodices which make them appear the loveliest women in the world.

Finland

The World War put Finland on the geographical map; its habit of paying debts first brought it to the attention of Americans, and now its thousands of lakes and its virgin countryside are finding for it a place on the itineraries of travelers.

If the Indians had named Finland, they would have called it "The Land of Many Waters." Sixty thousand lakes, one of them the largest in Europe, dot its surface; mighty rivers roar over it to sea, carrying with them hundreds of thousands of logs; 80,000 islands are sprinkled along its seashore and through its inland waters.

Add to this the fact that Finland has deep forests, fine fishing, cities as modern as any in the New World, and you will understand why Americans are slowly becoming aware of this new land, why a hundred come to it today compared with ten, fifteen years ago.

A trip through Finland properly begins at Helsingfors, or Helsinki, the capital. A chain of islands seems to block the city off completely from the sea, but when the last channel is negotiated, the steamer swings into a great harbor, around which the city spreads in a semicircle. No docks are needed here, for the water is so deep that boats anchor at the quay edges and passengers disembark right on the streets.

Interesting as it is, Helsingfors, one

of the most modern cities of Europe, can not compete in fascination with Finland's lakes and waterways. Small steamers cruise for hundreds of miles on them, now passing islands covered with pine, spruce, birch, fir, now stopping at crude docks to pick up a passenger or freight, now voyaging through a channel so narrow that branches of trees on shore brush the boat. Occasionally the steamer stops a short while for fuel—not coal, but logs of wood, for Finland is one of the greatest timber-producing countries in the world, and locomotives as well as steamers there are wood-burning.

A thrill that travelers in Finland never forget is shooting the rapids of the River Oulujoki in one of the boats which once transported tar. Sixteen passengers take their places in the boat, a steersman guides the craft with a large paddle and almost before one knows it the boat is sucked into the breakers of the rapids. Great, tumbling waves catch it up, it heads for a stone bank, only to be guided away by the adroit steersman, cascades threaten to engulf it, and on every side the waters roar deafeningly. The descent is breathless, though it lasts only a few minutes.

Imatra, in the southeastern part of Finland, is the greatest cataract in the world, a narrow cut through which roar the waters drained from thousands of square miles. Near Imatra is the largest lake in Europe, Lake Ladoga, forming part of the boundary between Russia and Finland. Thirty miles out in it, on a beautiful group of islands, is the only Russian monastery now serving a religious purpose.

Before you end your stay in Finland, make an excursion to that monastery. Three times a week a boat manned by monks in long hair, great beards, high boots, and flowing black coats docks at Sortavala to pick up freight and passengers for it. A hotel is kept for visitors to the island, but while it may seem luxurious to the simple, hardworking monks, it hardly comes up to American expectations.

If you want an unusual experience, spend the night there—but don't say we failed to warn you, for you will find that your bed will be merely a platform of wood, over which a thin mattress is laid. And the pillow? Well, the pillows are nothing more or less than small wooden blocks!

Denmark

One of the social departments in which the Danes are marvelously advanced is the fine art of enjoying a summer vacation. It must be taken into consideration, however, that they have a superb layout of sea and land in which to employ this talent.

Denmark's area is approximately the size of Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined, but has a million less population. One can comfortably motor the length of the nation in a day. It is a country of rolling moors and heaths rising to an altitude of 520 feet at the highest point, and is intersected and invaded everywhere by bays and sounds and fjords of the North Sea and the Baltic. Many voyagers from the United States to Denmark land at Copenhagen, so far to the east that it is only an hour's ride on the ferry from Sweden, but the logical description of the region's summer playlands begins on the shores of the North Sea at the other side.

From Fano, near the landing place of the tourist steamers from England and Dunkerque, to the Skaw, that very fashionable resort at the extreme northern tip of Denmark, runs 175 miles of as fine a bathing beach as can be found anywhere. Back of the long white beaches are long rows of tumbled sand dunes, and behind that rise the gorse and flowering heather covered moorlands of interior Jutland. This is a great territory for campers and hikers. They can find hundreds of clean and attractive places to pitch their tents; the country is natural and picturesque and excellent motor roads network the uplands. Parties of wanderers, foreign and domestic, take full advantage of the opportunity. Many of them are vacationing on the ubiquitous bicycle. They ride and tramp in a temperature like that of Maine in the summer and swim in waters considerably warmer than those of New England.

Wayfarers who speak only English have little trouble in getting directions in their own tongue; Denmark is near England, and once ruled it, in fact, and although it is an agricultural land with as many cows as people, the Danes are a seagoing race, and pick up strange languages in many ports.

On the other coast of the peninsula the physiography is similar, although its beaches cannot equal the magnificent extent of the North Sea salient. Next one comes to the jig-saw of islands and sounds that lie between Denmark and Sweden, 12,000 square miles of glorious yachting grounds.

Copenhagen, largest Baltic capital, and spotless and neat and wholesome as only a Scandinavian city can be, has often been called variously the Paris of the North, the Chicago of the North, the Athens of the North, and the Venice of the North. It is a highly maritime place, bustling and modern, very intellectual and academic with its famous old university and at the same time gay, vivacious, and much addicted to night clubs and sidewalk cafes. One side of life in Copenhagen is pictured in the Flower Market and the Fish Market. In both the vendors are all peasant women. The fishwives sell only live and flipping merchandise, and are as adept at racy slang and repartee as their sisters of London's Billingsgate. The flower sellers are all Amager women from just across the inlet. They raise their own flowers while their husbands are at work in the shops and mills, and arrive in wide-winged white hats to delight tourists with a picture set in a splendid background of the city's Danish Renaissance and Gothic architecture.

Three characteristics of Denmark that impress most American visitors are the impressive oldness of the country, the ship-shape state of repair everywhere, and the remarkable way in which the little nation has adapted itself to comfortable, sane, good-natured existence under modern industrial conditions. The Danes, with no exceptional economic wealth as a foundation, have refused to allow slums to grow in their cities, won't quarrel among themselves nor with their neighbors, and while retaining the title of

the oldest kingdom in Europe have evolved a form of government that is truly democratic.

Evidences of the great age of this kingdom, which flies the oldest flag insignia in the world, greet travelers everywhere. Viking barrows and stones with Runic inscriptions are found over the whole country, and the museums contain the actual boats of the Danish sea raiders of 1000 years ago. One craft in which a chieftain and his horses had been buried was dug up recently, and as it was too fragile with age to be moved, a glass building was erected over it right in its excavation. Even the trees in Denmark attain to fabulous ages; one giant old oak is credited with 1000 years of life, and it looks its age.

Old castles appear everywhere on the granite sea headlands and inland hills of Denmark. No part of Europe is better supplied with this adjunct of scenery. Another kind of dwelling, the successor of the rather uncomfortable fortified house of remoter times, is the manor, and that is even more numerous than the castle. A great many of the manor houses, artistic and picturesque structures, are still in use. There is no sharp line of demarcation between the aristocratic manor houses and the better type of ancestral farm home; a visible indication of the little old kingdom's robust democracy. Rooms may be seen in either kind of home that are guaranteed to thrill any student of interior decoration.

NOTES ON AUTHORS

(Continued from page 1)

★ The spending of public moneys is one function upon which the editorial writers cannot agree even among themselves. **Burt McConnell,** however, brings in the returns. Nor is he surprised by the results. In fact, he has read so many newspaper editorials that he feels himself immunized, even against the bite of a mad dog.

★ **Karl van Gelderland** is a German. He is a quiet person who smiles easily. Until Hitler's rise to power he labored for the *Frankfurter Zeitung.*

★ In Seattle, labor flew very high, and is now in the process of alighting. **R. L. Neuberger,** a West Coast newspaperman, explains labor's present dilemma.

★ **Harrison Forman** is an explorer, writer, and photographer. At present, he is in China. On his last trip to the East, he collected data on a subject that apparently has all China talking. It is a new lamp that may soon break the bonds of Chinese enslavement to foreign oil companies.

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 5)

London's Black Fog

Lewis Mumford's optimism in viewing the future of the city is respectfully referred to Robert Sinclair for what it is worth. Mr. Sinclair is the author of the not-too-optimistic *The Big City*, or a study in black of London. The author feels that there is much about London that is not generally known by the rest of the world. That, for example, it is little better than a death trap for most of its inhabitants, especially in the poorer sections where infant mortality is 74 per cent higher than the usual middle-class district, where milk distributed in schools is far below the general standards, and where almost 90 per cent of a group of school children selected at random had misshapen, rickety bones.

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Mr. Sinclair would hesitate before advising anyone to select London as a place of permanent residence. The living is far from healthy, the housing accommodations crowded and unpleasant, the transportational facilities poor, the education ineffective and frequently misdirected, the food subject to frequent contamination. All in all, it is a pretty dusty, dirty city, caring little for the needs of most of its people and apparently even less for its own future.

Mr. Sinclair has turned up London's carpets and looked in its corners, revealing a great deal of unpleasant-looking stuff which most visitors never thought existed. Only last year this department examined *London: The Unique City*, by Steen Eiler Rasmussen, a pleasant historical account of what appeared to be a pleasant city of spacious parks and ample recreational facilities. Can it be that Mr. Rasmussen saw something of the sun in London and Mr. Sinclair nothing but the fog? Or is it possible, as seems more likely, that each author found what he did by looking in the only places where it could be found.

Neutrality Study

Charles C. Tansell has written our most comprehensive analysis of America's neutrality policy in the years immediately preceding the World War; the accomplishment is all the more remarkable when it is considered that there is no scarcity of competent historical material on the subject. Dr. Tansell, Albert Shaw Lecturer in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University in 1931, spent a decade gathering research for the work, *America Goes to War.* He has considered the most vital questions facing the pre-War Wilson Administration, and, without attempting to prove any particular point or draw any specific interpretations, has assembled his research in orderly and documented fashion.

There is ample evidence in *America Goes to War* to support Charles Seymour's contention that above all else, unrestricted submarine warfare was responsible for American intervention on the side of the Allies. Yet there is other evidence here indicating that the Administration's stand on submarine warfare definitely committed it to action. There is also some satisfaction in Dr. Tansell's book for those who have held that President Wilson—whom Andrew Carnegie predicted would "rank the greatest hero of all"—had followed advice which from the start pointed to war, that our "neutrality" policies gave evidence of their unworkability early in his administration.

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 5

1. The Balearic Islands belong to Spain.
2. They are located in the Mediterranean Sea.
3. Majorca
4. Italy.
5. They dominate the Western end of the Mediterranean Sea.
6. Manuel Azana.
7. Madrid and Barcelona.
8. Zaragossa is the name of both a city and province in Spain.
9. Formosa lies East of China and is owned by Japan
10. Greenland
11. Tycoon is out of place
12. The Cagoulards are a secret order in France, accused of plotting against the government.
13. Mr Edsel Ford
14. Senator Pat Harrison.
15. William Henry and Benjamin Harrison were Presidents of the U. S.; Carter Harrison was Mayor of Chicago.
16. Martin L. Davey.
17. He was a tree expert.
18. A mythical ruler of the sea demons.
19. The Byrnes law prohibits the transportation of a strike-breaker from one state to another.
20. Washington (D. C.) is over 50 times as large

Farewell to isms

In reviewing *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs,* this department is in a somewhat embarrassing position, for the author is also publisher of *Current History.* Praise of M. E. Tracy's new work might be construed as the better part of discretion or even expediency; criticism as a strained attempt to appear "uninfluenced." Under the circumstances, therefore, the reviewer will attempt to avoid an opinionated appraisal as far as is possible and will limit his discussion of the book to a statement of its content and scope.

Our Country, Our People, and Theirs was written out of an acute need for a factual basis of comparison of the United States with the three other structures of government, most of whose proponents have seldom strayed beyond the vague sphere of ideological argumentation. What, after all, does fascism, naziism, communism --as typified by Italy, Germany, Russia—offer that American democracy does not? Beneath all the talk and the bluster, what can the Dictators actually do for the average citizen? More than that: what are they doing? The German experiment is five years old; the Italian sixteen; the Russian twenty; the American one-hundred and fifty. What have been the experiences—for better or worse—of each one?

This, in brief, is the theme of the work. It makes no attempt to moralize, to champion any cause, to grind any axe. The author has assembled a mine of factual information on actual living conditions, business, labor, education, health, finance, transportation, recreation, communication, etc. on each of the four countries. Each country is discussed independently in parallel columns, so that in reality the work is four books in one.

The format represents an interesting innovation in bookmaking. The dimensions are slightly larger than the large magazine sizes; the book is printed in four columns so that each country may be consulted separately and as an aid to ready-reference. The numerous illustrations, by Richard E. Falconer, give the book added value. Almost a story in themselves, the artist's drawings make use of attractive symbols and have a strong graphic quality.

The book's objective treatment gives increased emphasis to this conclusion by the reader: advocates of naziism, fascism, or communism cannot, on the basis of the successes and failures of the governments represented by those doctrines, say with accuracy that democracy has failed or that their own isms point the way to a better life.

Agrarian Rebel

Within the memory of Thomas E. Watson lay the old South: a land of agricultural serenity, self-contained and self containing. After reading C. Vann Woodward's biography, *Tom Watson,* there can be little doubt that Tom Watson's struggles, his small victories, his crushing defeats stemmed directly from these recollections of his childhood.

The swift-moving currents of the Reconstruction South, particularly in harassed Georgia, gave Watson, as it gave many other opportunistic young men at that time, a headlong start in politics. Passing the bar examinations in 1875, at the age of nineteen, the youthful lawyer began his practise in Screven County only to find business so dull that he was forced back into an earlier occupation—teaching school. Nearly a year later "destiny turned the corner," and he began again in Thomson, the seat of McDuffie County's government.

Tom Watson loved his profession. Whether this was because of its deeper meanings; because it permitted him to indulge his strong histrionic leanings, or because of the fact that he shortly began to know the feel of a solid financial position, seems a little debatable. Probably there was a good deal of each.

Mr. Woodward's carefully-prepared biography leads us to feel that, but for chicanery, foul play, intimidation, terrorism and plain murder, the People's Party might have prevailed. Ideals, however, appear to have no place in politics, and after sixteen years of unremitting battle against overwhelming odds, Populism went down to defeat—and with Populism fell Tom Watson.

The later life of Watson is far less to be admired or respected. Of all those who screamed for the death of Leo Frank, he stood foremost; and he came to be known at last as an inciter of mob violence, an exponent of race hatred and religious bigotry. Perhaps the years of frustration had had their effect upon his mind and took their bitter toll.

The source material is thoroughly credited, much of it coming from original manuscripts and scrapbooks. Mr. Woodward has written the story of the life and death of a personality—in some respects a great personality, in every respect an interesting one, and with this story appears the death of a mode of living; Southern agrarianism. A double tragedy.

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JANUARY—JUNE 1938

TRAVELERS A-FAR

Are Those Who Travel Far

Travel has two principal incentives—business necessity and vacation pleasure—two primary requirements—income and leisure.

Current History readers, being leaders of government, finance, law, education, industry, and journalism, find travel both a business necessity and a vacation pleasure.

Having already travelled *far*, they can now afford the time and money to travel *a-far*.

The Substantial Gain

in travel advertising recently published in *Current History* reflects this productive market. Among the travel advertisers using space during the past two years are:

Alaska Steamship Company
American Express Company
James Boring & Company
Buck Hill Falls Inn
Canada Steamship Lines
Canadian Australian Line
Canadian Pacific
Clark Steamship Company
Dodge Hotel, Washington, D. C.
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